

## Madhya Līlā: Chapters 1-25

333

1. A survey of the matter of the *madhya līlā* 335
2. A survey of the matter of the *antya līlā*; Kṛṣṇa Caitanya's hymn in *viraha* 352
3. The *saṁnyāsa* of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and his absorption in *prema*; his meal at the house of Advaita Ācārya in Śāntipura and the evening *kṛtana* there; the visit of his mother Śacti; his farewell to Śacti and the *bhaktas* 368
4. Kṛṣṇa Caitanya begins his journey to Puri; Mādhavendra Puri and the story of "Cream-stealing Gopīnātha" (Kṣīracora Gopīnātha); the feast at the installation of the image 381
5. Kṛṣṇa Caitanya continues toward Puri; the story of "Gopālā the Witness" (Sakṣigopālā) and the two *brahmaṇas* 393
6. Kṛṣṇa Caitanya in Puri; his meeting with Śārvabhauma; their discussions of the Vedānta and *bhakti*; the conversion of Śārvabhauma 402
7. Kṛṣṇa Caitanya departs on his pilgrimage to the south; the stories of Kūṛma and Vasudeva 423
8. Kṛṣṇa Caitanya continues on his pilgrimage; he meets Rāmānanda Rāya; their critical discussions of the nature of *bhakti* and the theology of *prema*; the revelation of the dual *avatāra* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Caitanya 431
9. Caitanya continues his southern pilgrimage; confrontations and conversions, especially with Buddhists; the encounter with the Bhaṭṭamāris [Tantrics?]; the place of Lakṣmī-Narāyaṇa in the Kṛṣṇa myth; Caitanya returns to Puri 461
10. At the order of the Mahārāja Pratāparudra, the place of Kāśī Miśra is prepared for Caitanya's return; the first trip of the Vaiṣṇavas from Bengal to Puri; Caitanya's reunion with Svarūpa Dāmodara 482
11. The desire of the Mahārāja to meet Caitanya; the Vaiṣṇavas arrive from Bengal for the Car Festival [*rathayātra*] and are feasted; the nature of eternal *dharma* 493
12. In response to the Mahārāja's *bhakti*, Caitanya sends an outer garment and agrees to meet the Prince; the cleansing of the Guṇḍicā Mandira; the revivification of Advaitācārya's son 507
13. The Car Festival [*rathayātra*]; the *bhaktas* dance before the Car 518
14. The Lakṣmī-vijaya [Horā-pāñcamī]; Caitanya accepts the Mahārāja; Svarūpa Dāmodara's description of Rādhā 534

15. The *bhaktas* act various parts at various festivals; they prepare to return to Bengal, and Caitanya enumerates their virtues; the feast at Śārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya's house; the episode of Amogha and Śaṭhi 550
16. The *bhaktas* again come from Bengal; Caitanya sets off for Vṛndāvana via Bengal; his encounter with a local Muslim ruler; he turns back to Puri because of the great crowds; the devotion of Raghunātha Dāsa; the meeting with Rūpa and Sanātana 566
17. Caitanya starts his pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana, passing through Jhārikhaṇḍa and Vārāṇasī; his meeting with Tapanā Miśra; the scorn of Prakāśānanda; Caitanya arrives in Mathurā 581
18. Caitanya visits pilgrimage places in Vṛndāvana; stories of the Kṛṣṇa-mūrti called Gopālā; Caitanya's ecstasy is so great that his companions are afraid for him; they decide to leave; the encounter with the Pathans; discussions of Islam 596
19. The story of Rūpa and Sanātana; Caitanya at Prayāga; theories of *bhāva* and *rasa*; Caitanya, after deputing Rūpa to go to Vṛndāvana, returns to Vārāṇasī 611
20. The story of Sanātana continued; his escape; he joins Caitanya at Vārāṇasī; Caitanya explains the nature of *bhakti*, the nature of Kṛṣṇa in theology 632
21. Caitanya's discourse on *bhakti* continued; a hymn to the beauty of Kṛṣṇa 666
22. Caitanya continues his instruction to Sanātana on the nature of *bhakti*: the *abhidheya* [*bhakti sādhanā*], association with holy men, *vaidhī* and *rāganuga* 684
23. Caitanya's discourse continues: the *prayojana* [the nature of *prema*] 706
24. Caitanya explicates the *ātmārāma śloka* sixty-one ways 720
25. Caitanya returns to Puri, stopping at Vārāṇasī, where he has further discussions with the *saṁnyāsins*, discourses on the greatness of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; Prakāśānanda and the others are converted; Rūpa arrives at Mathurā; the story of Subuddhi Rāya and Husain Shāh; summary of the *madhya līlā* 756

## Antya Līlā: Chapters 1-20

779

1. The Vaiṣṇavas again come from Bengal to Puri; the dramas of Rūpa Gosvāmin; Rūpa departs from Vṛndāvana 781
2. Caitanya possesses Nakula Brahmācārī from within; he orders the *bhaktas* not to come from Bengal for a year, and he appears in Bengal to Nṛsiṃhānanda; the story of Bhagavān Ācārya; the banishment and suicide of Choṭa Haridāsa 800
3. Dāmodara Paṇḍita's reprimand of Caitanya; the power of the name of Kṛṣṇa; the story of Haridāsa; the ruin of Rāmacandra Khān; the offence and punishment of Gopāla Cakravartī 810
4. Sanātana arrives, very ill, in Puri and is dissuaded from suicide by Caitanya; he is cured; the nature of the body; Sanātana is deputed to go to Vṛndāvana 826
5. The practice of Rāmānanda Rāya; the place of sexual desire; Rāmānanda's instruction to Pradyumna Miśra; the drama by the *brāhmaṇa* of Vaṅga; the relationship between poetry and doctrine 840
6. The story of Raghunātha Dāsa, his leaving his home to join Caitanya, and his asceticism; Caitanya's increasing abstraction in *viraha*; the feast of Nityānanda; the excellence of Rāghava's food 851
7. Caitanya's conversations with Vallabha Bhaṭṭa and the destruction of Vallabha's pride; the superiority of the Gauḍīya *sampradāya*'s interpretations; the nature of Gadādhara 870
8. Caitanya is criticized by Rāmacandra Puṭī for overindulgence, and accordingly reduces the quantity of his food 881
9. The story of Gopinātha and the king's son; the proper conduct of a *sannyāsin* in matters relating to wealth, material goods, and temporal power 887
10. The foods, prepared by Damayantī and brought to Puri by Rāghava Paṇḍita; the water-play in the Narenda Lake; the *beḍha kīrtana* in seven groups; the delirium of Caitanya and the profound *bhakti* of Govinda 895
11. The death, death-feast, and burial of Haridāsa 904
12. Śivānanda and the wrath of Nityānanda; the *bhaktas* travel to Puri; Jagadānanda meets Śaṅkī; the story of Jagadānanda and the jar of oil 910
13. The *viraha* of Caitanya; the entreaty of Jagadānanda; his departure for Vṛndāvana, where he stays with Sanātana; Caitanya is enchanted by the song of the *devadāsī*; Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa arrives in Puri, is deputed to go to Vṛndāvana 918

## Contents

xv

14. The delirium of Caitanya continues; a description of the physical effects of *viraha* 926
15. Caitanya's *viraha*, continued 936
16. The *bhakti* of Kalidāsa; Kavikarṇapūra gets his name 947
17. Caitanya's madness continues to manifest itself 960
18. In his delirium, Caitanya runs into the sea, thinking it the Yamunā River; he is rescued by a fisherman 969
19. Caitanya's continuing withdrawal from the world; his devotion to his mother 980
20. The *śikṣaṣṭaka* and Caitanya's exposition of them; a summary of the final *līlā* 992
- The *upasaṃhāra śloka* 1004

## PART THREE

Glossaries	1007
Glossary	1009
Names and Epithets of Kṛṣṇa	1033
Personae	1035
Bibliographies	1042
I. Biographies of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya: Texts and Translations	1044
A. <i>Caitanya Caritāmṛta</i>	1044
B. Early Biographies—Sanskrit	1046
C. Early Biographies—Bengali	1047
II. Vaiṣṇava Texts	1048
A. Bengali	1048
B. Sanskrit	1054
III. Monographs and Studies	1061
A. Bengali and Hindi	1061
B. European Languages	1065
IV. Select Articles	1070
A. Bengali	1070
B. European Languages	1072
Indexes	1077
Śloka Citation Index	1079
Introduction Index	1093
Subject and Name Index	1105



### Translator's Preface

Research for this book was begun in 1955-57, when I was teaching at the Deccan College in Pune (then Poona) and doing research on the Bengali language in Calcutta, under a program supported by the Rockefeller Foundation; research and writing have continued sporadically ever since. Two of the intervening years, however, 1963-64 and 1969-70, during which I was relieved of teaching and other responsibilities in order to do full-time research, helped me immeasurably toward completion of my portion of the book. The first of these years was made possible by the American Institute of Indian Studies, when I was its Senior Fellow in Calcutta (a post that has since been abolished), and by The Committee on Southern Asian Studies at The University of Chicago. The Committee, which was at that time under the Chairmanship of the late Milton B. Singer, the Paul Klapper Professor of Anthropology and the Social Sciences at The University of Chicago, has been of help in many ways over the years, as will be noted again toward the end of this Preface. The second research year was taken at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Stanford, California; despite the fact that there was, that year, a serious fire that damaged or destroyed years of the work of many scholars, the time was greatly productive. And the discipline and grace with which these men and women set about rebuilding what they had lost was inspirational. Despite the disaster, the atmosphere of the Center was both peaceful and congenial, and easily five years of work in a more normal setting were rolled into one. To these institutions and to the individuals who make them up I am deeply grateful.

I also owe deep gratitude to many friends, colleagues, and teachers who over the years have encouraged and stimulated my work on the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. (Neither they nor I, in the mid-50's, had any idea that the Vaiṣṇavas, a small, geographically limited religious group would in two decades spread out through the western world with an extraordinary, and sometimes aggressive missionary zeal.) I must mention first the late Daniel H. H. Ingalls, Wales Professor of Sanskrit at Harvard, who from the beginning of my study of India has been both teacher and friend, and who first suggested, to my delight, that the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* might be an appropriate candidate for the Harvard Oriental Series and whose precise and creative scholarship has provided a model



which I, however poorly, have tried to emulate. My old, respected, and deeply mourned friend and colleague J. A. B. van Buitenen, George V. Bobrinsky Professor of Sanskrit at The University of Chicago, contributed much to my study, over many years, and specifically to this book, not only by discussion of points of doctrine but by going through the text with a careful eye to the translations from Sanskrit. The reader will soon realize, when he sees how much of the text is in Sanskrit, what an arduous chore this was. Two other great American Indologists, the late W. Norman Brown, Professor and Professor-emeritus of Sanskrit of the University of Pennsylvania and President-emeritus of the American Institute of Indian Studies, and Murray B. Emeneau, Professor and then Professor-emeritus of the University of California at Berkeley, on many occasions demonstrated confidence in me, and I hope I have been to some degree worthy of it. The penetrating insight and understanding of the religious and literary phenomena of India that were part of the make-up of my dear friend and colleague at the University of Chicago, the late A. K. Ramanujan, William E. Colvin Professor of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, have contributed in ways I can no longer even isolate to my own lesser understanding. And Professor Edwin M. Gerow, at one time of the University of Chicago and now of Reed College, with his profound learning in Sanskrit and western poetics, has been of immeasurable help.

It is sometimes said in India that a teacher's greatest achievement is when his student surpasses him. Many of my students have allowed me this. It is difficult to single out a few, for their opinions expressed in seminars and in discussion, and their own research, have contributed in many ways. Some have written on aspects of Bengali culture that have direct relevance to the matter of this book; such are Professors Ralph W. Nicholas and Ronald B. Inden, both now teaching at The University of Chicago. Professor Clinton B. Seely, also at The University of Chicago, focuses on more modern literature than this book represents, but his intimate knowledge of all aspects of Bengali culture has made him a constant source for me over the years.

Closer to the present, three names stand out. The first is that of Aditi Nath Sarkar, currently of Calcutta; he read through the whole text, making many substantial suggestions, and preparing the basic Index, on which the Indices included in this book are based. Neal Delmonico and I read together over several years various Vaiṣṇava texts, some of them abstruse, and his insight and wisdom informed our discussions, and thus some of the interpretations that lie within this book. His particular concern is with the esthetic theory of Rūpa Gosvāmin, and it is in this area that my indebtedness to him is greatest.

But it is to Professor Tony K. Stewart, now of the North Carolina State University, that I owe the most. His direct involvement with this book began with the elaborate mapping of the *avatāra*-theory that appears in the chart at the end of the Introduction; it ends with his becoming the Editor of the whole work, co-author of the Introduction (by the time it had reached a final draft, it no longer made sense to try to keep our contributions separate), provider of about half of the Glossary definitions, and the large number of interpretive notes that will appear in the Commentary with his initials. His modest Editor's Preface will explain to the reader his responsibilities, but it will describe neither the willingness nor the enthusiasm with which he assumed the editorial work, at my request, following my serious illness, nor will it suggest the time, care, and patience involved in checking the translations against the original, cross-referencing the vast number of citations, suggesting changes, regularizing spellings, and in general performing with meticulous precision all the tasks involved in careful editing. The Indices too, now in their considerably expanded and therefore more useful form, are in large part due to his efforts.

Scholars in India, too, have helped me in many ways, with advice, direction, and books, and have with great generosity given me of their precious time and great learning. Such scholars are too numerous to mention, but if I were to single out three, they would be the late Professor Sushil Kumar De, whose work on Vaiṣṇavism as well as other areas of history, philosophy, and literature remains after many years definitive; the late Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, whose enthusiasm for life and learning infected all who knew him, right up until his death; and the late Professor Sukumar Sen, successor to his teacher Professor Chatterji in the Khaira Chair of Linguistics at the University of Calcutta. I had wanted very much to be able to put a copy of this book into Dr. Sen's hands before he died, for over many years he dispensed wisdom and rare texts and sometimes esoteric knowledge whenever I needed it; his door was always open to me, as was his heart. It was not to be.

Parts of the Introduction were prepared originally as lectures or papers given at various meetings of the Association for Asian Studies and at seminars at the University of Washington in Seattle, and at the University of California at Berkeley. To Professors Rachel van Meter Baumer, Edwin Gerow, and J. F. Staal I owe thanks for the opportunity of presenting some of these ideas and of receiving suggestions and criticisms which have been helpful. To the participants in those meetings too I owe thanks.

My wife Loraine has given me continued support and has allowed me selfishly to put my study ahead of her own many interests. And a special acknowledgment is due to Judith H. Aronson, who assisted me in many ways at The University of



Chicago between 1960 and 1976; in innumerable unselfish ways she helped my work in its research, teaching, and especially administrative aspects.

When the Editor of this book and I first began to work with the Harvard Oriental Series on the actual production of this book, Professor Gary Tubb, then Assistant Professor of Sanskrit at Harvard and editor *pro tem* of the Series, was of immense and vital help to us. He and Tony Stewart worked closely together on various technical problems of computer production, they both being very skilled in the matter, and on other, more unusual, editing questions. We are most grateful to Professor Tubb for that help.

I should like to make a special acknowledgement of the wonderful work that the book's editor, Tony Stewart, and its designer, Carol Majors, have done in its presentation. The two of them, working closely together and with talented eye to matters both esthetic and practical, have produced a text that is beautiful to look at, and in all a book that I have a good deal of pride in being associated with.

Our thanks also go to Professor Michael Witzel of Harvard, Professor of Sanskrit, for his General Editorship of this Series. But, finally, the book has seen the light of day because of two generous grants, one from the Committee on Southern Asian Studies of the University of Chicago, and one from the North Carolina Center for South Asia Studies of the Triangle South Asia Consortium and North Carolina State University. These have allowed the Harvard Oriental Series to produce a book as handsome in its design as, we hope, it is useful in its presentation and content. The Editor and I are very grateful to these agencies for their timely help.

ECD

CENTERVILLE, MA

## Editor's Preface

Edward C. Dimock initiated me into the text of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* during the first years of my graduate training at The University of Chicago starting in the late 1970s. In many of those classes I was his sole student and I greedily monopolized his attention in the unrelenting way that graduate students do. The reward was the rarest of life's commodities—an intimate education. Much of that education is bound to the text of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, for many of the issues presented by Kṛṣṇadāsa would provoke discussions that would lead us from analyzing the niceties of a still-unwritten sixteenth century Bengali grammar to the furthest reaches of basic human emotion and the passions that drive us. There was nothing we could not discuss, and these many years later that conversation continues. During one of those early classes I prepared a schematic diagram of the Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava *avatāra* theory proposed by Kṛṣṇadāsa, and that diagram was to become my first substantive contribution to this translation (Figure 1). Over the decade of my graduate work, especially as I prepared my dissertation on the biographies of Caitanya, my stray notes of curiosities grew to a rather formidable list of possible revisions and additions; some of those have found their way into the book you are about to read. But the way that involvement expanded was through an event I wish had never happened. Late one morning, with freezing zephyrs off Chicago's lakefront rattling my ill-fitted study windows, the skies refracting that special steely grey that only the midwest seems to endure in the dead of winter, Cam quietly asked me to assume responsibility for the book as he prepared for an especially risky surgery for cancer. Such honor never carried such pain. After a self-imposed delay, I reluctantly yet eagerly accepted, and I did so with all the trepidation and exhilaration shared by every student who has been asked to complete a teacher's work. Fortunately, in the best possible outcome, my fears were unfounded and rather than inheriting his work, I have become his collaborator.

Knowing something intellectually and realizing it are, of course, very different; I discovered how delicate the beginnings of collaboration could be, and how resilient true collaboration becomes. A cantankerous and stubborn resistance to some of my early changes, especially when he was battling medical treatments, unmasked how much this work was a living part of my teacher; when he accepted my sugges-



tions, I learned how this portion of his intellectual life had claimed a piece of me. In the end, the translation remains his, for he has examined and approved every emendation—including the reconstruction of several missing chapters from fragmented notes. I have edited the translation, checking it against the Bengali and Sanskrit original, my role being the standard one for editors, to spot the occasional awkward phrase or alert the translator to alternate interpretations. To the commentary I have added notes, with additions of substance clearly initialed. The cross-referencing in the commentary is a joint venture; and wherever possible I have checked and standardized citations (see "A Note on Citations"). I was originally asked to add a section to the Introduction, but over the years our engagement produced much new writing and now, as Dimock has indicated in his own preface, it bears a nearly complete joint authorship—save the final section on theology (Section VII) to which I could add little. The indices, which were begun by Aditi Nath Sarkar and the translator, I have expanded on the model provided by and in direct consultation with those of the editor of the Bengali text, Radhagovinda Natha; they now more resemble a concordance than an index. The bibliography, which is for reference, but hardly exhaustive, is largely my own, while the glossaries are the combined efforts of the translator and the editor.

There are a number of institutions and people who aided me during the years of my involvement with this project, and I would like to single out several for special appreciation. North Carolina State University seminar students who eagerly read a draft of the Introduction and text provided much-needed feedback, and among them was one who was actively involved in the production of the book: Ann P. Rives. Ann was hired to retype the manually-edited typescript to computerized files—which she did with extreme precision and dedication—and ended by becoming a much-valued colleague and friend. In addition to the typing, North Carolina State University's College of Humanities and Social Sciences supported some of the editing work for this book, as did the National Endowment for the Humanities (London 1991), and for both I hope their investment proves sound. In connection with the latter's support for a trip to London, and several other visits there, Dipali Ghosh, Bengali Bibliographer of the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library, personally retrieved mis- and uncataloged nineteenth century editions of the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* from the closed stacks of that amazing collection, a seemingly small kindness that now looms large in the printing history detailed in the Introduction. Robin Rinehart of Lafayette College offered many useful suggestions during the final editing and preproduction, for which I am grateful. Wendy Doniger and Sheldon Pollock, both of The University of Chicago, offered much encouragement and behind-the-scenes support during the final stages of this book's

production, and to both of them I am personally indebted. In the final production, the Triangle South Asia Consortium provided material support, while book designer and proprietor Carol Majors of Publications Unlimited worked quickly and efficiently to turn the thousands of pages of typescript into the handsome format you now see. A special thanks goes to the I. D. Blumenthal Foundation, which granted me several weeks of solitude in the writer's cabin at Wildacres in the mountains of western North Carolina, where I corrected the final page proofs. And finally, I would like to thank Julie H. Stewart, who for years listened actively to what must have seemed an endless monologue about the book-that-would-not-go-away; her gift for literary interpretation and lessons in good writing have not, I hope, been lost on me.

While much of the above may seem a trifle too personal, I can only counter that my work in the academy has always been of that sort, and for that I would like to dedicate my current contributions, however limited and deficient, to my mother, Jean D. Stewart, who from my earliest memories quietly imparted her dogged devotion to learning and to those who foster it.

TKS  
RALEIGH, NC



## Abbreviations

BhG	<i>Bhagavad Gītā</i> of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa
BhP	<i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i> of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa
BhR	<i>Bhaktiratnākara</i> of Narahari Cakravartī
BhRS	<i>Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu</i> of Rūpa Gosvāmin
BIKC	"The Biographical Images of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya: A Study in the Perception of Divinity," by Tony K. Stewart
Bha	Introductory essays of Rādhāgovinda Nātha edition of <i>Caitanya Caritāmṛta</i> (vol. 1)
BSI	<i>Bāṅlā Sahityera Itibṛtta</i> , by Asita Kumāra Bandyopadhyāya
CBh	<i>Caitanya Bhāgavata</i> of Vṛndāvana Dāsa
CC	<i>Caitanya Caritāmṛta</i> of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja
CCN	<i>Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka</i> of Kavikarṇapūra
CCU	<i>Caitanya Caritera Upadāna</i> , by Biman Bihari Majumdar
GDK	<i>Kaḍāca</i> of Govinda Dāsa
GGUD	<i>Gaurāṅgodeśadīpikā</i> of Kavikarṇapūra
HBhV	<i>Haribhaktivilāsa</i> of Gopala Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin
IPK	<i>In Praise of Krishna: Songs from the Bengali</i> , translated by Edward C. Dimock and Denise Levertov
ISC	<i>Itihāsa Śrīcāitanya</i> , by Amulyacandra Sena
JCM	<i>Caitanya Maṅgala</i> of Jayānanda Miśra
KCC	<i>Kṛṣṇacāitanyacaritāmṛta</i> of Murāri Gupta
KCCM	<i>Kṛṣṇacāitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya</i> of Kavikarṇapūra
KMRA	<i>Krishna: Myths, Rites and Attitudes</i> , edited by Milton Singer
LCM	<i>Caitanya Maṅgala</i> of Locana Dāsa
MRBC	<i>Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture</i> , by Ronald B. Inden
PHM	<i>The Place of the Hidden Moon: Erotic Mysticism in the Vaiṣṇava-Sahajīya Cult of Bengal</i> , by Edward C. Dimock
PV	<i>Prema Vilāsa</i> of Nityānanda Dāsa
SDK	<i>Kaḍāca</i> of Svarūpa Dāmodara
UNM	<i>Ujjvalānīlamanī</i> of Rūpa Gosvāmin
VFM	<i>Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal</i> , by Sushil Kumar De

## Illustrations

### *Avatāra Theory of Kṛṣṇa-svarūpa*

142-43



### A Note on Translations

There are at least two peculiarities of the translation itself that might be noted. The first is that there has been little attempt to put Kṛṣṇadāsa's Bengali verse into English poetry. If occasionally the translation is poetic, that is the intrinsic character of the Bengali showing through. For the rest, our effort has been to emulate the structure of the original as closely as comprehensibility will allow. We have tried to keep distortions to a minimum, but some will inevitably have crept in as payment for our attempt to give the reader the feel of a Bengali text of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The second peculiarity comes about as a result of a dilemma that all translators of such texts face: to what extent should one preserve the technical terminology at the expense of cluttering the translation with words that require much thought and reference to previous pages, in an attempt to fit a sometimes difficult concept into a new environment? The alternative is to water down the force of an idea or the subtlety of a complex insight. We have chosen to reject the alternative, which we might not have done were we concerned only with the text's literary qualities. Kṛṣṇadāsa's text however is a text of often considerable complexity; if there were a way to ease the burden of getting used to rather a substantial number of Bengali and Sanskrit terms, we would have done so. We can only hope that the reader will find the effort of adding increasing amounts of new vocabulary and information will prove worthwhile. For key terms and concepts that appear with some regularity in the translation the reader is encouraged to refer to the glossary for help; on more technical vocabulary, especially that appearing only irregularly, the reader should look to the commentary on the passage in question and refer to the index.

## A Note on Transliteration

Standard English transliteration for Sanskrit alphabets has been adopted for use with both Sanskrit and Bengali words. For the sake of consistency, the vernacular apocope has been avoided in favor of transliterating the final inherent vowel. Although the choice to follow orthography will not accurately reflect the sound of spoken Bengali, it has the decided advantage of making otherwise unintelligible words comprehensible to a broader audience familiar with other Indic languages, e.g., the immediately recognizable *yoga* instead of *jog*. This choice will also necessitate the occasional construction of a word which to the modern vernacular speaker is undoubtedly an abomination, e.g., *tulasī* rather than *tulsi*, and especially noticeable in the genitive constructions, e.g., *caritera upadāna*, rather than *cariter upadān*. Hyphens have been used primarily to ease the burden of the non-specialist reader, especially when technical vocabulary is used and the item should be read as a unit, e.g., *hladini-śakti*; although care has been taken to avoid breaking *sandhi*. We have preferred to transliterate every Sanskrit and Bengali word because the Anglicized equivalents frequently carry their own semantic overtones, e.g., guru, etc., and to avoid possible confusions, hence *brahmaṇa* (m) rather than the familiar Brahmin or Brahman to designate the social distinction (but “brahmanhood” and “brahmanical”); *brahma* and *brahman* interchangeably for the neuter principle of cosmic unity, often additionally marked with a parenthetic designation (n) where confusions might otherwise arise; and *Brahmā* for the creator god. The sole exception to this decision is the Anglicized “ghat,” which carries precisely the same meaning in Bengali and Sanskrit, and which becomes difficult to recognize in full transliteration, e.g., *ghaṭa*. Diacritics have been left on anglicized words if needed, e.g., Vaiṣṇavism. Place names will generally follow the fully transliterated form, e.g., Kāṭaka rather than Cuttack, Vārāṇasī instead of Benares, Gaṅgā in place of Ganges, and so forth. Titles of texts have generally been capitalized and italicized; classes of texts are italicized but remain in lower case; while the Veda has been treated with the same conventions as the Bible or Qur’ān, i.e., capitalized without italics. The reader will also note that the Sanskrit nominative case ending for -ī final words, will often be used interchangeably with the



uninflected form more common in Bengali, e.g., Gosvāmī and Gosvāmin; we have made no effort to standardize that use but generally defer to the form in the printed edition of the text. Similarly, the reader may notice what appear to be inconsistencies in the handling of *anusvara* (ṁ) but in Bengali that is often assimilated to the following consonant; we have given priority to the Sanskrit spelling, but both forms may be used for a single word.

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In all cases, the edition of a "standard text" was chosen for its scholarly merit, complete and consistent versification, and general availability to the public, when known. Many of the texts are relatively consistent in their numbering, so no special edition was preferred, e.g., *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Bhagavad Gītā*, etc. The preferred edition of often-quoted texts are: Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvalanīlamanī* (Haridāsa Dāsa ed.); Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* (De ed.); Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* (Pāṭhabāḍī Āśrama ed.); Līlāśuka Bilva-maṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta* (Wilson ed.); Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda* (Miller ed.); and the *Brahma Saṁhitā* (Siddhānta Sarasvatī ed.). The Caitanya *Bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvana Dāsa posed a special problem in that two editions—those of the Gauḍīya Maṭha and Rādhāgovinda Nātha—proved of equivalent scholarly merit and popularity, but divergent in chapter division; the solution was to cite the Rādhāgovinda Nātha edition first, with the corresponding Gauḍīya Maṭha citation in brackets, if different.

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The *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja<sup>1</sup> is a biography of the great Bengali Vaiṣṇava leader Caitanya (AD 1486-1533). But it is far more than a simple biography; it is a compendium of historical fact, religious legend, and abstruse theology so complete and blended in such proportions that it is the definitive work of the religious group called Vaiṣṇava, since the time of Caitanya the most significant single religious group in all of eastern India. It is a complex work, a proper representative of a highly complex religious system. It is a clear text, and for the most part it will speak for itself. But it is also of a time and place far removed from most western readers, and the scene should be set in a general way.

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The government of Bengal was in the hands of the Muslims, and although there were many semi-independent Hindu local rulers, their territory was part of a vast judicial and administrative system designed for feudatory control. Furthermore, if the testimony of Jayānanda in his *Caitanya Maṅgala*<sup>3</sup> is to be believed, the period into which Caitanya was born was one of considerable unrest:

Suddenly fear of the king possessed Navadvīpa; the king seized *brahmaṇas*, taking their lives or their caste. In whose house in Navadvīpa the sound of the conch was heard, his wealth and life were taken, or caste destroyed. On whose forehead the *tilaka* was seen, or on whose shoulder a sacrificial thread, his door was broken and his house looted, and he was bound with bonds of iron. . . . Temples and shrines were destroyed, and *tulast* plants uprooted, and the inhabitants of Navadvīpa trembled, in fear for their lives. Bathing in the Gaṅgā was forbidden, as were the markets and the ghats, and hundreds of peepul and jack-fruit trees were cut down (JCM 2.4.17-21).

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In the centuries immediately preceding his birth, a wave of devotionism had swept across northern India, from Maharashtra through the Hindi-speaking areas of northern India down to Bengal in the Gangetic delta. This devotionism, *bhakti*, as it is called (from the root *-bhaj*, "to take part in"), found its primary expression in the poems and songs of devotees, *bhaktas*, written not in Sanskrit, the language of the high culture, but in the regional languages. This surge of activity may have been in reaction to the aloof brahmanism, or to Islam; but it spoke to people of the non-high culture, as well as to those participants in the Sanskrit culture who for their own reasons were no longer satisfied with the rigid and highly formalistic religious system represented by brahmanism. The ethos of the new *bhakti* was immediacy.

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How the *BhP* came to be the central text, and why it is so prominent in Bengal is a matter for later speculation. The fact is that the charming stories

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of the tenth book of that long work did take root in the soil of Bengal, and the love of the *gopīs*, the cowherd girls of Vṛndāvana, for the dark youth Kṛṣṇa, became the basic allegory. In the hands of the Vaiṣṇava poets the *gopīs* took on personality, and ultimately became epitomized in the person of Rādhā. Rādhā is not mentioned by name in the *BhP* text. There is, in the tenth book, a special *gopī*, whom Kṛṣṇa "took to a lonely place" (10.30.24); it is perhaps this girl who takes on poetic flesh and who in connection with whom the adjective, *ārādhita*, "longed-for, propitiated, or worshiped," is applied becomes a name.<sup>7</sup> In any case, to later poets she, like the other *gopīs*, is summoned by the unbearably sweet sound of Kṛṣṇa's flute as he plays in the night in the flower-groves on the bank of the river Yamunā, and she goes to a tryst with him there. She leaves her husband—for it is significant that she has been given a husband—and she leaves the comforts of her home and all the ease which the respect of society brings, and she goes to Kṛṣṇa. She undergoes the scorn and contempt of her husband's family, and all her elder relatives, a pain which is not eased by her lover's fickleness and frequent indifference, for the sake of her love.

A wicked woman—fouler than the foulest poison  
So his mother's cruelty, like fire  
burning in me.  
My tyrant husband: the whetted  
edge of a razor. And all around me,  
reproachful dutiful women.  
My love, what shall I tell you?  
Whatever their calumnies, you  
are my life itself.

Hardy, *Viraha-Bhakti: The Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983).

The standard edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, is that edited with Bengali translation by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyaratna, with the commentaries *Bhāvarthadīpikā* of Śrīdhara Svāmī, *Krama-sandarbhā* of Jīva Gosvāmī, and *Sārārdhadarśinī* of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, 5 vols. (Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharamapara, 1300-1305 BS); hereafter cited as *BhP*. Many other editions will correspond in chapter division, with only minor differences in versification.

<sup>7</sup> Rādhā is also the name of a constellation, and the name of Karna's foster mother in the *Mahābhārata*. The text in *BhP* 10.30.28 reads:  
*anayārādhito nūnam bhagavān haritīśvaraṃ /*  
*yanno viḥaya govindam pṛito yāmunayādrahām //*  
The Lord Hari is certainly propitiated by this woman;  
therefore, Govinda, being loved, leaves us behind and brings her to a secret place.

My body  
bears your brand—they know it.  
For shame I cannot raise my head  
before chaste women,  
I cannot bear the cruelty, the knife-thrust  
of seeing my fellow women make mocking signs to me.  
I have weighed it all.  
Yet I have chosen  
to endure abuse for your sake.  
So Balarāma-dāsa says.<sup>8</sup>

This is true love. And although these poems are late amplifications of the *BhP* stories, there is that in the stories themselves which provides rich soil for the allegories. A favorite episode, and one which Kṛṣṇadāsa will cite frequently, is that of the *rāsa līlā*. All the *gopīs* had joined Kṛṣṇa in the forest, and they danced there in a circle. By his magical power, Kṛṣṇa danced between each two *gopīs*, and in the center of the circle as well, playing his flute. When each of the *gopīs* saw Kṛṣṇa beside her, she began to think: "He is mine; he favors me most." As soon as they began to think that, Kṛṣṇa disappeared and returned only when the thoughts of the *gopīs* had turned away from themselves, away from their selfish satisfaction and pride of possession, toward genuine concern for him and for that which was other than themselves. It is an ingenuous story, and defines true love: when there is no thought of self, when all is aimed at the satisfaction of the beloved one. This true love is called *prema*. And it is characteristic of the love of man as *bhakta* for Kṛṣṇa as God.

The scheme, however, turns out to be far more than simple allegory; it is in fact religious truth. For to the Vaiṣṇavas the *BhP* is revelation. What that *purāṇa* describes as having happened in Vṛndāvana or Vraja, the place where the love between the *gopīs* and Kṛṣṇa happened, did literally happen, and is still happening. The text describes the *rāsa līlā* and all the other events as taking place in time; but they are in capsule form what is taking place eternally in the heavenly Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇa, with all the *gopīs*, and with his friends and foster-parents and cows and bowers and rivers all come to the earth in a kind of micro-time. What the *BhP* describes is therefore both finite and infinite; one is not a reflection of the other, for both are real. And each moment of the earthly Vṛndāvana-*līlā* is also eternal. This is not idle speculation. For in his worship the *bhakta* concentrates himself

<sup>8</sup> Edward C. Dimock, Jr. and Denise Levertov, *In Praise of Krishna: Songs from the Bengali* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1967), 33; hereafter cited as *IPK*.



totally on one or another of the characters of the *BhP* story, preferably a *gopi* or one of her helping companions. And when by various means he has realized himself as that character, he participates in the eternal *līla*, he is himself eternal. Emulation, if long enough and strong enough, brings about identity.<sup>9</sup> There will be much more on these most important issues below.

This however was not the doctrine preached by Caitanya; this was the interpretation of Caitanya's life by later followers. Caitanya was not essentially a teacher. He was an ardent devotee, and he demonstrated in his life and personality what people saw as the characteristics of Rādhā. He was golden in complexion, as she was. He was passionate in his love for Kṛṣṇa, despondent in separation from him and ecstatic at the prospect of reunion. He would fall fainting at the sight of the neck of a peacock, the color of his beloved Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana. Caitanya was not acting this out, for his own nature was that of Rādhā. But less fortunate *bhaktas*, less holy people, must strive to attain ecstasy.

Not only was Caitanya Rādhā, he was at the same time Kṛṣṇa, come to save the earth from its burden, as the *Bhagavad Gītā* (4.7-8)<sup>10</sup> said he would. He had come to demonstrate the worship proper for this Kali age, this age of degradation: the joyous singing of the name of Kṛṣṇa, with the intoxication that it brings. He was Kṛṣṇa, the unitary and high god, and had as one of his characteristics *ānanda*, pure abstract joy; by his power of *ānanda* he gives joy to his *bhaktas*, and he receives joy from his *bhaktas* in the form of *prema*, pure, devoted love. But how can love be manifest unless there are two elements, male and female? So Kṛṣṇa separated himself into two, into Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; it is their love which the *BhP* expounds, and which is fully expanded by later writers. But even that was not wholly satisfying, for Kṛṣṇa could not fully experience what Rādhā felt in loving him. So again he became two in one, separate but the same, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, in Caitanya.<sup>11</sup>

This unusual teaching, with its obvious intimacy and immediacy, is what sets the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal off from the Vaiṣṇavism of the rest of India. And it is what makes the true biography of Caitanya difficult to ascertain, for it is understandable that given this belief his biographers would be constrained to find parallels in Caitanya's life to that of Kṛṣṇa as it is reported in the *BhP*. It is also what

<sup>9</sup> See David L. Haberman, *Acting as a Way of Salvation: A Study of the Rāgānuga Bhakti Sādhana* (New York and Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), for a good introduction to one prominent but advanced meditational strategy by which this can be effected.

<sup>10</sup> The *Bhagavad Gītā* has been sufficiently standardized so that no particular version will be cited; the text is hereafter cited as *BhG*.

<sup>11</sup> For the theological argument behind this androgynous image, see below, Sect. VI.

gave the sect the power to absorb a good deal of northern and eastern India in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Kṛṣṇa as Caitanya had walked that very soil, and had shown the possibility of a blissful eternity in joyful and loving worship. It is a belief which is still far from dead. Monasteries and *aśramas* abound. *Kīrtana*, group worship with dancing and singing of the names and praises of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and Caitanya, goes on in every village of Bengal, and in Calcutta itself. And even the creative stream, which gave such beautiful and inspired songs to the literature of the world, has not dried up, despite the scholasticism which now has such a grip on Caitanya's followers; its course has only changed, flowing now through simpler tribal peoples, who find much the same inspiration in the divine love affair as did Caitanya's own companions, four centuries ago.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See Surajit Sinha, "Vaiṣṇava Influence on a Tribal Culture" in *KMRA*.



## II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT AS BACKGROUND TO THE CAITANYA CARITĀMṚTA

Although Caitanya was not the founder of the Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal, he was its revivalist. Evidence that the movement existed well before his time is ample, as has been suggested. The lyrics of such poets as Caṇḍīdāsa and Vidyapati, it is said in the CC, were "read with pleasure" by Caitanya. Although there is a good deal of controversy centering around the actual persons of these poets, there is no doubt that poets by those two names lived well before Caitanya's time.<sup>13</sup> The *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva, court poet to Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Bengal in the late twelfth century, celebrates the love affair between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and there is still earlier evidence in the poetry of Ḍimboka and others of the currency of the story.<sup>14</sup> What is less certain is the extent and power of the *bhakti* movement in Bengal before Caitanya appeared on the scene. The texts, as we have seen, would have us believe that there was little Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, and this is in fact given as the reason for the coming of Caitanya. But it is certain that there were some *bhaktas* around. There is no reason to doubt the statement that Caitanya's own family was Vaiṣṇava (CC 1.13.71), and it seems likely that Śrīvāsa and others among his early followers were already persuaded people when Caitanya took over leadership. On the other hand, certain forms of Tāntrism and Śāktism were evidently in vogue. Brahmanical forms of Hinduism and of social stricture do seem to have been rigid. Possibly this was in reaction to the advent of Islam, especially Sufi Islam with its highly emotional and humanistic orientation. The point is that the land of Bengal was

<sup>13</sup> Edward C. Dimock, Jr., *The Place of the Hidden Moon: Erotic Mysticism in the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 56-66; hereafter cited as PHM. This book has been reissued with a revised introduction in a paperback edition by the University of Chicago Press, 1989.

<sup>14</sup> See Daniel H. H. Ingalls, *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 287; see also Sukumar Sen, *A History of Bengali Literature* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1960), 17.

not wholly unprepared for the advent of the man who was perhaps its greatest religious leader, though to what extent the preparation was negative and to what extent positive is largely a matter of speculation.

Caitanya was born on the night of an eclipse of the full moon of the month of Phalguṇa in AD 1486 in the city of Navadvīpa. His father was Jagannātha Miśra, a learned and pious Vaiṣṇava *brāhmaṇa* whose family had migrated to Nadiyā from a village in Sylhet district in the east; his mother was named Śactī. Despite protestations from many of his biographers, very little is known about Caitanya's early life; incidents are so mingled with stories of the child Kṛṣṇa as told in the *BhP* that it is hard to separate fact from fancy. Some deductions can be made. It seems for example that the boy studied Sanskrit grammar at the *śola*, the traditional school, run by Gaṅgādāsa, and this would not have been unusual for a *brāhmaṇa* boy of the time. His biographers are understandably anxious to make him out to be a great philosopher, rhetorician, and poet, but there is no reliable evidence to suggest that he was any of these things, or that he had any significant amount of education in them. There are many stories, including some in Kṛṣṇadāsa's text, of how with his learning, skill, and power in argument, together with his vast understanding of the human kind, he vanquished the greatest scholars of the day, including Vasudeva Sārvabhauma, a logician famed all over India. It is significant that most such claims come from the later biographers; legend had had time to grow and learning, then as now in India, is a characteristic which great men cannot be without. The fact is that Caitanya has left us almost no writing. There are eight *śloka*s, called the *śikṣāṣṭaka*, which Kṛṣṇadāsa, quoting them from the *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, gives in the last chapter of his work (CC 3.20.7-38, §1.3-10). But Amūlyacandra Sena, in his iconoclastic but often thought-provoking *Itihāsera śrīcaitanya*, calls the authenticity even of these into question.<sup>15</sup> He asks when the verses might have been written; they could not have been composed during the last years of Caitanya's life, for in those years he was totally absorbed by the madness of his separation from Kṛṣṇa, and the verses are careful Sanskrit. Madness, says Dr. Sena, who is a trained physician, is not a condition appropriate to the composition of Sanskrit verse; further he adds acerbically, there is no suggestion anywhere that he could compose Sanskrit verse even when lucid. In any case, it is true that nothing is really known of Caitanya's intellectual power; even if the *śikṣāṣṭaka* verses are his, they are verses of devotion, not of logic or learning.

All of the biographers, especially Vṇḍāvana Dāsa in his *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, are clear on the fact that Caitanya, whether or not intellectually precocious, was a

<sup>15</sup> Amūlyacandra Sena, *Itihāsera śrīcaitanya* (Calcutta: Kiraṇa Kumāra Rāya through Sarasvata Laibret, 1965), 195-96; hereafter cited as ISC.



boy full of fun and mischief; he was constantly playing pranks on groups of his peers, and sometimes, perhaps a little cruelly, making fun of others and mocking their peculiarities of speech (CBh 1.10.160-61 [= 1.14.166-67 GM ed.]). It also seems that he had a temper. Murāri Gupta's *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta*<sup>16</sup> records an incident, left out by the other biographers, of Caitanya's throwing a brick at his mother in his rage (KCC 1.6.11-31). And there are stories of how he took after fellow students (CC 1.17.248-50), and even his young wife,<sup>17</sup> to beat them.

In any case, the young Caitanya was sent to school, though with some trepidation on his parents' part, for they feared that education would lead him to the ascetic life. In his childhood his elder and only brother Viśvarūpa had become an ascetic, taking on the occasion of his *saṁnyāsa* the name Śaṅkarāraṇya. It was an incident which broke their mother Śacī's heart, and one which was to have a great deal of bearing on Caitanya's later life and on the history of the movement. While Caitanya was still a student, his father died, and the burden of the support of his mother fell upon the boy. It was about this time also that he married a girl named Lakṣmīpriyā, the daughter of one Vallabhācārya (not the founder of the Vaiṣṇava sect by that name), with whom he had fallen in love when they first met by the riverbank.

Caitanya's (or Viśvambhara's, for he was not at this time yet known by the name Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, which he took on entering *saṁnyāsa*) youthful relations with other women and girls of the town are also of some significance for what comes later. Although some writers such as Narahari Sarakāra and his disciple Locana Dāsa were to paint Caitanya as a real Kṛṣṇa in his erotic attractiveness to women, none of the earlier biographers suggests that even before his *saṁnyāsa* he was anything but chaste. He seems to have been a very attractive youth both physically and because his nature had a gentle, perhaps even feminine side;<sup>18</sup> and he became skilled in dance and song, women's arts which he must have learned through association with them. But in his adolescence and maturity he seems to have turned away from women, and in fact to have been embarrassed and troubled by them. The fact that Caitanya had no children is not relevant, for Lakṣmīpriyā was probably very young when she died, and he took *saṁnyāsa* very soon after his second marriage.

Because of his family responsibilities, Caitanya opened at about this time a *ṭola*, a Sanskrit school of his own, and while accounts of the vastness of the numbers of his students are probably exaggerated, it would seem that he had a living. Perhaps

<sup>16</sup> *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta* of Murāri Gupta, ed. Mṛṇālakānti Ghōṣa, with Bengali trans. by Haridāsa Dāsa, 4th ed. (Calcutta: by the editor, 459 GA); hereafter cited as KCC. Citation will be to book (*prakrama*), chapter (*sarga*), and verse(s). This point is also noted by Sena, ISC, 46.

<sup>17</sup> Sena, ISC, 64.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 200.

it was not enough of a living, however, for also about this time he took a trip to his father's ancestral village in the east, Murāri tells us for the purpose of raising money, perhaps from relatives (KCC 1.11.5).<sup>19</sup> While he was away on that trip, his young wife died of snakebite (CC 1.16.18-19).<sup>20</sup> And shortly after his return to Navadvīpa, he married a second time, this time a girl named Viṣṇupriyā, the daughter of a local pandit named Sanātana Miśra. Surprisingly little is known about this girl, especially considering that she occupied a place of special reverence in the later phases of the movement.<sup>21</sup>

When Viśvambhara was twenty-two, he went to the city of Gayā to perform *śrāddha*, funeral obsequies for his father, in that place. What happened there is a mystery. Even Caitanya himself does not enlighten us, for every time the name of the place is mentioned he breaks down into tears. It is certain that he met there one Īśvara Purī, whom S. K. De calls "that emotional ascetic,"<sup>22</sup> who initiated him and gave him the Kṛṣṇa-mantra, the formula with the name of Kṛṣṇa which he would repeat and on which he would meditate throughout his religious life. He returned to Navadvīpa God-maddened, and proceeded to have *kīrtana*, with dancing and singing of the names and praises of Kṛṣṇa, every night in the courtyard of his friend and neighbor Śrīvāsa.<sup>23</sup> From an arrogant young householder-pandit he had suddenly been transformed into a devotee, and from that time even his teaching of grammar was shot through with Kṛṣṇa-bhakti. It was also at this time that Nityānanda, a Tantric *avadhūta* who had early left his home and wandered the countryside, came into his life.<sup>24</sup> Nityānanda was some years older than Caitanya, but was a kindred

<sup>19</sup> See also *Caitanya Maṅgala* of Locana Dāsa, ed. Mṛṇālakānti Ghōṣa, with the *padās* of Locana Dāsa (Calcutta: Amṛtabājara Patrikā Office, 1354 BS), 2.27.2-5 (p. 78); hereafter cited as LCM. Citation will be to section (*khaṇḍa*), chapter, and page number of the printed text (due to lack of verse numbers).

Jayānanda makes a similar observation (JCM 2.56.11-12). As De points out (VFM, 74, n. 2), records of the trip are scanty, and it is the relatively late *Prema Vilāsa* which records the tradition that he went to his ancestral home in Sylhet. See *Prema Vilāsa* of Nityānanda Dāsa, ed. Yaśodālāla Talukdāra (Calcutta: by the editor, 1320 BS), *vilāsa* 24; hereafter cited as PV. For more on this edition of the text, see below, Sect. III.1, esp. n. 68-69.

<sup>20</sup> It is unclear whether the snakebite is to be taken literally because Kṛṣṇadāsa writes somewhat ambiguously that she was bitten by the serpent-of-separation (*viraha sarpa*).

<sup>21</sup> Dimock, PHM, 99. For publications by and about the cult that has grown up around Viṣṇupriyā, see Tony K. Stewart, "The Biographical Images of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya: A Study in the Perception of Divinity" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1985), 348, n. 1; hereafter cited as BIKC.

<sup>22</sup> De, VFM, 76.

<sup>23</sup> Sometimes Śrīvāsa is called Śrīnīvāsa, and is not to be confused with the important Vaiṣṇava of the same name who became prominent over a half century later.

<sup>24</sup> Dimock, PHM, 46-52.



spirit, and was so like his departed brother Viśvarūpa that Śacī took him into her home and treated him as her own son.

The *kīrtana* seems to have started out as a small and private affair. But very soon it grew in popularity and in size; it came out of the courtyard and into the street, taking the form of a *nagara kīrtana*, a street procession. The rapid growth of the movement, of which this is an indication, seems to have aroused various kinds of hostilities. *Brahmaṇas* were afraid of its strength, for the emotionalism of it all seemed to them antagonistic to orthodox brahmanical Hinduism;<sup>25</sup> the Śāktas were also opposed, as has been seen, and the Muslim government seems to have feared what they saw to be the political implications of so many people beyond normal social control.<sup>26</sup> Jayananda describes the situation this way:

For many ages there had been controversy between the *brahmaṇas* and the Muslims [*yavana*]. Near Navadvīpa there was a village of hostile Pirālyā *brahmaṇas*, and they gave false evidence in the presence of the king of Gauḍa: "The *brahmaṇas* of Navadvīpa will cause you danger, for they believe that there will be a *brahmaṇa* king of Gauḍa. Do not stay here without care, for danger is nigh. A *brahmaṇa* will certainly be king in Navadvīpa; it is written by the Gandharvas that the king will be skilled with the bow." These false words stuck in the mind of the king, and he gave the order: "Destroy Nadiya . . ." (JCM 2.4.22-27).

But the fierce goddess Kālī appeared to him in a dream, with her bloodied sword and necklace of severed heads; the king relented, and Hindu life went on as before in Nadiya (JCM 2.4.31-50). It is of interest that Nīlambara Cakravartī, Caitanya's maternal grandfather, when he saw the infant Caitanya, remarked that "he will become the *brahmaṇa* king in Gauḍa" (CBh 1.2.241 [= 1.3.11 GM ed.]).

It was perhaps because of such opposition that Caitanya's decision to enter the ascetic life was formed, for Kṛṣṇadāsa has him argue to himself that if people see him as a *saṁnyāsī* they will appreciate the seriousness of his purpose. The real reason, S. K. De suggests, was undoubtedly deeper, for the passionate devotionism which had been aroused in him at Gāyā was almost certainly not as abrupt as it might appear, and he had probably been toying for at least two years with the idea of dedicating himself completely to his deity and to the religious life.

<sup>25</sup> *Infra.*, Sect. VII.1.

<sup>26</sup> Dimock, *PHM*, 113-14.

Regardless of the apparent precipitousness, he was soon initiated by one Keśava Bhārati, a *saṁnyāsī* of Kaṭōyā on the other side of the river from Navadvīpa, and he became, nominally at least, a member of the Bhārati *saṁpradāya* of the *daśanāmī* order of Śaṅkara-*advaitin saṁnyāsī*s, taking the religious name Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. He was in name and in appearance a follower of the monistic philosophy, for Śārvabhauma Bhāṭṭācārya, the great *advaitin* or follower of the monistic school, recognized him when they first met as an *advaitin saṁnyāsī*. This did not at all hinder his intense devotionism, and throughout his life he was taken to task for being a "sentimentalist" (*bhāvaka*) rather than the philosopher more appropriate to his nominal persuasion.

After he had taken his orders he returned to Śāntipura, near Navadvīpa, to the house of Advaitācārya, an old friend and confidant, where he met his mother; for having taken *saṁnyāsa*, he could not return to his own home for twelve years. Śacī, having lost her second son, was disconsolate. Caitanya wanted very much to go to Vṛndāvana in northern India, the place of his beloved Kṛṣṇa; but his mother's pleas made him change his mind and decide to go to live in Puri in Orissa, the place of the great temple of Jagannātha and a pilgrimage place for the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas of the time. There may have been another reason for this decision, for Kṛṣṇadāsa and other biographers hint that Caitanya's elder brother Viśvarūpa may also have gone to Puri to live. A search for his brother is also suggested as a possible reason for his long pilgrimage to the south and west after he had gone to Puri. In any case, Puri was accessible to Bengali Vaiṣṇavas, who were to go there every year for the annual Car Festival; and in this way Caitanya's link with the *bhaktas* of Bengal, and with his mother and wife, was maintained.

According to the biographer Kavikarṇapūra,<sup>27</sup> Caitanya remained in Puri on this first trip only eighteen days (KCCM 12.94). At the end of that time he left to go on a long pilgrimage to the south and west of the sub-continent. Why he stayed in this first instance so short a time is a matter for speculation. A. C. Sena suggests reasonably that at this time Orissa was in an extremely dangerous situation, with Muslim invasions imminent from the north and a war with the Vijayanagara empire going on in the south. He even suggests that perhaps the image of Jagannātha had been removed to some secret place, in fear of the Muslims, and that if this was so, there was little point in Caitanya staying in Puri.<sup>28</sup> But even in such a short time, Caitanya's presence had its impact, for it is said that during this stay both the

<sup>27</sup> *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya* of Kavikarṇapūra (Paramānanda Sena), ed. with intro. and Bengali trans. by Prāṇakīśora Gosvāmī (Calcutta: by the editor, n.d. [1377 BS]); hereafter cited as KCCM. Textual reference will be to chapter (*sarga*) and verse(s).

<sup>28</sup> Sena, *ISC*, 90, 101; see the section "Śrīcāitanya yugera uḍḍiṣya," 98-107.



great scholar Śārvabhauma Bhāṭṭācārya and the king Pratāparudra came under his influence.

Śārvabhauma was a famous scholar of *vedānta* and *nyāya*, who had written several books on these subjects, including a commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaita-makaranda* and one on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa, though De questions the latter ascription.<sup>29</sup> He had lived for a long time at Navadvīpa and had known Caitanya's family, but had moved to Puri, perhaps because that place was under a Hindu king, and was a teacher of *advaita* in the city. A. C. Sena,<sup>30</sup> casting doubt on the historicity of Śārvabhauma's conversion, points out that there are verses of devotional *bhakti* included in Rūpa's collection *Padyāvalī* which are ascribed to Śārvabhauma.<sup>31</sup> He says accurately that it is impossible to date those verses, and it may well be that Śārvabhauma had had leanings toward *bhakti* even before his meeting with Caitanya; and indeed it was possible in the context to be both philosopher and devotee, as Śaṅkara himself seems to have been. S. K. De does not doubt the conversion, but argues that it did not take place during Caitanya's first residence in Puri:

... at the time when Śārvabhauma wrote his commentary on *Advaita-makaranda*, which is distinctly Advaita-vedantic, he could not have accepted Caitanya's dualistic faith. In this work he refers to the vanquishing of Kṛṣṇarāya of Kārṇāṭa by his patron Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa; but Kṛṣṇarāya did not come to the throne until 1510 AD, and his expedition against Orissa did not begin until 1513, so that work could not have been composed before this date.<sup>32</sup>

Caitanya arrived in Puri, according to calculations based on the biographies, in 1510. Neither argument of course suggests that Śārvabhauma did not in one way or another or at one time or another come under the influence of Caitanya's immensely powerful personality.

The conversion of Pratāparudra (r. 1507-1540 AD) is similarly questioned,<sup>33</sup> though the ancient intimate relationship between the family of the Mahārāja of Puri and the temple of Jagannātha might suggest grounds for mutual respect and interaction between Pratāparudra and Caitanya in much the way in which it is described by Kṛṣṇadāsa. Whether or not the Mahārāja was already a Vaiṣṇava when he met

<sup>29</sup> De, *VFM*, 85.

<sup>30</sup> Sena, *ISC*, 90-97.

<sup>31</sup> For the verses in question see *Padyāvalī* compiled by Rūpa Gosvāmin, ed. Sushil Kumar De, Oriental Publications Series no. 3 (Dacca: University of Dacca, 1934), vv. 72, 73, 90, 91, 99, 100, 133; and possibly 132 (under the name of Kavi Śārvabhauma).

<sup>32</sup> De, *VFM*, 85, n. 1.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

Caitanya, or whether he was converted at that time, or whether neither of these is true, there is no reason to discount Kṛṣṇadāsa's statements that Pratāparudra and his deputies not only did not obstruct Caitanya's activities, but actively assisted them. There is also a story, not recorded in the standard sources but told by the family of the Mahārāja of Mayūrabhaṅja, that on his way from Bengal to Puri Caitanya converted that Mahārāja, whose family is related to that of Puri. There are supposed to be letters from Caitanya himself proving this; but these have not to our knowledge been seen by scholars of the subject.<sup>34</sup>

After this brief stay in Puri, Caitanya left on a pilgrimage which, legend has it, took him all the way to Cape Cormorin, up the west coast of India to Gujarat, and across central India back to Orissa. It is regrettable that the details of this trip must still be categorized as legend for they could tell us much not only about the influence of Caitanya on other schools of Vaiṣṇavism, but about ways in which the mobility of *saṁnyāsins* might have affected exchange of religious ideas throughout the subcontinent. In fact, although it is unlikely that the early biographers would be mistaken about the trip itself, the true extent of it is unknown, for the list of sites seems heavily standardized and conforms with other such pilgrimages by famous *bhaktas* in the tradition.

The *Kaṇḍācā* of Govindadāsa,<sup>35</sup> the authenticity of which text has been called into question (see below), has Caitanya reaching Kanyakumārī, at the very southern tip of India, on the full moon (*pūrṇima*) of Māgha, exactly one year after his *saṁnyāsa*, and then travelling all the way up the west coast to Dvāraka in Gujarat. As he neared Dvāraka, according to Govindadāsa, he met two Bengalis and became homesick (*GDK*, p. 63). The language which he spoke on his pilgrimage is also a matter of speculation. Govindadāsa says that "sometimes Gaurārāya spoke Tamil, sometimes Sanskrit" (*GDK*, p. 51); that he knew any Tamil is to be seriously doubted. Sanskrit however is a plausible medium, and if indeed Caitanya was only one of many *saṁnyāsins* wandering over the sub-continent at the time, the forces working towards cultural unity may have been greater than is sometimes suspected. It is also of some interest that songs about Caitanya, and even some songs in the Bengali language, are still sung in the *bhajana* rituals of the Tamil country.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Personal communication to Dimock by the late Rajkumar of the house, H.H. Saroop Bhanjdeo.

<sup>35</sup> *Kaṇḍācā* of Govindadāsa, ed. Dīnēśācandra Sena and Banoyārīlāla Gosvāmī, new ed. (Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1926); hereafter cited as *GDK*. Due to lack of internal divisions, textual references will be to page number only.

<sup>36</sup> T. K. Venkateswaran, "Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa *Bhajan*s of South India: A Phenomenological Study" in Singer, ed., *KMRA*, 165; and Milton Singer, "The Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa *Bhajan*s of Madras City" in *ibid.*, 105, 109.



It would seem in any case that Caitanya was away from Puri for about two years, time enough for him to travel that great distance. But Caitanya, with that penchant for solitude which we shall see again and again, took only one companion on the pilgrimage, and there is even difference of opinion as to the identity of that one. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja claims it was one Kṛṣṇadāsa (CC 2.7.34-38), and in this he follows one of his usual sources, Kavikarṇapūra (KCCM 3.21-30). The "diary" or "notebook" (*kaḍācā*) mentioned above, however, is signed Govinda Karmakāra or Govindadāsa, who claims to be the companion of Caitanya on the southern trip. It is obviously, potentially an extremely valuable document; but doubt has been cast on its authenticity by the fact that it suddenly appeared, without manuscript basis, in print in 1895, and by the fact that in its printed form it is undoubtedly fairly modern, including as it does some loan words from Portuguese and even English.<sup>37</sup> There is, furthermore, a feel to the text which is quite different from that of most texts of the period. The following, a description of Caitanya visiting the southern coast, sounds almost like a Christian mystic poet:

Huge waves crashed upon the shore in that place, and their song made one aware of the greatness of God. As one gazed, in that condition, the mind became full of joy and the body thrilled with the rising of emotion. The sand was piled up in monuments like mountains, as if witnessing the greatness of God. The sea called its incessant affirmation. What can I say more than this? Everything in that place was beautiful; there was nothing which was not radiant, and his mind was purified, who gazed upon that beauty. (GDK, p. 42)

S. K. De's considered opinion, which always carries weight, is that although the text has been modernized and contains many interpolations, the basis of it is very likely valid. He also feels that part of the antagonism of some scholars toward the text is due to the fact that it paints a rather unorthodox, human picture of Caitanya.<sup>38</sup> It is also difficult to overcome the nearly unquestioning faith most scholars have in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who is reckoned to be one of their own, that is, a trustworthy scholar of extraordinary talent. The *Kaḍācā* says it was written by Govindadāsa.

<sup>37</sup> S. K. De (VFM, 62, n. 1) cites the Portuguese *janala* ("window") and English *gelas* ("glass"). The controversy over the GDK, which has been dormant for a number of years, has recently resurfaced by the publication of a very interesting work by Nirmala Narāyaṇa Gupta, titled *Govinda karmakāra karacā: prāmāṇikata vicāra*, with an introduction by Janārdana Cakravartī (Calcutta: Suvarṇarekhā, 1390 BS).

<sup>38</sup> De, VFM, 62.

As Kṛṣṇadāsa disagrees, the veracity of it is seriously questioned. Until that controversy is settled, we are left in almost total ignorance of what happened to Caitanya on his long journey. We are even left in ignorance of his motive in going. A. C. Sena suggests two possible reasons: the imminent invasions mentioned before, and a further search for his lost brother, the latter proposed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja himself (CC 2.7.10).<sup>39</sup>

The texts agree, however, on one significant event which took place at the beginning of the trip, and that is the meeting with Rāmananda Rāya on the banks of the Godavari River, in what is now northern Andhra Pradesh. Rāmananda was a high official, as were other members of his family, in the administration of the kingdom of the Mahārāja Pratāparudra (CC 1.10.129-32);<sup>40</sup> he was also a great *bhakta*, whose profound devotion had been praised by Sarvabhauma to Caitanya. As has been described elsewhere, certain of his practices as well as his reported conversations would seem to indicate that he was a Sahajīya or Tantric Vaiṣṇava, and his doctrinal position might well have influenced Caitanya's own attitudes.<sup>41</sup> The significance of the meeting lay not only in the fact that because of it Rāmananda became one of Caitanya's most intimate followers, taking leave from the service of the Mahārāja in order to remain with Caitanya until the end of the latter's life, but in the fact that it was Rāmananda who revealed Caitanya's own Rādhā-*bhāva*, his personality as Rādhā, to Caitanya himself (CC 2.8). He saw Caitanya as both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa: and from that time Rādhā manifested herself more and more in Caitanya's person, until in the anguish of his pain of separation from Kṛṣṇa she took him over completely, and he became irrevocably withdrawn from the world of ordinary men—mad, as it seemed to worldly human sight.

After two years he returned to Puri, and his followers from Bengal began a series of annual excursions to visit him at the Car Festival of Jagannātha.

<sup>39</sup> Sena, ISC, 108, 124-26.

<sup>40</sup> He is called *rāja* or *rājya adhikārī*, suggesting that he was a deputy of Pratāparudra himself. His ancestral home was near the town of Ālalanātha. His father was Bhavānanda and his brothers were named Gopīnātha, Kālānidhī, Sudhānidhī, and Vāṇīnātha. That he was a *bhakta* before meeting Caitanya is also indicated by the fact that he had written the Sanskrit devotional drama *Jagannātha-vallabha nāṭaka* before that time.

<sup>41</sup> Dimock, PHM, 52-55. It should be pointed out that Joseph O'Connell has challenged this assertion in several articles and public lectures, but we clearly interpret the same evidence differently. See Joseph T. O'Connell, "Were Caitanya's Vaiṣṇavas Really Sahajīya? The Case of Rāmananda Rāya," in *Shaping Bengali Worlds, Public and Private*, ed. Tony K. Stewart (East Lansing: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1989), pp. 11-22; and the expanded version of that article, "Rāmananda Rāya: A Sahajīya or a Rāgānuga Bhakta?" *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 1, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 36-58. This was also a major topic in his lectures at the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1992.



This was a pattern which was broken only twice in the rest of his life, once when Caitanya was on another pilgrimage, and once when he sent word to his followers that he would that year visit them in Bengal. Caitanya had long cherished the idea of a pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana, the place of his beloved Kṛṣṇa, and about two years after his return from the south and west he set out for that place, choosing to go through Bengal, both because the way was better and because it would give him the opportunity to see old friends. According to the version of Kṛṣṇadāsa, it was on this trip that he first met Rūpa and Sanātana, two of the six Gosvāmīns, those scholars and devotees who were to be credited by members of the community with "reclaiming" Vṛndāvana and who wrote the texts which were to give the enthusiastic devotionism of Caitanya a theological and orthodox shape. The history of the family of Rūpa and Sanātana will be discussed below; but it is certain that at the time when they first met Caitanya they were high officials in the court of the Muslim Nawab of Bengal, Husain Shah (r. 1493-1518 AD). They were so passionately drawn to Caitanya that they left their high positions to become his disciples. Caitanya dispatched these two to join Lokanātha, whom he had sent earlier, in Vṛndāvana,<sup>42</sup> to rescue the temple and pilgrimage sites which, according to the Bengali writers at least, had fallen into disuse. A. C. Sena questions the idea that the Bengalis were pioneers in rehabilitating these sites, saying that "for a long time Nimbarka, and before Rūpa and Sanātana, Vallabha, had established āśramas there, with many pupils."<sup>43</sup> This seems to be partially at least borne out by the fact that Rūpa and Sanātana did encounter stiff opposition from members of the Vallabha-sampradaya, who seemed to resent what they felt to be the intrusion of the Bengalis on their territory.<sup>44</sup>

This first attempt of Caitanya to go to Vṛndāvana was abortive. While he was in Bengal, many people were constantly with him, and many obviously had the

<sup>42</sup> Lokanātha had gone to Caitanya while the latter was in Navadvīpa; it was then, according to the *Bhaktiratnākara* that he was deputed to go to Vṛndāvana (*Bhaktiratnākara* of Narahari Cakravartī, ed. Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati [Calcutta: Gaudīya Mission of the Bāgajāra Gaudīya Maṭha, 474 GA], 1.299-300; hereafter cited as *BhR*). While Lokanātha was not a great theologian, he was important to the Vṛndāvana school, especially as the guru of the great Vaiṣṇava Narottama (*Narottama Vilāsa* of Narahari Cakravartī, ed. Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyaratna [Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharamapura, 1300 BS], pp. 2-9; and *Anurāgavallī* of Manohara Dāsa, ed. Mṛṇalakānti Ghoṣa, 3d ed. [Calcutta: by the editor, 445 GA], pp. 27-29).

<sup>43</sup> Sena, *ISC*, 148.

<sup>44</sup> Richard Barz has noted in personal communication that on several occasions members of the Vallabhācārya sampradaya contested the restoration of sites and especially the management of temples by Bengalis. In one of the most celebrated cases, Vallabhācārya had originally assigned the

intention of accompanying him on his pilgrimage. It was, interestingly, his new follower Sanātana who suggested to him that it was inappropriate for a *saṁnyāsin* to go on a pilgrimage with great crowds of people in his retinue. So Caitanya, seeing the reason in that argument, retraced his steps to Puri. After a short time he again set out for Vṛndāvana, this time in relative secret and accompanied only by a *brāhmaṇa* and that *brāhmaṇa*'s servant. While he was in Vṛndāvana he was in constant ecstasy, and this so frightened his companions that they escorted him away from the place before, in his frenzy, an accident occurred. So they started back for Puri by way of Prayāga (Allahabad), in which place he was joined by Rūpa and Rūpa's younger brother Anupama or Vallabha. The latter, a devotee of Rāma, is important to the movement not so much because of his own contribution—he died young, in fact very shortly after this meeting—but for the fact that he was the father of the youngest and the greatest philosopher of the six Gosvāmīns, Jīva by name. Caitanya then left for Vārāṇasī, where he met Sanātana and instructed him; it was here that he purportedly performed another conversion, this time the convert being the scholar Prakāśānanda. There is less reason to believe in the historicity of this conversion than of the others. The biographies by Murāri, Vṛndāvana Dāsa,

official *seva* of the Govārdhanāthaji (more popularly Śrīnāthaji) temple to some Bengalis, but after his death, members of the Vallabha sampradaya began to complain that the Bengalis were offering food to an image of the goddess in the same chamber with Govārdhanāthaji and that they were improperly passing on the *prasāda* to their gurus—Rūpa and Sanātana—in Vṛndāvana. The *adhikārī* of the temple at this time was one Kṛṣṇadāsa, who was eventually convinced that the Bengalis had to be removed when a very prominent *sevak* of the region, Avadhūtadāsa, revealed to him that Govārdhanāthaji had instructed him privately of the complaint and demanded their removal. Kṛṣṇadāsa then journeyed to Aḍel (Vallabhācārya's primary family residence near Allahabad), where he met with the leader of the sampradaya, who concurred with the decision and wrote letters to Rāja Todaramalla and Rāja Birabala of emperor Akbar's court. They promised to support the move to oust the Bengalis, which Kṛṣṇadāsa quickly set about to do. He returned to the Govārdhanāthaji temple area and had fires set in the Bengalis' houses. When the Bengali *sevak*s saw the fires, they stopped their *pūjā* and ran to put out the fires, during which time Kṛṣṇadāsa placed his own *sevak*s in the temple to complete the worship. The Bengalis tried to reenter, but were stopped by force. Eventually the Bengalis were left with the temples repeatedly honored by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* (Madanamohana, Govindadeva, and Gopīnātha). For the complete story, see the second *prasaṅga* (chapter) of the translation of the *Vārta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa from Gokulanātha's *Caṇuṣṭi Vaiṣṇavan kī Vārta*, see Richard Barz, *The Bhakti Sect of Vallabhācārya*, Oriental Monograph Series no. 18 (Faridabad: Thomson Press [India], Ltd., 1976), 215-222.

David Haberman has also commented on the role of Narāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, a sixteenth century South Indian *brāhmaṇa* in Vraja associated with Sanātana, in determining the sites of the various *yātrās*, which are followed even today by Gaudīya Vaiṣṇavas and members of Vallabha's *pūṣṭi-mārga*; see David L. Haberman, *Journey Through the Twelve Forests: An Encounter with Krishna* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 57ff; see also 119-20 for the story of Śrīnāthaji related by Barz.



Kavikarṇapūra, Jayānanda, and Locana Dāsa do not mention the incident at all, and even Kṛṣṇadāsa is unusually vague on the matter. As De points out, Kṛṣṇadāsa is far from amiable toward Prakāśānanda, despite the fact that he always has good words for converts to the faith.<sup>45</sup>

Finally returning to Puri, Caitanya settled down, at about the age of thirty, to a life of devotion, in fact ecstasy, which was to last until his death eighteen years later. Attacked increasingly by his divine madness, for the last twelve years of his life he was almost entirely out of touch with the everyday world, and was on several occasions rescued from death only by the watchfulness and care of his two most intimate companions, Svarūpa Dāmodara and servant Govinda. Where he stayed during the last years is not known. A. C. Sena points out that it must have been in a large, brick-built house, for it is said that he stayed in a *gambhīra*, the Oriya word for an inner chamber of such a large structure. Sena in fact feels that it is likely that the house was the present-day monastery known as the Radhakānta Maṭha, near the main gate of the temple<sup>46</sup> and where, it is true, the visitor is shown the room in which Caitanya lived and, it is said, died.<sup>47</sup> Kavikarṇapūra and Jayānanda feel that Caitanya stayed in the garden (*ṭoṭa*) of Kāśīśvara Miśra. Significantly, the great Vaiṣṇava scholar, Haridāsa Dāsa, perhaps conflating sacred geography, locates the *gambhīra* in Kāśīśvara Miśra's compound as well.<sup>48</sup>

The manner of Caitanya's death is a mystery. Murāri (KCC 1.2.14) mentions it only in passing, giving no details. Kṛṣṇadāsa (CC 1.13.7-8) says only that he died in 1455 śaka (1533 AD). Locana Dāsa records what is probably the popular legend, that Caitanya was absorbed into the great image of Jagannātha, since the two were identical, and simply disappeared (LCM 4.15; pp. 210-11). Jayānanda records the least orthodox, least acceptable, and probably the most accurate, in this case, account: that near the end of the Car Festival Caitanya injured his left foot while dancing, and after being in great pain for six days, died from an infection of the wound (JCM 9.119-56). A. C. Sena of course agrees with this, and adds that the chances would be very good that such a wound would become septic, the ground being covered with the droppings of cows and goats.<sup>49</sup> There are other, conflicting accounts. Melville Kennedy, for example, records another tradition, that Caitanya drowned,<sup>50</sup> a tradition which persists among certain Baul musicians

<sup>45</sup> De, VFM, 100, n. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Sena, ISC, 155.

<sup>47</sup> This is personal experience—ECD.

<sup>48</sup> Haridāsa Dāsa, *Śrīśrī gaudīya vaiṣṇava abhidhāna*, 2 vols. (Navadvīpa: by the editor at Haribola Kuṭṭra, 471 GA), 2:1858.

<sup>49</sup> Sena, ISC, 196-99.

<sup>50</sup> Melville T. Kennedy, *The Caitanya Movement: A Study of the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal*, The

today.<sup>51</sup> But this story is probably based on the incident reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa, in which Caitanya is rescued from drowning by a fisherman (CC 3.18.24-79), and in all, the Jayānanda account seems most reasonable. The tales show a remarkable structural unity in their narratives, which remains consistent with basic philosophical principles regarding the nature of devotion and the devotee's place in this world.<sup>52</sup> Explaining Caitanya's death was not easy, but on the time of the death, there is a general agreement: both Jayānanda (JCM 9.147-48) and Locana Dāsa (LCM 4.15; p. 210) report that it was on the twenty-first of Āṣāṣha, 1533 AD.

The problem does not quite end there, for the question arises: what happened to the body? It was probably buried, as was the body of Haridāsa, on the seashore (CC 3.11.65), and as the bodies of perfected *bhaktas* usually are. But everyone is silent about it, which probably accounts for the stories of his simple disappearance. One popular story attributed to the eighteenth century Oriya *Premataraṅgiṇī* of Sadānanda purports that the grave was "in the *ṭoṭa* of Gopīnātha," but there is some uncertainty as to what that means. How could it have been kept so quiet? For all the *bhaktas* of Bengal were in Puri for the Car Festival, as was the Mahārāja, Caitanya's devotee.

If we cut away like this all the stories of Caitanya's life which are told to bolster the idea of Caitanya's identity with Kṛṣṇa, and all the miracles and all the hyperbole, and all the lengthy argument and instruction so lovingly presented by Kṛṣṇadāsa, we are left with really very little to tell us about Caitanya the man. It is clear that he was an ascetic and withdrawn individual, having at the same time an extraordinary personal magnetism. He was almost certainly, especially in the later stages of his life, mad, whether this be interpreted as the divine madness of the holy fool, the random madness of the irresponsible child, or, as A. C. Sena prefers, epilepsy.<sup>53</sup> And he seems, when lucid, to have been a gentle man, though not above sustained and bitter anger, as when he drove poor Choṭa Haridāsa to suicide for a minor offence (CC 3.2.100-170). There was one thing he was not: he was no theologian, and this fact had profound effect on the movement after his death. After Caitanya's *saṁnyāsa* and departure for Puri, the devotees of Bengal were left without a leader on the immediate scene to whom they could give unqualified loyalty. It was true that there was yearly contact between him and his Bengali followers, and the fact that they made the long and

Religious Life of India Series, ed. J. N. Farquhar and Nicol Macnicol (Calcutta: Association Press, 1925), 51.

<sup>51</sup> Tony K. Stewart, "When Biographical Narratives Disagree: The Death of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya," *Numen* 38, no. 2 (1991): 242. This and the other stories have been translated in this essay.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 249-55.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of the very intriguing connection between Caitanya's ecstatic experience and epilepsy, see the commentary to CC 2.18.174.



arduous journey every year is proof enough of the profound devotion that they had toward him, and of the primacy of his role in the initiation of the movement. Nevertheless, when he was no longer there, the movement began to splinter. We hear of followers of Advaitācārya, and followers of Nityānanda, and Gadādhara, and others and it seems almost as if these were separate schools. Indeed, perhaps they were.<sup>54</sup> Advaita, growing old, seems at least for a time to have turned away from the path of *bhakti* and to have taken again to the monistic *advaita* (which, his name suggests, he had followed once before); always the orthodox *brāhmaṇa*, his group seems to have been more concerned with the tradition than with the social and religious implications of the devotional enthusiasm preached by Caitanya.<sup>55</sup> Nityānanda, on the other hand, seems to have been deeply concerned with the lower social orders. He himself was a casteless *avadhūta*, and began a popular phase of the movement, perhaps one involved with the Tāntric or Sahajīya beliefs, which found itself in opposition to that which Advaitācārya led. The splintering was not only on social, but on doctrinal lines; and it was not only in Bengal, for far away in Vṛndāvana were the six Gosvāmins and others whom Caitanya had sent, so involved with the writing of their texts and rarified thinking that they were cut off in many ways from the vigorous devotion which was characteristic of the Vaiṣṇavism of their native Bengal. Caitanya became to them, five of whom had known him well, a foundation for theological argument. They were less concerned with Caitanya the man who had walked among them than they were with the Kṛṣṇa of Vṛndāvana, and when they thought about Caitanya, it was in those terms.

Rūpa and Sanātana, and their nephew Jīva, were brilliant men, learned in the *śāstras* and every conceivable category of learning from esthetics to grammar. Jīva was perhaps the most brilliant of all, and he has more than twenty Sanskrit works, covering grammar, poetry, poetics, ritual, theology, and philosophy to his credit, including the monumental *Ṣaṭ-saṁdarbha*, which is the first full treatment of the theology of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. The social situation of these three men is somewhat in doubt. It seems that their family was originally a *brāhmaṇa* one from the Carnatic region of southern India, settled in Bengal.<sup>56</sup> But Rūpa and Sanātana

<sup>54</sup> De, *VFM*, 109.

<sup>55</sup> A recent dissertation by Rebecca J. Manring, titled "Sacred Biography in the Formation of Religious Community: Advaitācārya and the Genesis of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism" (PhD Dissertation, University of Washington, 1995), surveys the corpus of literature devoted to Advaita and specifically addresses the question of his affiliation.

<sup>56</sup> Sanātana, commenting on the third *śloka* of his *Bṛhadbhagavatāmṛta* (ed. Praṇodagopala Bhaktiśāstri [Calcutta: by the editor, 469 GA]), describes his family as "famous in the Kārnāṭa country" (*kārnāṭadeśavikhyāta*), "a *brāhmaṇa* family" (*viprakāṭa*), which is settled in Bengal (*gauḍadeśi*).

had worked for the Muslims, and as they had done so they had lost their *brāhmaṇa* status; it was likely that Jīva, being of their family though not himself personally responsible, had done so also. In the CC text, Sanātana is always protesting his "low caste, low companions, and low work," whenever Caitanya seeks to place him on a level with the other *bhaktas*. Kṛṣṇadāsa says nothing of Jīva's attitude on this, since Jīva, a much younger man, had probably never met Caitanya and is therefore not a direct actor in the CC story. These three were then non-*brāhmaṇas*, and that is significant not only for the social attitudes of the Vṛndāvana school,<sup>57</sup> but because Kṛṣṇadāsa was himself a *vaidya*, and these were among his *gurus*.

Another of the six Gosvāmins, another of the *gurus* of Kṛṣṇadāsa, and another non-*brāhmaṇa*, was Raghunātha Dāsa. He was born the son of a wealthy landowner, *kāyastha* by caste, to whom Caitanya was deeply attracted because of the young Raghunātha's deep devotion to Kṛṣṇa. He stayed with Caitanya in Puri for a long time, taking training at the hands of Svarūpa Dāmodara, and went to Vṛndāvana only after Caitanya's death. Of all the Gosvāmins, Raghunātha probably knew Caitanya best. It was from him that Kṛṣṇadāsa knew most of the stories of the life of Caitanya, as it was from Jīva and Rūpa that he learned most about how to interpret them.

The other two Gosvāmins, to whom Kṛṣṇadāsa seems less indebted, were *brāhmaṇas*. One was the great ritual specialist Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and the other Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, of the family of Tapanā Miśra, with whom Caitanya stayed in Vārāṇasī. Raghunātha also knew Caitanya well, and had spent some time with him in Puri. But it would seem that Kṛṣṇadāsa himself had less to do with these two than with the four others. Despite the protestations of the meaninglessness of caste in the context of *bhakti*, it seems that there were some differences of opinion in the Bengali community of Vṛndāvana as to whether *gurus* could initiate people of higher castes. The *brāhmaṇa* Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was a true *brāhmaṇa*, and made no bones about his feeling that a man of lower caste cannot give initiation to a man of a higher one.<sup>58</sup> Yet even the strict Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was affected enough by the asocial attitude of *bhakti* to be "liberal enough to permit persons other than *brāhmaṇas* to act as preceptors to men of their own or lower castes."<sup>59</sup> In any case, it was into this intellectual and devout gathering that Kṛṣṇadāsa came.

<sup>57</sup> Dimock, *PHM*, 71-81.

<sup>58</sup> *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, with the commentary *Digdarśinī-tīkā* of Sanātana Gosvāmin, 2 vols. (Barahanagara: Paṭhabaḍī Āśrama, n.d.), 1:1.36; hereafter cited as *HBhV*.

<sup>59</sup> De, *VFM*, 452. In the first generation of students to study with the Gosvāmins, Narottama Dāsa, a star pupil of both Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa, did initiate *brāhmaṇas*, with the approval of the community when he returned to Bengal, although he was not himself a *brāhmaṇa*. See Narahari Cakravartī's *Narottama Vilāsa* and *Bhaktiratnākara*.



### III. KṚṢṆADĀSA KAVIRĀJA AS AUTHOR

#### 1. Historical Observations about Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja

Unlike many of the authors of books of this period, Kṛṣṇadāsa does not supply us with a great deal of information about himself. Perhaps this was because of his great humility, with examples of which his text is full; and perhaps it was because he thought of the subject matter of his book as holy, a book not of the acts (*carita*) but of the nectar of the acts (*caritāmṛta*), in which personalities would be out of place.<sup>60</sup> To be sure, writers of other religious books consider that their writing is not their own, but is inspired by the deity whom they celebrate. But many of them still see fit to include an *ātma kahinī*, a biographical sketch. Mukundarāma was inspired by the goddess Caṇḍī to write her *maṅgala* poem, but his *ātma kahinī* supplies us not only with knowledge of his life, but with a deft and biting picture of sixteenth century Bengal. And it should not be forgotten that Kṛṣṇadāsa was over eighty years old when he finished his great work. To intrude himself would possibly have been unthinkable for an old and pious man.

Yet not even Kṛṣṇadāsa was entirely free from the *ātma kahinī* custom of writers of the time, and there are hints, such as those in CC 1.8, which do allow us to form a rough picture of his life. The picture is rough indeed, and those scholars who have attempted to fill it out have often relied on late texts, a dangerous practice at best. Dinesh Chandra Sen, in his *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, without citing sources, gives us the following:

Kṛṣṇadāsa was born in 1517 AD, of a *vaidya* family, in the village of Jhāmaṭapura in Burdwan district. His father's name was Bhagīratha, and his mother was named

<sup>60</sup> For more on this idea see Edward C. Dimock, Jr., "The 'Nectar of the Acts' of Caitanya" in *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion*, ed. Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), 109-17.

Sunanda. They were a poor family, and Bhagīratha supported them with his practice as a *kavirāja*, a physician of Āyurvedic medicine. Bhagīratha died when Kṛṣṇadāsa was about six years old, and Sunanda, his widow, had great trouble supporting Kṛṣṇadāsa and his brother Śyāmadāsa, who was two years younger than he. So great indeed was her burden that she died only a few months after her husband, and the responsibility for the support of the children fell upon relatives.<sup>61</sup>

Some of this information Kṛṣṇadāsa himself gives us. But much of the rest of it, as Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out in the essay "*Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa kavirāja gosvāmī*" in the *bhūmika* volume of his edition of the CC, can be shown to be wrong.<sup>62</sup> For example, if the poet had been born in 1517 AD, he would have been sixteen years old when Caitanya died. At the same time, we know from the CC text itself (1.5.153-55) that a servant of Nityānanda called Mīnaketa Rāmadāsa came to the house of Kṛṣṇadāsa while a *kīrtana* was taking place there, and fell into an argument with Kṛṣṇadāsa's brother because the latter did not have the proper reverence for Nityānanda. From the upset way in which Kṛṣṇadāsa describes this scene, it seems that Kṛṣṇadāsa himself had great reverence for both Caitanya and Nityānanda. This, plus the fact that a *kīrtana* was going on at his house, suggest that at this time Kṛṣṇadāsa was a convinced Vaiṣṇava, and a respected one at that. D. C. Sen says that this occurred when Kṛṣṇadāsa was sixteen years old; and this in turn would mean that Mīnaketa Rāmadāsa was in a bitter argument with a fourteen year old boy. More important, if Kṛṣṇadāsa was sixteen when Caitanya died, he would almost certainly have met either Nityānanda or Advaitācārya, both of whom survived Caitanya by many years. But the only suggestion of such a meeting occurs when Nityānanda appears before Kṛṣṇadāsa in a dream. Had he actually met them, it is hard to believe that he would have missed the opportunity to pay these great leaders the proper reverence. From such arguments as these, which seem convincing, Rādhāgovinda Nātha reasons that Kṛṣṇadāsa was probably born about 1450 *śaka*, or 1528 AD, five years before Caitanya's death.

Kṛṣṇadāsa tells us that after the argument between Rāmadāsa and his brother, he was instructed in a dream to go to Vṛndāvana. "Near Naihaṭṭi there is a village called Jhāmaṭapura; there Nityānanda Rāma appeared in a dream to me" (CC 1.5.159). "... then Prabhu [Nityānanda], smiling, spoke to me: 'Ah, Kṛṣṇadāsa, do not be afraid. Go to Vṛndāvana, where all things can be attained'" (CC 1.5.172-73). It would seem that he was well received there by the Gosvāmīs, as there are

<sup>61</sup> Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, 2d ed. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1954), 411-12.

<sup>62</sup> Rādhāgovinda Nātha, "*Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa kavirāja gosvāmī*" in CC, vol. 1, *bhūmika*: 1-5. This first volume of introductory essays will hereafter be cited as *Bhū*.



frequent *bandanās* or homage to all of them throughout his book. Rāpa and Raghunātha, however, are mentioned in the signature lines (*bhaṇita*) at the end of every chapter through the work, and it would seem that it was to these two that he owed the most. It is true that he never specifies Raghunātha Dāsa, and that there were two Raghunāthas among the Gosvāmīns. Rādhāgovinda Nātha, in the essay cited above, in fact feels that Kṛṣṇadāsa may be speaking of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa. The fact that Svarūpa Damodāra figures so prominently in Kṛṣṇadāsa's theological explanations, would however suggest that Raghunātha Dāsa was his mentor, for Raghunātha Dāsa was handed over to the explicit care of Svarūpa upon his first arrival in Puri and studied with him (CC 1.10.90-91; 2.1.270; 2.2.73; 3.6.140, 199.204; 3.20.104). The evidence is not utterly conclusive, but on the basis of the fact that he frequently mentions Raghunātha Dāsa in other contexts, it is more probable that it is Raghunātha Dāsa to whom he refers.

Kṛṣṇadāsa passed his time in Vṛndāvana as did all the others there, in study, in celebration of Kṛṣṇa, and in writing. In addition to the CC, several works are attributed to him, among them the Sanskrit *Govinda-līlāmṛta*, and a Sanskrit commentary on the *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta*. The CC however is certainly his masterwork. He tells us in the eighth chapter of the opening section (CC 1.8.45-79) how he came to write the book. He first lists a number of Vaiṣṇavas then living in Vṛndāvana and their *gurus*, and then he says: "They all, being merciful, gave me an order, and at the command of all of them I write, without reticence" (1.8.67). Kṛṣṇadāsa then goes on to relate how he was anxious about his ability to write the book, but that he got a sign while he was praying at the temple of Madanagopala (a form of Kṛṣṇa and one of the three primary images served by the Bengalis in Vṛndāvana): a garland fell from the neck of the image, and was placed by the *pūjārī*, the temple priest, around Kṛṣṇadāsa's own neck. "... at that moment," says Kṛṣṇadāsa, "I began to write this book. Madanamohana causes me to write this book; my writing is but the speech of a parrot" (1.8.72-73). The last statement is standard for Vaiṣṇava authors, though perhaps Kṛṣṇadāsa, devout man that he was, meant it profoundly.

He was instructed to write the book because, although there were numerous other biographies of Caitanya even then in existence,<sup>63</sup> none of them treated in adequate detail the last years of Caitanya's life. Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* (or *Caitanya Maṅgala*, as Kṛṣṇadāsa calls it) had gone into great detail on the early life and the early residence in Puri of Caitanya; and other texts such as Murāri Gupta's *KCC* and Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* and *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka*<sup>64</sup> also dealt with various phases of Caitanya's early life. Kṛṣṇadāsa, like the scholar he was, knew these

<sup>63</sup> *Infra*, Sect. VI.1.

<sup>64</sup> *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* of Kavikarṇapūra, edited with commentary and Bengali trans-

texts well, and employed them in his own account. In many places in his CC, he says something like "Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described this elaborately, so I shall suggest it only in brief." He makes it clear that his own work is intended to supplement the earlier biographies. In fact it goes far beyond them in many ways in interpretation of the facts of Caitanya's life. But for the facts he was dependent upon the first-hand stories of Raghunātha Dāsa, and on the earlier texts; for they had been written much closer in time to the events, by and for those who knew Caitanya well. Murāri, of course, was Caitanya's senior in Navadvīpa, and wrote from his own observations, while others worked under the tutelage of Caitanya's close companions: Vṛndāvana Dāsa wrote at the behest of Nityānanda and the larger Bengali community which had participated in the activities being described, while Locana Dāsa composed at the prompting of Narahari Sarakara, and others in Bengal did likewise. Kṛṣṇadāsa himself was writing decades after Caitanya's death, and in Vṛndāvana, nearly eight hundred miles from the worlds of Navadvīpa and Puri, and in this sense developed a perspective that only distance could bring, for the events were to him remote in time and space, however inspired he was.

Exactly when Kṛṣṇadāsa did write the CC is a matter of some dispute. He himself says that he was an old man. Near the end of the last chapter of the book he writes: "I am old and worn out, and deaf and blind; my hand trembles, and my mind is not steady. I am devoured by disease; I can neither sit nor move, and day and night I suffer the pains of the five diseases" (3.20.84-85). And it is clear that he is writing about what was to him long past, at least in chronological time: "Even now," he says, "the servants of Prabhu (i.e., Caitanya) sing of the dance of the *parimuṇḍa*"<sup>65</sup> (3.10.99). This did not matter for his purposes, which were to present the basic ideas of Bengali Vaiṣṇavism in terms of Caitanya's life, and not to give a historically accurate account of the life itself.<sup>66</sup>

Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out in the introductory essay cited above that several of the MSS which he has seen say in the colophon: "completed 1537 śaka (i.e., 1615 AD), on Sunday the fifth day of the dark lunar fortnight (*kṛṣṇa pañcamī*) of Jyāiṣṭha, in Vṛndāvana."<sup>67</sup> This date would seem to fit the other evidence, especially

lation by Maṇḍiraṇātha Guha (Pāṇihāṭī, 24 Paraganas: Sāvitrī Guha, 1378 BS); hereafter cited as CCN. Textual references will be to act (*aṅka*) and verse(s).

<sup>65</sup> *Parimuṇḍa* is an Oriya word (meaning "the waving of lights, incense, etc., before the image", i.e., *arati*), which in this context refers to a verse (CC 3.10.99) which Caitanya had Svarūpa chant as he and the other devotees danced in an extraordinary display of the power of devotion (3.10.55-76).

<sup>66</sup> For a detailed study of how Kṛṣṇadāsa's interpretation compared with the other biographers' and some of the implications of these differences, see Stewart, *BIKC*, ch. 5-6.

<sup>67</sup> Rādhāgovinda Nātha, "Śrīśrī caitanya caritāmṛta samāptikālā" in *Bhā*, 6; vide Sect. V. 4, n.



Kṛṣṇadāsa's own regarding his age and infirmity, for this date would make him eighty-seven years old when he finished his work. The date would go unchallenged were it not for the evidence of a later, eighteenth century text, the *Prema Vilāsa* of Nityānanda Dāsa, which tells us that the CC was completed in the year 1503 śaka (1581 AD). This earlier date is of course accepted by those scholars to whom age and authenticity are one; but Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests several reasons why the earlier date is impossible to accept. In the first place, internal textual criticism makes the last several sections of the PV, which include the statement about the date of the CC, suspect.<sup>68</sup> In the second, several of the oldest MSS, including the authoritative Śiurī MS found in Birbhum, include śloka with the 1537 śaka date. On the other hand, no MS which has a date gives that date as 1503 śaka, as attested by the PV. Third, 1503 śaka is unacceptable because in the CC text itself the *Gopālacampā* of Jīva Gosvāmin is mentioned, and the dates of composition of that text are well attested as 1510-14 śaka (1588-92 AD). And finally, as if more evidence were needed, Rādhāgovinda Nātha turns to the *pañjikās*, those almanacs so carefully kept in India and so valuable for work of this kind. The question is in which year did the *kṛṣṇa pañcamī* (the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month) fall on a Sunday. The *pañjikās* say 1537 śaka.

The obvious question is: if the original MS, Kṛṣṇadāsa's own, had given 1537 śaka as the date of its completion, why does it not appear in later copies? The answer is in terms of that fact of Indian literary history so vexing to historical scholars: the loose-leaf MS. The leaf containing the dating śloka, being on the bottom of the pile, could easily have been lost as is often the case. Copies of the MS which contain the date would then be copies of an earlier form of the MS; copies without the date would be copies of the later mutilated form. And in practice, some scribes choose not to include a date either of original composition or copy.

The final question is that of the date of Kṛṣṇadāsa's death, which, if the above calculations which make him eighty-seven at the time of the completion of the CC are correct, is not too critical. He could not have lived much beyond that time. There is however a slightly misleading contention, propounded again by the PV

and taken up by such later writers as D. C. Sen. The PV describes the well-known incident in which the three great Vaiṣṇavas Śrīnivāsa, Śyāmananda, and Narottama Dāsa were transporting various books and manuscripts from Vṛndāvana to Bengal. As they were passing through the forests of Viṣṇupura, they were set upon and robbed by minions of the *rāja* of that place. At this point Śrīnivāsa sent a letter to Jīva Gosvāmin in Vṛndāvana, telling of the loss of all the books and manuscripts, and when he received it,

Śrī Jīva fell down, understanding the meaning of the letter, and he told it to Lokanātha Gosvāmin and others. Śrī Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin heard it all, and weeping he repeated it with great pain. Raghunātha and [Kṛṣṇadāsa] Kavirāja, these two, when they heard it, also wept and rolled about on the ground. The Kavirāja said, "Prabhu, I do not understand the cause of this. What have I done? What have I done?" Because of his age the Kavirāja was not able to walk, and he died (lit. disappeared) from the grief of it.<sup>69</sup>

From this it is possible to conclude that among the MSS lost was Kṛṣṇadāsa's own CC, and that Kṛṣṇadāsa could not bear the loss of a book into which he had put so many years of his old age. Thus, according to this argument, in order to find the date of Kṛṣṇadāsa's death, it is only necessary to calculate the date of the robbery, add to it the few weeks it would take a letter to get from Viṣṇupura to Vṛndāvana, and assume that the shock of the news killed Kṛṣṇadāsa immediately.

Rādhāgovinda Nātha's essay has six pages of closely reasoned argument on the subject,<sup>70</sup> and those interested in this type of historical detective work can easily turn to them. Suffice it to say that on the evidence of various non-Vaiṣṇava texts such as the *Āin-i-akbarī* of Abū'l Fazl it can be established that the *rāja* ruling in Viṣṇupura at the time was Virahāmītra. Documents of the reign of this king point to 1599-1600 AD as the date of the robbery. If this is so, it is obvious that the CC, which was probably not finished until 1615, could not have been among the stolen works.

<sup>69</sup> PV of Nityānanda Dāsa, Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyaratna ed., *vilāsa* 13, p. 167. The loss of the books is a well-known story among writers of the second and third generation of Caitanya's followers. The most complete account can be found in the *BhR* of Narahari Cakravartī, 7.14-239. The story is also mentioned in the *Anurāgavallī* of Manohara Dāsa, *mañjart* 6, pp. 33-41; and *Karṇānanda* of Yadunandana Dāsa, ch. 7, in *Santilata Rāya, Vaiṣṇava sahitya o yadunandana* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1976), 516-17, the latter account simply referring back to the PV.

<sup>70</sup> Nātha, *Bha*, 14-19.

141 below, where this is corroborated. At the time of his research, the extraordinary list of MSS provided by Jatindra Mohana Bhaṭṭarjee in his *Catalogus Catalogorum of Bengali Manuscripts* (vol. 1 [Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1978]) was not available. There are in this catalog numerous MSS previously unreported, although few of the age in question.

<sup>68</sup> The date for the CC appears in the closing verses of chapter (*vilāsa*) twenty-four of the Talukdāra edition of the PV. The other primary edition of the text does not even include the controversial last four and one-half *vilāsa*: PV of Nityānanda Dāsa, ed. Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyaratna (Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharamapura for Haribhaktipradayinī Sabhā, 1298 BS).



Thus we are left with the speculation that Kṛṣṇadāsa did not live long after he had finished writing, and that he died between 1615 and 1620 AD. And this, unfortunately, is all we know of the man who has defined for us as well as anyone the complex doctrines of Bengali or Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism, and who provided Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal with the text which became the focal point for their beliefs. A few of the characteristics of his personality do, however, come through the text itself, and let us turn to a discussion of the text from that point of view.

## 2. The Personality of Kṛṣṇadāsa from the Text

That Kṛṣṇadāsa was a deeply learned man is perfectly clear. In the course of the CC he quotes from sixty-five identifiable Sanskrit works; and though he sometimes does not quote them, he gives evidence that he was well read in and understood the six systems of philosophy and the Vedic-Upaniṣadic tradition; and in addition he liberally sprinkles his narrative with unidentified Sanskrit *śloka*s, either composed by himself or taken down as they fell from the lips of his *gurus*. Nor are the texts he quotes limited to religious works such as the *BhP* and the *BhG*, although, as might be imagined, these come in for their share; he ranges from *mahakāvya* to Pāṇini to the Tantras. This is not terribly surprising, for the six Gosvāmins, as has been pointed out, were learned men in many fields, and wrote plays as well as theology, poetry as well as philosophy. And apart from what all these people might have carried in their heads, there must have been a substantial library at Vṛndāvana. Caitanya's instructions to the Gosvāmins included an injunction to collect *śāstras* there, and Kṛṣṇadāsa himself affirms that they had brought many MSS to the place.

With such Sanskrit learning, and with the Sanskrit orientation of his *gurus*, it is curious that he chose to write in Bengali. If, as has been suggested, he departed Bengal for Vṛndāvana at a relatively early age, he would for the greater part of his life have had little to do with the enthusiastic developments of the movement as they were taking place in Bengal. He would have met an occasional pilgrim-*bhakta* from the place. And some question can even be raised about his use of the language as a medium of social intercourse. Vṛndāvana was not populated exclusively by Bengalis, but by people from various parts of India, and a large part of daily life, religious and otherwise, must have been carried on in Sanskrit, probably the only common language. Why then did he choose to write his masterwork in Bengali? Or was he instructed to do so? And if he was instructed to do so, why

did his instructors choose him and not another of the Bengali scholars resident in Vṛndāvana?

There is not a great deal of evidence to guide us in answering any of these questions. There is an interesting suggestion in the Vaiṣṇava Sahajīya text *Vivarta vilāsa*, which is in fact a kind of Sahajīya commentary on the CC, that Jīva Gosvāmin at least had serious objections to Kṛṣṇadāsa's writing in Bengali. So angry was he, in fact, that we are told that he threw the MS into the river. Fortunately, the text was so holy that it floated unharmed back to the shore, providing a sign that even Jīva could not ignore, and which he reluctantly acknowledged.<sup>71</sup> The reason given for Jīva's anger is that the CC reveals some of the inner meaning of the Caitanya-*līla*, and that the revelation through the common everyday language would reach inappropriate people: secrets and truths should be limited to those initiated in the high culture of Sanskrit. It is nicely ironic that the CC is one of the few Bengali texts on which a Sanskrit commentary has been written, that of Viśvanātha Cakravartin in the eighteenth century.

If there is any truth in the story at all, it would seem that writing in Bengali was a decision which Kṛṣṇadāsa made on his own. As to why, it would be reasonable to assume that at some point there was recognition of the fact that the doctrines which the Gosvāmins were developing and putting down in Sanskrit, were not particularly accessible to the people of Bengal, where, after all, the whole thing started. This was not only because of language, for certainly there were many Sanskrit-educated devotees in Bengal, but because of distance, both psychological and spatial. As has been suggested, in some ways the Bengal branch of the movement was becoming more divergent from the theological "orthodoxy" which the Gosvāmins were trying to establish. In the matter of the relation of the *gopīs* to Kṛṣṇa, for example, the Gosvāmins were explaining that they were intrinsic to him, parts of him (*svakīya*), and that the *BhP*'s statements that they belonged to others (*parakīya*) should not be taken literally; the *bhaktas* of Bengal, on the other hand, were clinging to the notion of the religious importance of the *parakīya* idea, holding that transgression of social norms is a necessary part of true love.<sup>72</sup> So it is likely that Kṛṣṇadāsa chose to write in Bengali not only to reach non-Sanskrit-reading people, but to reach people who were deviating from the Gosvāmins' doctrine, to bring them back, so to speak, to the fold. The essential thought of the movement had gone from emotionalism and immediacy to rational and dogmatic state-

<sup>71</sup> *Vivarta Vilāsa* of Ākīñcana Dāsa, ed. Kṛṣṇa Bhāṭṭācārya (Calcutta: Tārācānda Dāsa and Sons, 1354 BS), *vilāsa* 2, pp. 21-22.

<sup>72</sup> Dimock, *PHM*, 200-215.



ments as to the meaning of that; it was necessary to bring that thought back down from the rarified atmosphere of scholasticism to the fertile earth of Bengal.

But why Kṛṣṇadāsa? Certainly, he was a scholar who understood deeply the thought of the Gosvāmins; and he was at the same time an ardent devotee. What better man could be found to bridge the gap between the schoolmen of Vṛndāvana and the *bhaktas* of Bengal? Appropriately enough, the text is composed, as will be seen, in a language that would be accessible to a wide audience of *bhaktas*, whether they spoke Bengali, Oriya, or some mix of Brajabhāṣa. Stylistically, his extremely long text is written in the usual and rather monotonous *payāra* meter, couplets of fourteen syllable lines with caesura after the first eight, and rhymed aa, bb, cc, etc. Several times in the course of the text he breaks into the more elaborate *tripadi*, "three-footed," variation of this meter, the two lines of the couplet being broken into three parts each, with a variety of possible rhyme schemes (e.g., aab, ccb; abc, abc; etc.). These *tripadi* sections are the lyric sections, in which Caitanya reflects on one or another of the Kṛṣṇa-līlās or expands a verse from the *BhP*. They are often charming and witty, and occasionally quite beautiful, but rarely do they meet the standards set by such great poets as Govinda Dāsa or Vidyapati.<sup>73</sup> It would seem that with his Sanskrit learning he could have taken advantage of the great variety of Sanskrit meters available to him; unlike his later countryman Bhārata-candra, who uses Sanskrit metrics in Bengali poetry with consummate skill, he does not choose to do so.

Rādhagovinda Nātha calls Kṛṣṇadāsa's work "an unprecedented and special jewel even in the wealth of Bengali literature; I do not know that there is anywhere a combination so beautiful and sensitive of philosophical discussion and poetry."<sup>74</sup> He also calls it "most cherished by Bengali Vaiṣṇavas," and says that it can be read again and again, and that with each reading "new depths of devotion are discovered." One must agree that the book is an inexhaustible mine of religious devotion. Kṛṣṇadāsa's work in some places, can be compared to the poetry of the English metaphysical poets, Donne and others: wit and technical skill, as in the use of *alaṃkāra* (ornamentation), are there, and seem in their formality sometimes incompatible with the obvious profound devotion which they express. At Kṛṣṇadāsa's very best, there is a hint of the perception, grace, and controlled passion, blended with clever alliteration and other complex prosodic features, and involved metaphor, that are characteristic of the great Vaiṣṇava lyric poets. But then, it is one thing to write a verse of twelve lines which contains all this, and quite another to sustain it over 23,000.

<sup>73</sup> For some translations, see Dimock and Levertov, *IPK*.

<sup>74</sup> Nātha, *Bhā*, 4.

Kṛṣṇadāsa was not a historian. He often confuses sequences of events, and as the irreverent A. C. Sena points out, he puts quotations from the *Brahma Saṃhitā* into the mouth of Rāmananda Raya during that worthy's first meeting with Caitanya, before the latter had gone on his southern pilgrimage (2.8.1.29, 1.39).<sup>75</sup> Yet it does not bother Kṛṣṇadāsa to inform us that Caitanya brought that text back with him from southern India, and that it was not known in the north until he did (2.1.111; 2.9.295-97; 2.11.127-29). There are many examples of this kind of thing, and some of them will be pointed out in the commentary. It is tiresome, and irrelevant, to catalogue all these impossibilities and ahistoricities. Perhaps the reason for them is that Kṛṣṇadāsa was very old and, as he himself tells us, became confused. Equally likely is the possibility that historical sequence and such mundane things were not important to him. He was writing a hagiography, not a history; it was the meaning of the Caitanya-līla that was important to him, not the historical facts. And indeed, as will be pointed out again, there is a timeless quality about his book: one is frequently unsure where one is in time, and that is in keeping with Kṛṣṇadāsa's purpose. Caitanya and his *bhaktas* "remember" (*smaraṇa*) their former līla, the līla of Vṛndāvana. The *bhaktas* serve Caitanya and Kṛṣṇa "in their minds" (*mānasa*). One is never entirely sure, due to Kṛṣṇadāsa's intention and to lack of gender in the pronoun and suffixal forms of the language, whether Rādhā is being spoken of, or Caitanya, or both at the same time. Vṛndāvana and Puri, Caitanya and Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, *gopa*, *gopī* and *bhakta* are all superimposed upon one another. People move back and forth between the human and divine, the finite and the infinite, with breathtaking ease, and as this is a characteristic of the faith as a whole, so it is a characteristic of this book, and historical fact loses its significance. For many devotees, of course, historical and other differentiations are not only insignificant but totally irrelevant, for when they hear the name Caitanya they automatically hear those of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

Which is not of course to say that Kṛṣṇadāsa was writing fantasy. Although he wrote close to eighty years after Caitanya's death, and although that is a long enough time for legends to grow and historical facts to seem to change, some details had been written down by others, and Kṛṣṇadāsa himself, in earlier years, had known some of the people close to Caitanya. The book is not useless for historians. The story of Gopinātha, who was saved from a summary execution to which he had been sentenced for having, with provocation, insulted the king's son, is an interesting though not surprising historical sidelight (2.1.251; 3.9.12-57). Caitanya's encounter with Muslim freebooters tells us something about the countryside at the time (2.18.145-

<sup>75</sup> Sena, *ISC*, 119.



203). And when Pratāparudra says that "I made Rāmananda Rāya the *raja* of Rājamahindā; of what he absorbed, and of what he gave me, there was no accounting made" (3.9.120), we are told a good deal about Pratāparudra, and about Rāmananda, and perhaps about the rules of government of the day. On a topic dear to anyone who loves old books, Kṛṣṇadāsa depicts Caitanya preferring an old, worn palm-leaf manuscript page to a newly copied one, explicitly because the older version carried more authority and would be believed (2.9.193-95).<sup>76</sup> Despite his age, and despite his devotional purpose, Kṛṣṇadāsa had a good eye, and he tells us much.

Due to these peculiarities of the book, there are places in which it is difficult to know whether or not social or historical inferences can be drawn at all, or whether inferences drawn from Kṛṣṇadāsa's observations should be applied to him personally or more generally. Food plays a substantial part in Kṛṣṇadāsa's society. In the *antya līlā* and in fact throughout the book, time and time again great feasts are described, with long lists of the types of food prepared and long descriptions of the ways in which these were eaten. This might be interpreted in a number of ways. It might be a reflection of a natural anxiety about food in a place where, at least today, food is not always plentiful. Or it might reflect a concern with food as it relates to health, also not unknown in modern India. But either of these would be somewhat odd for a religious group which is essentially ascetic. Caitanya himself recognizes this contradiction, and when he is criticized for gluttony by Rāmacandra, he cuts his daily food in half (CC 2.1.252; 3.8. passim; 3.10.15). There are hints that through the food exchanges and communal feasts subtle ranking distinctions are sometimes being made within the group of *bhaktas*, although often in the opposite fashion of what is considered the norm in ordinary society, a possibility which would seem to correspond to recent anthropological theories.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps, then, this concern for the transformative power of food might be construed as a reflection of the ancient Hindu religious view of man as food and the eater of food; as R. C. Zaehner, commenting on the strange passage in *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (3.10.6), puts it: "The process of eating and being eaten constitutes the unity underlying the diversity of physical existence, it is the unchanging law underlying the ever-changing phenom-

<sup>76</sup> This is in contrast to the often traditional practice of destroying old MSS after they had been copied. As I have on occasion been chagrined to witness, this is often done by committing them to sacred rivers, much as a the cremated enter those same waters—TKS.

<sup>77</sup> For specifically Bengali examples, see Ronald B. Inden and Ralph W. Nicholas, *Kinship in Bengali Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1977), passim; and Ronald B. Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). The sections addressing food-exchange in both of these works owe much to the work of McKim Marriott.

ena: it is *brahman*, and to realize oneself as food and the eater of food is very bliss."<sup>78</sup> Although the Vaiṣṇavas might not have put it quite that way, it is true that to them food is *prasāda*, a term which means both food which has first been offered to the deity, and "grace," in almost the Christian sense of that word. One offers one's life, one's food, and in return absorbs true life, life blessed by the deity, when one takes back that food and eats. For the deity has partaken of the offering, and what remains on the plate is a part of him. That the food does not disappear is not a matter for concern, for the qualities, the *guṇas*, of the godhead are not the same as the *guṇas* which define material nature; the god subsists on the essence of the offering, infused as it is with *bhakti*. What remains is nourishment for those of us still entrapped in material nature; the leavings are literally the remains of Kṛṣṇa's food.<sup>79</sup>

It is not necessary to belabor this interesting, though somewhat minor, point. The questions that it raises, and leaves unanswered, are clear and general enough: are such phenomena, as they are presented by this text, peculiar to this one man's particular religious belief, or are they phenomena which can be tied to larger characteristics of the society? Or are they merely the patient and engrossing concerns of an old man, very near to death? The text raises many such questions, and the reader will have to answer them for himself.

<sup>78</sup> R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism* (London: The University of London, Athlone Press, 1960), 29-30.

<sup>79</sup> For more on the *prasāda* and its relation to grace (*daya*), mercy (*kṛpā*), and compassion (*karuṇā*), see the introduction to Tony K. Stewart, trans., "The Rescue of Two Drunkards," in *The Religions of India in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 375-88, esp. 375-77.



#### IV. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEXT

##### 1. General Features and Organization

On the largest scale, the book is arranged in three parts, according to the accepted divisions of the life of Caitanya. The first part, the *adi lila*, is divided into seventeen chapters (*pariccheda*), and concerns itself with the meaning of the early life of Caitanya, up to and including his *saṁnyāsa*. The second part, *madhya lila*, by far the longest of the three, is divided into twenty-five chapters treating the life of Caitanya at Puri, and his pilgrimages to the south and to Vṛndāvana. The *madhya lila* includes most of the theological portions of the book, and the very important discussions with Rāmānanda. The *antya lila*, of twenty chapters, deals with the later life of Caitanya at Puri, his increasingly frequent attacks of madness and delirium, up to his death.<sup>80</sup>

It may be a matter of some confusion to some people who are not used to dealing with this type of text that, according to literary custom, Kṛṣṇadāsa will state at the beginning of the book in *sūtra* or condensed form, the matter with which he plans to concern himself throughout. Not being satisfied with this, he will also state at the beginning of each of the *lilas* the concerns of the *lila*, and summarize them at the end; and he will do the same at the beginning of each chapter, and sometimes at the beginning of a series of episodes within a chapter. And he will preface each chapter with a Sanskrit *śloka* which will state the matter to be treated in that chapter. The result sometimes is an impression of circles within circles, and one's head may swim slightly with a sense of

<sup>80</sup> As has already been noted, these three sections (*lila*) of the book, i.e., *adi*, *madhya*, *antya*, are indicated in citation by the numerals 1, 2, and 3 respectively, followed by chapter and, when appropriate, verse(s).

disorientation and *déjà-vu*; but as will become apparent later, these reiterations serve an important function in preserving the integrity of the text.

It is difficult not to suspect that this practice of stating what is to come, then giving the story, and then a résumé of the story, comes from the oral tradition. And it is true that at the time at which Kṛṣṇadāsa was writing, the oral *maṅgala kāvya* was perhaps the most popular vehicle for religious literature, although, when it was recorded and written down, the style quite naturally changed.<sup>81</sup> The simple couplet *payāra* meter, ideal for memorization, often became more complicated. The "formulas," as Lord calls them in *The Singer of Tales*,<sup>82</sup> used as filler or ties between two sections of the story or sometimes as memory aids, or to give the singer or teller of the tale time to collect his wits, would have become more complex or dropped altogether. But many of these oral characteristics, in their simplest form, remain in the CC.

This is certainly not to imply that the CC was oral literature, indeed it is far from it. The reasoning is too complex, the narrative itself too involved, the concern too didactic in some places and scholastic in others, to allow that possibility. Kṛṣṇadāsa's model was the Sanskrit philosophical text, and that is a written literature if there ever was one. It takes time to mull the meanings of the subtle statements and nice distinctions of Indian philosophy, and time is the characteristic of the written word, as Marshall McLuhan and others have shown.<sup>83</sup> Yet Kṛṣṇadāsa was writing for the people of Bengal, and so emulated the form which would, for this kind of content, have been familiar to them. It was mentioned before that his metric range is, in this text, limited; from the present point of view one might suspect that the reason was less that Sanskrit meter in all its complex variety was foreign to or difficult for him, than that the simple *payāra* was second nature to his readers.

The similarity of Kṛṣṇadāsa's poetic style to that of the oral *maṅgalas* can be seen on other levels than that of meter. One of these will unfortunately not come through in the translation, despite attempts to stick as closely to Kṛṣṇadāsa's Bengali as readable English will allow. It is usual in oral poetry for the semantic units to

<sup>81</sup> Edward C. Dimock, Jr., "The Goddess of Snakes in Medieval Bengal," *History of Religions* 1, no. 2 (Winter 1962): 308-309.

<sup>82</sup> Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (New York: Atheneum, 1965), ch. 3, "The Formula." See also Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), and Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Routledge, 1982).

<sup>83</sup> See esp. Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); and his *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964).



be coterminous with the metric units, as Lord points out.<sup>84</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa's verse shows this almost throughout. Two couplets, picked at random, show it (2.5.87-88):

*brahmanyadeva tumi baḍa dayāmaya /*  
*Brahmanyadeva! You are most full of mercy;*  
*dui vipreṇa dharma rākha haiya sadaya //*  
*being kind, preserve the dharma of two brāhmaṇas.*  
*kanya paba mane mora nahi ei sukha /*  
*That I gain your daughter—this joy was not in my mind;*  
*brahmaṇera pratijñā yāya ei baḍa duḥkha //*  
*but that the promise of a brāhmaṇa is broken, this is very bad.*

Such verses clearly have mnemonic qualities; but for Kṛṣṇadāsa to employ them is mere convention. Passages in which the semantic unit extends over several couplets can easily be found. Apart from series, as when Kṛṣṇadāsa lists the names of followers of Caitanya or the foods to be found at a feast, such passages occur most frequently in the doctrinal sections, where the complexity of the thought is such that it simply cannot be tightly bound grammatically. An example is in *madhya līla* (2.18.112-13):

*strī bala vṛddha āra caṇḍāla yavana /*  
*Women, children, old men, even caṇḍālas, and Muslims—*  
*yēi tomāra ekabāra pāya darśana //*  
*whoever once gains a sight of you*  
*kṛṣṇanāma laye nāce haiye unmatta /*  
*takes the name of Kṛṣṇa, dances as if mad,*  
*acārya haila sei tārila jagata //*  
*and becomes a teacher and saves the world.*

Other characteristics of the text also suggest the older oral base for Kṛṣṇadāsa's style. The story of Haridāsa and the prostitute (3.3.91-135) appears again, slightly transformed, in the same chapter (3.3.214-47). And although they are clearly no more than remnants of the more elaborate oral usage, the text is filled with formulas of one kind or another; they are occasionally, in fact, almost monotonous in their frequency. At the end of almost all narrative passages, for example, Kṛṣṇadāsa will make a remark like "He who listens to this with faith, his ears are soothed and

<sup>84</sup> Lord, *Singer of Tales*, 41ff.

he gains the feet of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana." With these, however, there is more than a literary transformation at work, for such formulas become, in this religious context, *mantras*. They are no longer merely stylistic devices; they have religious efficacy in themselves.

## 2. The Language of the Text

Since he was oriented toward Sanskrit literature and the religious idiom in that language, it is no particular surprise to find Kṛṣṇadāsa using a highly Sanskritized form of Bengali when, indeed, he is not using Sanskrit itself. When he wrote his CC, he had been long away from Bengal and probably from constant Bengali conversation, for Bengalis were not the only people in Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇadāsa's Bengali, when put beside, for example, that of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, who lived in Bengal, seems self-conscious and even stilted.

There is no need of writing a grammar of the Bengali which he used. Suffice it to single out a few characteristics which bear directly on the translation of his text into English, partly in apology for a certain awkwardness; for occasionally what might be more graceful English has been sacrificed in order to try to remain close to Kṛṣṇadāsa's linguistic structure.

His language is Sanskritic not only in vocabulary, for of necessity he uses the technical Sanskrit terms employed by his *gurus* the Gosvāmins in their definition of the theology; and there are many passages which discuss philosophy, poetics, and other technical matters. It is Sanskritic too in its structure. Kṛṣṇadāsa's verb forms, for example, as is true of other Middle Bengali texts, are typically non-finite: participles of various kinds and infinitives abound, and the result is that the verse has a static, heavy quality appropriate, it must be admitted, to his subject matter. Sometimes, when non-finite forms occur, there is ambiguity, for four different participial suffixes are used: *-i*, *-iyā*, *-ñā*, and *-ñi*, and the first of these is homophonous with the first person singular present. Potential confusion here is usually eliminated by syntax; but syntax does not help in occasional difficulty with the simple past and simple future. In the future, both second and third persons have *-ba* and *-iba*, and in the past both have *-lā* and *-ilā*. This can lead, and does, especially in situations of indirect discourse, to problems of who is speaking to whom, and there may be an occasional misinterpretation. The first person, fortunately, is always clear, having *-ba* or *-iba* in the future, with an occasional *-u* form, and *-lu* in the past. Compound forms are never used, and present and past continuative and perfect are rare.



It would seem that the complex verb system of modern Bengali had not developed fully by Kṛṣṇadāsa's time, or perhaps he simply preferred non-finite usage; either way, it did not hinder him in expression of involved thought.

The case suffixal system also seems rudimentary when compared with either Sanskrit or modern Bengali, except in the use of the instrumental, which is much more frequent in Kṛṣṇadāsa than in the modern language. Objective or accusative suffixes are frequently omitted, often it would seem due to the demands of the meter rather than grammatical simplicity, for they are found. But the fact that they could be omitted suggests that the rules of usage were lax and that syntax could shoulder some of the burden, although that, too, is very fluid. There is frequent compounding, sometimes very complex, again reminding one of Sanskrit. The pronominal system seems much the same as in the modern literary language, the *sādhu bhāṣa*, and this takes on particular importance in texts like the CC, for it is often the pronoun which denotes number; the verb system, then as now, made no number distinction. Nor is there more than a trace of gender in the language; where it occurs it is natural, not grammatical, or is borrowed from Sanskrit. This is important both for the poetry and the doctrinal literature of the Vaiṣṇavas. Feminines can be signified by Sanskrit borrowings, but need not be, which means that if the writer chooses to be ambiguous, he can be so without distorting the language. Poetry and doctrine both describe the passage back and forth between male and female condition in the *bhāva* of a *gopī*, for example; and one is not always sure whether Kṛṣṇadāsa is speaking of Caitanya or Rādhā, or of the *bhakta* or the *gopī*. And as the teaching is that Caitanya is Rādhā, and the *bhakta*, in his final condition, is the *gopī*, this ambiguity is often desirable. This unfortunately cannot be reproduced in English, and the reader will be belabored with footnotes on passages which in Bengali are remarkably simple and poetically effective.

For the rest, Kṛṣṇadāsa's language is difficult, but not deliberately obscure. He will use an occasional Hindi or Oriya expression. But for the most part, his obscurities are obscurities only to our time and place, and Kṛṣṇadāsa had no reason to believe that his work would one day be translated into a language of which he had never heard.

### 3. A Sample of Grammatical Forms Found in the Text<sup>85</sup>

#### VERBAL FORMS

*Person Suffixes.* The person suffixes of the simple present tense are as in present-day Bengali, with a few variations, remnants of older or dialectal forms. As in the modern language, there are some differences between suffixes for consonant-final and those for vowel-final stems. There is no number distinction in the verb forms: where number is specified, it is through pronominal forms. In the following paradigms, parentheses indicate that the form is potential only; it has not been found in the text.

PERSON	STEM FORM -CVC-	ENGLISH
1st	<i>kari</i>	I/we do
2d ordinary	<i>kara/karo</i>	you do
2d familiar	( <i>kari</i> )	you do
2d honorific	<i>karen</i>	you do
3d ordinary	<i>kare</i>	he/she/it does/they do
3d honorific	<i>karen</i>	he/she/it does/they do

PERSON	STEM FORM -CV-	ENGLISH
1st	<i>yāi/yāñ</i>	I/we go
2d ordinary	<i>yāa/yāo</i>	you go
2d familiar	( <i>yās</i> )	you go
2d honorific	<i>yān</i>	you go
3d ordinary	<i>yāy</i>	he/she/it goes/they go
3d honorific	<i>yān</i>	he/she/it goes/they go

The verb "come," which is also irregular in the modern language, occurs with alternate stems *ās-*, *āis-*, and *āi-*.

*Past.* There are three distinguishable past tenses; they are, however, less clear in their usage than in the contemporary language. The simple past (*-il/-in-*) is by

<sup>85</sup> To highlight the differences in forms and to approximate more the sound of the language, the inherent vowel in consonant-final words will not be transliterated in this section unless it is preserved in the spoken language.



far the most frequent, and is not limited to immediately past action; it is rather a generalized past tense. The present perfect (-*ach-* appended to one of the several participial stems) is used as in the present-day language, to denote past action which has results continuing into the present, e.g., *kariyāchi*, "I have done." There is also an infrequent usage of what is in form the present-day past habitual or conditional, though it too is more of a general past tense; it occurs, in the sample of Kṛṣṇadāsa's text which has been examined for grammar, only in the first person, and with the velar nasal personal suffix, e.g., *yāitān*, "I went" or "I used to go."

Various stem changes also occur in the simple past. Vowel-final stems add -*h-* before the addition of the -*il-* suffix: the stem *ra-*, "remain," has the form *rahilān*, "I remained"; the stem *ka-*, "speak," has the form *kahilen*, "he (hon.) spoke." The common stem *kar-*, "do," becomes *ka-* before the suffix, e.g., *tumi kaile*, "you did."

PERSON	STEM FORM -CVC-	ENGLISH
1st	<i>dekhilān/dekhilu/</i> <i>dekhinu</i>	I saw
2d ordinary	<i>dekhile</i>	you saw
2d familiar	<i>dekhili</i>	you saw
2d honorific	<i>dekhilen</i>	you saw
3d ordinary	<i>dekhila/dekhila</i>	he/she/it saw
3d honorific	<i>(dekhilen)</i>	he/she/it saw

PERSON	STEM FORM -VC-	ENGLISH
1st	<i>ailān/ailum/(āinu)</i>	I came
2d ordinary	<i>āile</i>	you came
2d familiar	<i>(āili)</i>	you came
2d honorific	<i>āilen</i>	you came
3d ordinary	<i>āila/āila</i>	he/she/it came
3d honorific	<i>(āilen)</i>	he/she/it came

The present perfect is formed on the base of the active participle, and participial forms are various. Participial suffixes are -*i*, -*e*, -*iyā*, -*iyē*, and for vowel-stems, -*nā*. Personal endings however are regular.

PERSON	STEM FORM -CVC-	ENGLISH
1st	<i>kariyāchi/kariyachō</i>	I have done
2d ordinary	<i>kariyācha</i>	you have done
2d familiar	<i>(kariyāchis)</i>	you have done
2d honorific	<i>kariyāchen</i>	you have done
3d ordinary	<i>kariyāche</i>	he/she/it has done
3d honorific	<i>(kariyāchen)</i>	he/she/it has done

*Future.* The future tense is also relatively regular; there is one questionable occurrence of the form *pārō*, "I shall be able" (?) in the sample, and the occasional variant *haibek*, "he/she/it will become," also occurs. The latter form, it might be noted, is present in modern Bengali as a dialectical form in some western districts. There is no distinction between consonant and vowel stems.

PERSON	STEM FORM -CVC-	ENGLISH
1st	<i>kariba/karō</i>	I shall do
2d ordinary	<i>kariba</i>	you will do
2d familiar	<i>(karibī)</i>	you will do
2d honorific	<i>(kariben)</i>	you will do
3d ordinary	<i>kariba/karibel/karibek</i>	he/she/it will do
3d honorific	<i>kariben</i>	he/she/it will do

*Participles.* Both active and passive participial forms are frequently used. The active participle taking the endings -*i*, -*e*, -*iyā*, and -*nā*. These suffixes seem to be completely free variants, with usage depending on meter or other types of stylistic choice. The suffix -*iyē* occurs with the causative participle. Passive participles regularly take the suffix -*ita*, a suffix also used for the formation of adjectives from nominal stems, e.g., *bala*, "speak" becomes *balita*, "spoken."

*Imperative.* The most usual form of the present imperative ordinary is -*a* or -*aha* added to the stem, as in the modern literary language: *kara/karaha*, "do"; the variant -*iya* however occurs occasionally: *kahiya*, "speak." There were no examples of present honorific imperative in the sample, but the future honorific imperative, identical in form with the simple future, does occur. There is one example of what seems to be the future ordinary imperative, although there is some ambiguity about its interpretation: *karō*, "you will do."



**Conditional.** The conditional is formed in two ways, as in the modern language: *yadi . . . ta haile . . .*, "If . . . then . . .," with verb forms in the simple present, past, or future. It is also formed by the use of the participle *-ile* with the appropriate finite form of the verb in the non-conditional clause: *śunile kariba*, "if he hears, he will do (it)."

**Infinitive.** The infinitive is also regular, with stem plus *-te* or *-ite*, e.g., *karite*, *dite*, etc. The usages of the infinitives are also as in the modern language, including single or reduplicate infinitive to signify "while doing something," e.g., *yāite*, "while going." Infinitive plus the stem *de-*, "give" means "to allow something to happen."

**Verbal Noun.** The verbal noun is regular, formed by stem plus *-iba-*, taking regular substantive case endings, e.g., *tāhār chādibār man*, "he had a mind to go."

**Negatives.** Negatives are formed by verb plus *nāhi*: the verb *ha-*, "be, become," has however an optional variant *na-* in the negative simple present and past, and the verb *pār-*, "be able," has the variant *nār-* in the negative of those tenses.

**Causatives.** The text contains a full set of causative forms, the causative stem being formed by stem plus *-ā-*, and acting like other vowel stems, e.g., *dekhāy*, "he causes to see"; *nacāo*, "you cause to dance"; *karāiben*, "he will cause to be done." The causative imperative adds *-o* to the causative stem, e.g., *piyāo*, "cause to drink."

#### PRONOMINAL FORMS

Personal pronouns, like other nominals, fall into four cases and two numbers. There are no distinctions of gender. The most marked difference in usage from the modern language is the frequently found instrumental, e.g., *āmāte*, "by me." Nominative, genitive, and accusative forms function as expected; the dative falls together with the accusative, there being no distinction of suffix.

##### NOMINATIVE

1st	<i>mui/mūi</i>
2d ordinary	<i>tumi</i>
2d familiar	<i>tūi/(tūi)</i>
2d honorific	<i>(āpani)</i>
3d ordinary	<i>sei/tēho/(se)/ihā</i>
3d honorific	<i>ihā/(tini)</i>

##### GENITIVE

1st	<i>mor</i>
2d ordinary	<i>tomār</i>
2d familiar	<i>(tor)</i>
2d honorific	<i>(āpanār)</i>
3d ordinary	<i>tār/tāhār/ihār</i>
3d honorific	<i>tār/tāhār/ihār</i>

##### ACCUSATIVE

1st	<i>āmāke/āmāre/more/(moke)</i>
2d ordinary	<i>tomāke/tomāre</i>
2d familiar	<i>(toke)/(tore)</i>
2d honorific	<i>(āpanāke)</i>
3d ordinary	<i>tāhake/tāhare/ihake</i>
3d honorific	<i>tāhake/tāhare/tāre/ihake/ihare/(tāke)</i>

##### INSTRUMENTAL/LOCATIVE

1st	<i>āmāte</i>
2d ordinary	<i>(tomāte)</i>
2d familiar	<i>(tote)</i>
2d honorific	<i>(āpanāte)</i>
3d ordinary	<i>tāhāte/tāhe<sup>86</sup>/ihāte</i>
3d honorific	<i>(tāhate)/(tāhe)/ihāte</i>

**Reflexive.** The reflexive pronoun *āpana* is declined as above, although the sample did not yield examples of all cases.

**Plurals.** Plurals are most often formed by the use of *-sabhā*, "collection," as a suffix, with case endings added to that: *tāsabhār icchāy*, "at the wish of (all of) them." There are however examples of forms closer to the modern language in the 1st and 2d personal nominative plural: *morā*, "we"; *tomarā*, "you" (plural ordinary). And there is a unique form in the 1st plural or dual accusative: *āmādhā*, "to us."

<sup>86</sup> The form *tāhe* was found with the third person ordinary verb ending, although it carries the nasal usually indicative of honorific forms.



## V. THE SCHOLARSHIP OF THE TEXT AND TRADITION

### 1. Critically Editing the Caitanya Caritāmṛta

Because the text is so important, both as text and indeed as votive object, and because it is so relatively recent, it does not present many of the problems of older Indic materials. Variant readings of real consequence are surprisingly few; and most variants are of the scribal error variety, sometimes confusing but usually making no real difference in the meaning. The few questionable readings in the printed text of Rādhāgovinda Nātha have been checked against two relatively old manuscripts, one from the collection of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, which bears the seal of the old Fort William College,<sup>87</sup> and the other from the collections of the Baṅgīya Sahitya Pariśad in Calcutta.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, MS no. 10 (Bengali Manuscript Collection, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta; n.d., complete in 260 folios). The handwritten cataloguing adjacent to the seal of the College of Fort William on the top folio indicates their MS no. 658; date of acquisition [?] 1825 AD. A complete description of the manuscript can be found in Praphulla Chandra Pal, comp., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Vernacular Manuscripts in the Collections of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 9: *Bengali and Assamese Supplement* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1941), 24.

<sup>88</sup> *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, MS no. 92 (Cittarañjana Dāsa Bengali Manuscript Collection, Baṅgīya Sahitya Pariśad, Calcutta; dtd. 1537 śaka [1022 BS]; complete in 370 folios). There is a second MS bearing the same date, but it is unfortunately incomplete: MS no. 2798 (General Bengali Manuscript Collection, Baṅgīya Sahitya Pariśad, Calcutta; dtd. 1537 śaka [1022 BS]). Among dated MSS these rank as two of the very oldest according to Jatindra Mohan Bhattacharjee in his *Catalogus Catalogorum of Bengali Manuscripts* (66-72). The oldest MS listed by Bhattacharjee is only two years older than the one consulted, but unfortunately was unavailable for copy: MS no. 448 (Bengali Dept. Manuscript Collection, Calcutta University, Calcutta; dtd. 1020 BS, complete). Bhattacharjee lists only one other MS bearing a date as early as the one consulted: MS no. 1380 (Ābdul Karīm Sahitya Viśārada Collection, Varendra Research Institute, Rajshahi, Bangladesh; dtd., 1022 BS [1537 śaka], complete).

The colophon of the Baṅgīya Sahitya Pariśad MS is extremely faded and on the film print difficult to decipher. What can be read, however, is the verse:

śake sinddhvāgnivāṇendau jyaiṣṭhe vṛndāvanantare /  
saryahe asitampañcamyaṁ granthohayaṁ pūrṇatam gataḥ //89

The chronogram is *sinddhvāgnivāṇendau*, and is, as is usual with Bengali texts of the period, to be read from right to left, thus: *indu* = one (the moon, or a point on the die); *vāṇa* = five (the arrows of Kamadeva); *agni* = three (the sacrificial fires); *sinddhu* = seven (the seas).<sup>90</sup> The verse thus reads:

In the śaka year 1537 [i.e., 1615 AD], in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, on Sunday, the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the moon, in Vṛndāvana, this book has been finished.

The colophon of the Asiatic Society MS is, on the other hand, extremely clear, but does not include a date of copying. After the final *payāra* of the text, the *upasaṁhāra* (conclusion) of the MS reads:

Let this *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, offered to Caitanya, be a source of satisfaction to Śrīman Madanagopala and Govinda. He who tastes the nectar of the acts (*caritāmṛta*), which destroys inauspiciousness and imparts the blessing of Śrīla Caitanya Viṣṇu, he is the black bee at the lotus of the stainless feet and tastes to the highest degree the *rasa* of the sweetness of pure love (*prema*). Thus is completed the *Śrī Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, offered to Śrī Caitanya. May Śrī Śrī Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa be victorious.<sup>91</sup>

Perversely there have been certain problems not usually encountered by textual scholars, problems arising from the very condition that, as it turned out, made extensive MS work unnecessary. The text is not only so holy that copying has on the whole been very careful; it is so holy that some very old MSS were inaccessible. Dimock had heard, for example, of an old MS in the possession of a temple in a remote village of Burdwan district. It was purported to be Kṛṣṇadāsa's original, in fact. Whether or not that is true, a Bengali friend had photographed the colophon,

<sup>89</sup> *Antya līlā*, folio 104-A; folio 369 of the complete text.

<sup>90</sup> *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 2.4.

<sup>91</sup> *Antya līlā*, folio 69-B; folio 260 of the complete text. The *upasaṁhāra* of Rādhāgovinda Nātha's printed edition reads much the same way.



on the basis of which that excellent scholar Sukumar Sen had verified that indeed the MS was very old. Dimock tried, unsuccessfully to film it, as did various friends.<sup>92</sup> In any case, those who were lucky enough to get close enough to the MS to see it reported that it is so smeared with vermilion from the fingers of the devout that large parts of it are not readable.

There was one other interesting and somewhat distressing experience in Dimock's search for materials, viz., in checking the records of the Jagannātha Temple in Puri to see to what extent Caitanya's long stay in that place had been noticed in those very complete documents. The Mahārāja of Puri, in whose possession there is always a duplicate set of records, very graciously consented to allow an examination of them for a particular year of Caitanya's residence. When he opened the tubular container in which the old palm leaves were kept, out poured bits and pieces of old leaf, and powder. Although these records are now beyond recovery, the records in the Jagannātha temple itself are beginning to be deciphered and translated, a work which might be expected to shed more light on the history of Caitanya and his movement.<sup>93</sup>

The other factor that made unnecessary a critical edition of the work was the very excellent edition of it by Rādhāgovinda Nātha, a massive six volume work, four of which are text, the remaining two containing extensive essays and introductory matter, accompanied by an excellent apparatus.<sup>94</sup> This fine scholar employed many MSS in making his edition, and although he unfortunately does not in any one place give details of those MSS, constant references in his commentary *Gaurakṛpāraṅgiṇī* such as "in the 178 year old MS at Śiurī" and careful critical work in his introductory material suggest that his comes close to a critical edition. Rādhāgovinda Nātha was himself a great *bhakta*, and ordinarily one would be inclined to suspect bias in the work of a man who was himself a devotee. But work with his commentary, while leaving no doubt as to where his sympathies lie, assures one of his essential fairness to his textual material. His readings are usually clear; and where there seems

<sup>92</sup> Among them, special thanks for their efforts are owed to Rachel van Meter Baumer, Tarun Mitra, Naresh Guha, and J. Saha.

<sup>93</sup> This work is, in large part, the result of the Orissa Research Project, a joint venture of Utkal University, Cuttack, various agencies in Orissa, and the South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg. The *Madala Pañji* is the name of the major set of these early temple records, portions of which, e.g., the *Raj Bhog* section, have already been translated (G. N. Dash, "Madala Pañji: Raj Bhog" [typescript, n.d.; submitted to the Orissa Research Project as the First Interim Report]). For additional items pertaining to these valuable records, see Hermann Kulke, et al., *Orissa: A Comprehensive and Classified Bibliography*, Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, Südasiens-Institut, Universität Heidelberg, no. 72 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982), 159-60.

<sup>94</sup> This work is discussed at length below in section V.3.

to be some confusion, that confusion is most often there also in the MSS and in the other printed texts at our disposal.

The critical situation, therefore, presents fewer difficulties than S. K. De found, writing before Rādhāgovinda Nātha's edition was widely available.<sup>95</sup> As will be obvious, Rādhāgovinda Nātha's commentary plays a major part, not only for identifications of people, many of whom are known through Vaiṣṇava traditions not ordinarily available to an outsider, but for interpretations of passages; in those few places where it seems that Rādhāgovinda Nātha's religious bias obscures history or the real intention of Kṛṣṇadāsa, there are notes to that effect. Other printed texts used, primarily for checking, are the popular Gauḍīya Maṭha edition of 1958,<sup>96</sup> and the edition of Vrajanātha Miśra, published in a late edition by Rādhāramaṇa Press in Murshidabad in 1927.<sup>97</sup>

## 2. Standardizing the Text

The consistency of the manuscripts and eventually the later printed editions of the CC is itself a function of the centrality of the text as a defining document within the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community. The previously noted, possibly apocryphal, story of its loss and retrieval by the trio of Gosvāmin-trained scholar-devotees—Śrīnivāsa, Narottamadāsa, and Śyāmananda<sup>98</sup>—would appear to justify a more important

<sup>95</sup> De, *VFM*, 51, n. 2.

<sup>96</sup> Ed., intro. and notes by Bhaktikevala Audulomi Mahārāja, with the commentary *Amṛtapravaha bhāṣya* of Saccidānanda Bhaktivinoda Thākura, and the *Anubhāṣya* of Bārsobhānavidya Dāsa (Calcutta: Gauḍīya Maṭha, 1364 BS). This edition is also discussed below, section V.3.

<sup>97</sup> Ed. Vrajanātha Miśra, with the commentary *Vaiṣṇavapriya ṭīkā* of Jaganmohana Dāsa (Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharamapura, 1334 BS).

<sup>98</sup> The circumstances of the education and activities of this trio can be found in the *Bhaktiratnākara* and the *Narottama Vilāsa* of Narahari Cakravartī, Manohara Dāsa's *Anurāgavallī*, Priyanātha Rāya's *Śyāmananda Prakāśa*, Yadunandana Dāsa's *Karṇānanda*, Gopījanavallabha Dāsa's *Rasika Maṅgala*, and in the earlier, less controversial sections of Nityānanda Dāsa's *Prema Vilāsa*. The stories are retold in several of the English works of D. C. Sen, but the three sustained historical studies that best describe this period are Nityānanda Dāsa's *Narottama dāsa o tārā racanāvalī* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1975), Mihira Caudhuri Kāmilya's *Narahari cakravartī: jīvanī o racanāvalī* (Burdwan: Bardhamāna Viśvavidyālaya, 1981), Jīmūtavahana Rāya's *Śrīnivāsa ācārya o ṣoḍaśa śatabdhira gauḍīya vaiṣṇava samāja* (Śantiniketan: Viśvabhārati Gaveśaṇa Prakāśana Samitī, 1984). More recently, Ramakanta Chakravartī has discussed the traditions in his English work, *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal: 1486-1900* (Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1985). See also above, section III.1, n. 69. Dineschandra Sen tells the *Prema Vilāsa* version in close paraphrase in *The Vaiṣṇava Literature of Medieval Bengal* (Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1917), 105-23.



historical phenomenon: the way the text was repeatedly copied and circulated throughout Bengal, Orissa, and eventually back to Vraja after its ostensible recovery. Whether as the direct result of the text's near loss or simply through the proselytizing activities of these figures, the CC worked its way into every community of practicing Vaiṣṇavas in the region through a very systematic and concerted effort by well-placed individuals. Tradition has it that Śrīnivasācārya quickly insinuated himself into the court of the local Malla king, Vṛhāṁvīra (who was, significantly, credited with confiscating the texts initially), both by his extraordinary adroitness as a scholar and devotee and through his marriages to locally prominent women. With this patronage, Śrīnivasā was able to copy the text many times over. Narottama, too, had copies of the texts made through the efforts of the *mahārājas* in his family, while Śyāmananda later established liaisons with ruling figures in Orissa, who helped to disseminate the text. The method of dissemination was ingenious, opportunistic, and very effective. A number of old Vaiṣṇava histories attest that this trio worked with the prominent members of the local community to convene the Vaiṣṇavas from all over Bengal for lengthy commemorative celebrations (*melā* or *mahotsava*) on the first anniversary of the passing of each of the devotees remaining from the original group around Caitanya. The *Bhaktiratnākara* lists seven of these, starting with a gathering in Kaṭoyā convened by Yadunānanda Cakravartī at the death of Gadādhara Dāsa, followed fairly quickly by Śrīnivasā's *mahotsava* in Yājñgrāma, and the Śrīkhaṇḍa *mahāmahotsava* convened by Raghunānanda at the death of Narahari Sarakāra. Less prominent devotees, Gokulānanda and Śrīdāsa followed suit with a gathering in Kāñcanagaḍiā to honor the death of Haridāsa Ācārya. The Kheturi festival, the fifth in this series, did not mark anyone's passing but resembled a *kīrtana* revival, and was the largest and longest. Convened by Narottama Dāsa, this gathering lasted several weeks and appears to have deliberately been used to consolidate the various groups into what we now clearly recognize as the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava community. Afterwards, Govinda Cakravartī convened a smaller group at Borakuli, while in Dhārendra, Śyāmananda organized the last of these *utsavas* noted by the *Bhaktiratnākara*.<sup>99</sup> Each time they met, copies of the CC and other key works by the theologians in Vṛndāvana were distributed to the head of each of the major lineages present and to other prominent devotees. These gatherings continued in parts of Bengal nearly annually, thereby guarantee-

<sup>99</sup> For more on this list, see Kāmilya, Narahari cakravartī: *jīvaṁ o racanāvalī*, 2:114-15.

ing that texts would continue to circulate to help produce a more homogenous practicing community.<sup>100</sup>

The importance of the CC as a tool for organizing the community lies in the fact that it recognizes by name the major lineages central to the emerging group, identifies the biographies of Caitanya that were to be followed, provides synopses of the key Sanskrit works of Rūpa and Jīva Gosvāmin and others in the Vaiṣṇava community (texts that were likewise distributed in more limited numbers), and outlines the basis for all levels of ritual practice.<sup>101</sup> The extensive copying of the text from its earliest stages of circulation, coupled with its centrality as the charter document of the group, seems to have guaranteed a fidelity of transmission that has become a hallmark of Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavas in the centuries since. They copied prolifically and circulated widely numerous titles of Bengali and Sanskrit works, ranging from the many biographies of Caitanya and his key followers to sophisticated theological treatises, ritual manuals, and of course numerous verse (*pada*) compositions for use in *kīrtana*. Due to their diligent industry and the fact that these documents were heavily used on a daily basis, the manuscript traditions of these texts prove to be amazingly uniform.<sup>102</sup> Among these many texts, the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* numbers first in quantity and breadth of distribution among surviving MSS; according to Jatindra Mohan Bhattacharjee's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, nearly 2000 MSS bear its name. Almost all of them are Kṛṣṇadāsa's work, albeit many are limited to a single section or chapter, or even a single episode within a chapter. A surprising number, however, are complete. This text is easily the most well preserved and, if the extant MSS today are any index, the most often copied of all the texts from the precolonial period. That it survived in a consistent form is due in

<sup>100</sup> The impulse to bring together members of the widely disparate populations of the Vaiṣṇava community by using mass-produced texts anticipates the use of the press for defining nationalist communities as argued by Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

<sup>101</sup> For more on Kṛṣṇadāsa's rhetorical strategies to help define the group "orthodoxy" and to circumscribe the community, see Tony K. Stewart, "One Text from Many: The *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* as 'Classic' and 'Commentary,'" in *According to Tradition: Hagiographical Writing in India*, edited by Winand M. Callewaert and Rupert Snell (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994): 229-56.

<sup>102</sup> It should be noted that Tārapada Mukhyopādhyāya stands nearly alone in his argument that the CC was originally a very short document, which expanded through use. We contend that what Tārapada has uncovered is simply the outlining stages of the document that served to control the content (as noted below) and, at the same time, insured for an aging Kṛṣṇadāsa that should he die before its completion, the story would at least have been sketched according to his dictates. See Mukhyopādhyāya's "*Caritāmṛta* era racanākāla evaṁ vrajera gauḍiya vaiṣṇava sampradāya," *Baṅghya sāhitya pariṣat patrika* 87, no. 1 (1387 BS): 16-39.



no small part to the formal structures within the text itself as previously suggested, for it would appear that Kṛṣṇadāsa took extra steps to protect the integrity of his work.

The organization of the CC lends a symmetry to the narrative which makes it almost perfectly parallel to Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, while shifting the emphasis from Caitanya's early life to his life after renouncing the world. As already noted, the text is divided into three parts—*adi*, *madhya*, *antya līla*—that carry a size ratio of approximately 1 : 2 : 1. Each of these three parts has an internal table of contents which is imbedded in the text itself. At the end of each section is a summary of what was included (1.17.301-20; 2.25.195-215; 3.20.93-132). The opening of the *madhya līla* has the additional redundancy of outlining the entirety of the *madhya līla* (2.1.passim) and *antya līla* (2.2.passim), that is, the remainder of the text. Internal to each chapter is a running marker that corresponds directly to the synopses in the various tables of contents, thereby assuring the reader that each episode is present. But this has the additional benefit of ensuring that no significant episode can be inserted into the body of the text without appearing to be superfluous. While this does not preclude the possibility of expanding or editing any individual episode, it does serve to control the overall contents, at least in a general limiting way. As a rule, Kṛṣṇadāsa routinely started new episodes or smaller diversions from the primary narrative by using conjunctions that ended one story with the first line of a *payāra* and began the next tale with the second line. For example, in CC 3.4:

129 Again and again he tried to prevent him, but still he embraced him, and when the pus touched his body, Sanātana was distressed. 130 And Prabhu and his *sevaka* both went home.

The next day, Jagadānanda met Sanātana, 131 And the two sat together and talked of Kṛṣṇa. Sanātana, in misery, entreated the *paṇḍita*, 132 "I came here to see Prabhu and to break my misery, but Prabhu does not allow me to do that which I desire. 133 I forbid him, but still Prabhu embraces me, and the pus from my sores touches his body; this is a great offence, and there is no salvation from it. . . ."

This strategy of imbedding the ending and beginning of a story in a single strophe has the effect of ensuring that narrative sequence is followed, again limiting, but not eliminating, the possibility of interpolations. There are a few places where small asides will be found that do not correspond directly to the tables, but these seldom run beyond a few *payāras*, and likewise begin and end in the middle of the

strophe. Kṛṣṇadāsa's formal controls seem to have guarded against wholesale changes in the text. And when those internal controls are combined with the way the text was effectively mass produced by scribes in the early phases of its dissemination, any glaring differences would be instantly recognized by the users of the text.

When we inspected closely the copies of the old MSS in our possession, as well as numerous samples MSS in the repositories of West Bengal, Bangladesh, and London, and then compared those to a wide range of printed editions, we discovered that Kṛṣṇadāsa had indeed been successful, for there simply were no significant variations. That a significant number of the earliest MSS of the text were copied under the direction of Śrīnivāsa, combined with these internal structural controls to limit the deviations from the original. Each complete text contains seventeen chapters in the *adi līla*, twenty-five in the *madhya*, and twenty in the *antya*. Chapter length seldom deviates by more than a few *payāras*, although we did discover that two different strategies for numbering the *payāras* and *śloka*s in the printed editions can give the impression of difference; some texts, such as the widely used edition published by the Gauḍīya Mission, number the Sanskrit and Bengali strophes in sequence, while others, such as the Rādhagovinda Nātha edition used for this translation (and whose numbering has been retained), number the Sanskrit *śloka*s separately from the Bengali *payāras* (both of these important editions are discussed below). The difference, however, proves only to be in the enumeration. As already noted, variations in readings are astonishingly few, and usually of scribal error or choice; for instance, a scribe might substitute metrically equivalent synonyms to update the text to a more contemporary idiom, a fairly common practice in the scribal trade (because a document was important only if it could be used, and texts that were used extensively would routinely metamorphose in this way). Because of the meticulous redundancy of the theological sections of the text, any significant changes there would be virtually impossible without a wholesale revision of the multiple cross-referenced passages.

The only truly significant change in the method of transcribing actually served to preserve the text more accurately as it was pressed into use by the community. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the MSS of the CC routinely, although not consistently, include lead-ins to the Sanskrit *śloka*s that cite the original Sanskrit work, often including chapter and verse. The work of generations of commentators and scribes to identify these references—older MSS occasionally showing their annotations as marginalia—came to be incorporated directly into the text in later copies. It is noteworthy, however, that the scribes routinely set apart those insertions from the rest of the text by keeping them out of metrical form. They



generally take the more truncated and direct style of the academic citations they are, e.g., “*tathāhi bhāgavata purāṇa* 10.47.60”; or when several verses from the same text are cited, the equivalent of “*ibid.*,” is employed, e.g., “*tathāhi bhaktirasāmṛta-sindhu* 1.12.12,” followed by “*tathāhi tatraiva* 2.1.14.” Often MSS will indicate simply the locative of the text, e.g., “*tathāhi bhaktirasāmṛtasindhau*” with the reference occasionally marked in the margin by the scribe or a commentator, then being inserted parenthetically in printed versions, e.g., “*tathāhi bhaktirasāmṛtasindhau* (3.2.62).” The printed texts show the full range of these permutations. But the MSS go a step further. As part of this process of tightening the text through direct intertextual reference and consistent copying, a number of ancillary and highly specialized works were produced that are rightly deemed to be MSS of the CC or so closely associated that they cannot be separated from it. There are, for instance, MSS that list only the Sanskrit *śloka*s found in the body of the CC,<sup>103</sup> while others cite the *śloka*s and then provide Bengali translations.<sup>104</sup> These aids to interpretation often find their way into the printed commentaries (although generally not cited), while serving to make the text more accessible; by the same token, they severely limit the possibility for interpolations. The intertextual citations in fact only tighten the internal control of those dense theological sections that quote numerous Sanskrit sources, for Kṛṣṇadāsa tended to preface each Sanskrit *śloka* with one or more Bengali *payāras* leading in and then to recapitulate, if not translate, the passage after its quotation, e.g., CC 2.15.106-111:

106 Satyarāja said, “How shall we recognize Vaiṣṇavas? Tell us, who is a Vaiṣṇava, and who an ordinary man.” 107 Prabhu said, “In whose mouth you hear once the name of Kṛṣṇa, he is to be worshiped as the best of all. 108 For by one name of Kṛṣṇa all *pāpa* is destroyed, and the nine kinds of *bhakti* are filled by the name. 109 It is not dependent on *dikṣā*, or *puraścarya*, or on the injunctions of the scriptures; at a touch of the tongue, everyone down to *caṇḍālas* is saved. 110 The result of it is the destruction of *saṁsāra*, and the mind being attracted by it, *prema* for Kṛṣṇa is aroused.

<sup>103</sup> For example, see the Dhaka Museum Collection’s Bengali MS no. 8 and MS no. 13; Dhaka University Bengali MS no. 3056; and Medinipura Sahitya Pariṣat Bengali MS no. 156, which are lists of *śloka*s. The *Catalogus Catalogorum* also lists Tripura Mahārāja Collection Bengali MS no. 42, and Rāmānātha Granthāghara (Kumilla) Bengali MS no. 281.

<sup>104</sup> For example, see Medinipura Sahitya Pariṣat Bengali MS no. 60 and MS no. 133, which is a text by one Narottama Dāsa that matches the Sanskrit *śloka*s to Bengali glosses and translations.

*Śloka* 2. Rūpa Gosvāmī’s *Padyavali* 29 [quoting Lakṣmīdhara]:

Attracting those who are pure of heart, driving away all *pāpa*, easy to attain by anyone down to *caṇḍālas*, endowed with the power of *mukti*, this *mantra* of the name of Kṛṣṇa, not by *dikṣā* and nor by meritorious conduct nor by *puraścarya*, but by the merest touch of it on the tongue, fulfills.

111 Thus in whose mouth there is one Kṛṣṇa-name, he is a Vaiṣṇava; offer him greatest reverence.”

Even though this strategy serves the important purpose of making the Sanskrit accessible to readers who do not know the language, it has the additional value of hindering any attempt to tamper with the narrative. The point is this: by the time the printing press became a factor in reproducing the text in the nineteenth century, the tradition had a very firm control over the precise content of the text, and that has led to an equally remarkable consistency in its printing, although the opportunities and limitations of that medium, too, had to be disciplined through the community’s use.

### 3. The Caitanya Caritāmṛta in Print

By the early decades of the nineteenth century, the emergence of printing began to tell on the MSS produced in Bengal. The shape of the printed book with its vertical “portrait” page orientation began to appear sporadically in the MS, which in its traditional format was exclusively written lengthwise, on a long rectangle of “landscape” orientation. Occasionally, one of these vertically oriented MSS would be stitched along the left side in imitation of the printed text. Wealthier patrons would sometimes commission deluxe editions of texts that would use colored ink to distinguish Bengali *payāras* from Sanskrit *śloka*s, and even use machine-trimmed one hundred-percent rag watermarked paper manufactured in Europe. As the MSS begin to show the familiarity of their scribes with western-style printed books, the early printing of Bengali texts show a correlative tendency to maintain continuity with the MS traditions by adopting the features and overall appearance of the handwritten work, a style of *imitatio punthi*. The shift to printing, which began in the early decades of the nineteenth century, did not become widespread until the second half of the century. Printing presses were at first difficult to obtain and once obtained, generally very tightly controlled by government censors. The bulk of early



publishing was periodical, with novels and histories in the vernacular serialized in the daily, weekly, and monthly publications. But as soon as the strictures were eased and printing presses became more easily accessible, publishers moved very quickly to produce editions of Vaiṣṇava texts, including the CC. While not the first Vaiṣṇava book to be printed, it appears to be readied for mass consumption by as early as 1818, making it one of the earliest indigenous vernacular religious texts to be mechanically reproduced.<sup>105</sup> Some of the earliest religious texts were new compositions that were commissioned and financed by conservative Vaiṣṇava zamindars of north Calcutta,<sup>106</sup> but within a very few years, printed editions of older texts, such as the CC were published alongside the newer books. The CC began to appear routinely in popular, relatively inexpensive forms no later than the 1840s. The production of such a text, however, was especially daunting for a publisher, for its length was staggering compared to most other books. A printer would have to invest heavily to produce the text in a single press run, thereby stretching his financial and physical resources (type fonts were not in unlimited supply, nor storage facilities), so as an alternative, many of the earliest texts were printed in fascicles. This of course placed the publisher at risk in other ways, for the total return could not be counted until all of the press runs were completed (and the bibliography shows that some of these editions were never finished), unless the book was printed by advance subscription, to which strategy many routinely resorted. The earliest printed text we have examined was produced in just this way. It was a Calcutta edition edited by Jñānacandra Siddhanta Bāṣa and published by Prasannacandra Bhaṭṭācārya, with a printing date of 1843-44.<sup>107</sup> The last section of the text, the *antya līla*, has an earlier imprint, which at least suggests that the text was in production earlier, with different parts brought out in sequence. It is not unusual to find texts printed out of sequence or with non-sequential fascicles sold or bound together to make a complete book. This has implications for the conception of the book as an assembly of parts, which makes Kṛṣṇadāsa's strategy of imbedding structure in the narrative a very prescient move. In this particular printing, the Bengali and Sanskrit are composed sequentially on the page in the manner of a traditional handwritten MS, with the endings marked by using the standard single

<sup>105</sup> Ramakanta Chakravarti cites the *Narottamavilāsa* and *Jagadīśacaritravijaya* editions in 1815. He also notes frequent advertisements for the CC in the popular periodical *Samācāradaṛpaṇa* between 1818 and 1829. See Ramakanta Chakravarti, *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal*, 392f.

<sup>106</sup> See *ibid.*, esp. ch. 21, for some observations about this period and the use of printing by various groups.

<sup>107</sup> *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, edited by Jñānacandra Siddhanta Bāṣa (Calcutta: Prasannacandra Bhaṭṭācārya at Jñānāṅjana Yantra, [ādī and madhya līla] 1252 BS [c. 1844]; [antya līla] 1251 BS [c. 1843]).

and double vertical lines (*daṇḍa*) for the two verses of the couplet; the print is on oblong, yellow-dyed paper likewise in imitation of a MS. The text has no commentary, no notes, and only the occasional citation imbedded prior to the *śloka*.

By the 1850s, the CC entered a steady production with one edition edited by Rādhāmādhava Vidyāviṣṭa from the publishing house of Venimādhava De in 1851,<sup>108</sup> who became the most prolific publisher of Vaiṣṇava texts in the nineteenth century. His company, which produced multiple lowcost editions known as "Battola" (*baṭatola*), did on occasion publish the higher quality work for a more affluent audience, and it is in this latter category that his first edition of the CC appears. This text is composed of running Bengali *payāras*, but does set the Sanskrit *śloka*s somewhat apart with their citations often included; the print is clear and on very high quality low acid paper. Just three years later, the identical text reappears from the publishing house of Haridāsa Cūḍamaṇi under licensed agreement with Venimādhava De.<sup>109</sup> The new publisher reset the type, reducing the volume of the text by approximately six percent. This inexpensive and unadorned edition was kept in print for a number of years.

After licensing his edition to another popular press, Venimādhava De commissioned a new edition that appeared in 1858 and that included, apparently for the first time in print, a verse commentary to explain the text. The text is virtually identical to that edited by Rādhāmādhava Vidyāviṣṭa, although it is not so attributed; it adds the commentary *Ānandacandrika tippantī*, which is later credited to Utsavānanda, but whose name does not appear in the earliest edition that we examined.<sup>110</sup> The text is again printed horizontally on dyed yellow pages to resemble a *punthi*, including page numbers only on one side, the standard way to number the separate folios of MSS. The type is straight and clear; the commentary is in Sanskrit and printed at the bottom of the page. The overall production is of considerably higher quality than many of the shorter Vaiṣṇava, Sahajīya, and Karta Bhaja works that emanated from this active publishing house.

Less than a decade later another popular edition destined to be frequently reprinted appeared from the Sudhāsindhu Press of Rāmānāi Dāsa.<sup>111</sup> While the form of the text very much resembled the earlier edition published by Prasannacandra

<sup>108</sup> Edited by Rādhāmādhava Vidyāviṣṭa (Calcutta: Venimādhava De Co., 1773 śaka [c. 1851]).

<sup>109</sup> (Calcutta: Haridāsa Cūḍamaṇi [under licensed agreement with Venimādhava De], 1776 śaka [c. 1854]).

<sup>110</sup> [*Ādimadhyaṅgātātmatmakāḥ*], with the commentary *Ānandacandrika tippantī* [of Utsavānanda] (Calcutta: Venimādhava Dera Vidyaratna Yantra, 1780 śaka [c. 1858]). This *tika* is not to be confused the commentary of the same name written by Viśvanātha Cakravartī on Rūpa's *Ujjvala-māmaṇi*.

<sup>111</sup> (Calcutta: Rāmānāi Dāsa at Sudhāsindhu Yantra, 1275 BS [1867]).



Bhāṭṭācārya, this production included an extensive table of contents that stretched over eight pages and to which was appended Sarvabhauma Bhāṭṭācārya's *stavaṣṭaka* dedicated to Caitanya. The identical text appears a decade later with a different publisher, Akṣayakumāra Rāya at Harihara Press.<sup>112</sup> The pagination, typeface, and all other features of the text are identical with Rāmakānāi's edition, giving the appearance of having been printed from the identical plates, although neither the title page nor any of the apparatus yields any such attribution or explanation. This version appears in multiple editions in the succeeding years. Another popular edition that appeared in the same year was produced by Vinodavihārī Śīla.<sup>113</sup> The *śloka*s are likewise set apart from the Bengali and include citations, although no commentary appears anywhere in the text. The presentation is somewhat more balanced with the print not quite so crowded onto the page, giving the appearance of a well conceived product. The edition produced by Vaneśvara Ghoṣa in the early 1880s includes the now commonly reproduced commentary *Ānandacandrika tīpantī* of Utsavānanda, and not only provides citations to the Sanskrit *śloka*s, but includes some woodcuts at the end of the text.<sup>114</sup> Not surprisingly, illustrations, starting with woodcuts such as these, gave way to sepia-toned prints, but these in turn were eventually replaced by gray-scale and then three- and four-color separations that grace more contemporary editions.

By the mid 1880s, the style of printing begins to change in those texts we were able to examine, marking the transition to the format that is more commonly found today. One notable edition of 1886 was edited with a commentary and explanation of key words and phrases by Jagadīśvara Gupta and published by Deviprasanna Rāya Caudhuri.<sup>115</sup> The text is presented in a single column of *paṭṭa*s in the manner of traditional couplets, with each verse on a separate line. *Śloka*s are set in larger type and numbered, while the commentary is neatly placed at the bottom of the page in smaller type. Like several of its predecessors, this text proved to be sufficiently popular to be reprinted within three years, with subsequent later editions. Another significant development came with the edition of the *ādi līlā* by Nagendra-

<sup>112</sup> (Calcutta: Akṣayakumāra Rāya and Co. at Harihara Press, 1285 BS [1877]).

<sup>113</sup> *Śrīrāitanyacaritāmṛta grantha: ādimadhyantatīlīlāmakalī* (Calcutta: Vinodavihārī Śīla, 1285 BS [c. 1878]).

<sup>114</sup> [*Ādi līlā*], with the commentary *Ānandacandrika tīpantī* [of Utsavānanda] (Calcutta: Vaneśvara Ghoṣa, 1291 BS [c. 1884]). In the edition we examined, the *antya līlā* was published without date, while the *madhya līlā* was published by Nṛsiṃhakumāra Ghoṣa, also without a date.

<sup>115</sup> Edited with *ṭīka* and *vyākhyā* by Jagadīśvara Gupta (Calcutta: Deviprasanna Rāya Caudhuri, 1293 BS [c. 1886]).

kumāra Rāya at the turn of the century,<sup>116</sup> for he includes Bengali translations of, not just comment on, the Sanskrit *śloka*s. The rest of the text apparently was never published (although he will later be responsible for publishing the first full length English translation of the text).

The earliest example of the modern style of printing and presentation, a style which has now held for nearly a century, is the edition edited by Makhānālā Dāsa Bhāgavatabhūṣaṇa.<sup>117</sup> The printing of this text is truly a work of art. The text is printed in large type in double columns at the top of the page, with the *ṭīka* and translations of the Sanskrit *śloka*s at the bottom, clearly marked and divided from the text proper in smaller print. The author includes references to a Sanskrit commentary reputed to be that of Viśvanātha Cakravartī,<sup>118</sup> while his own commentary is quite extensive. It includes basic hermeneutical guides to the text, key words, cross references, and extended comment (e.g., when the text states simply thirty-two marks of the great man, the commentary will list the thirty-two and include textual references). It is at about this time that the individuals within the tradition (as opposed to editors hired by publishing houses) begin to edit the text and compose extensive commentary as a standard way to establish their authority within a lineage (and by the printing of the text, that of their group as well), much as the first generation of Caitanya's followers commissioned biographies of the master to articulate their particular theological and social positions. Many of the subsequent editions will be produced by those with just such a vested interest, while the text will remain a popular press item as well. Several new versions appeared in the next six years, one of which was, in the copy we examined, a sixth edition, indicating an

<sup>116</sup> [*Ādi līlā*], edited by Nagendrakumāra Rāya (Dhaka: by the editor at Āśutoṣa Press, 1312 BS [c. 1905]). The remainder of this text, which was not published until 1319 BS (c. 1912), shifts to prose summaries with the occasional *paṭṭa* and *śloka* included directly. The *madhya līlā* was published by the same Āśutoṣa Press, but the *antya līlā* bears the imprint of the East Bengal Printing and Publishing House.

<sup>117</sup> Edited by Makhānālā Dāsa Bhāgavatabhūṣaṇa, with the *ṭīka* of Viśvanātha Cakravartī and the editor's commentary *Sudhāsaṅgīti vyākhyā*, 3 vols. (Calcutta: Candra and Co. and Oriental Printing Works, 1315 BS [c. 1908]).

<sup>118</sup> Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes in the preface to the final volume of his third edition of the *CC* that, based on the MSS he has seen and used, the commentary found in Makhānālā's edition is probably not that of Viśvanātha Cakravartī. He laments the unfortunate distrust of any commentary that bears Viśvanātha's name caused by this and other false attributions, regardless of the reasons for them. It is not clear from the statement whether or not he had seen and used Makhānālā's edition prior to that point, but it is the only other edition of the *CC* he singles out by name in the prefaces to his editions.



already long printing run.<sup>119</sup> Each picked a different audience, while adapting and experimenting with newer formats. One significant experiment among the texts we examined was found in that published by Śaraccandra Cakravartī; he imbedded the commentary directly into the text, but clearly marked it as "tika," while explaining the Sanskrit śloka in Bengali and marking them with the expression "asyārthaḥ."<sup>120</sup> This form has been adopted in various ways by a number of publications since.

In 1917 Hariśacandra Majumḍāra edited the text, which was produced by Yogīndranātha Bandyopādhyāya from Calcutta.<sup>121</sup> While the text is quite literally identical in content, apparatus, and physical format to the edition published by Śaraccandra Cakravartī four years earlier (although without attribution), it contains a very interesting "Gift Page" in the front. The text was obviously used for presentation at a significant social or religious event (e.g., rite of passage), with space on the page for the donor to fill in the name and address of the recipient, the date of the gift, and the name of the donor, reminiscent of similarly prepared Bibles. The use of the text in this way suggests just how basic the text had become to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava conceptions of personal and communal identity. The text's popularity is again attested in 1924-25 with the release of at least two new editions and the second edition of another. The printing and pricing suggest that at least one is recycled from older type,<sup>122</sup> one is clearly aimed at an audience with limited resources,<sup>123</sup>

<sup>119</sup> In the version edited by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya (Calcutta: Vasumatī Kāryālaya, 423 GA [c. 1909]), the introduction includes the avowed attempt to "clean up the text" by consulting old *pūnthis*, hence it was six years in preparation; it should be noted, however, that as a popular edition it changed very little of the text as already presented. The fact that the editor saw this as a problem and explicitly addressed it, suggests that readers, at least, had some concern about the original text, sufficient that the question of establishing authoritative editions was beginning to affect the way the text was edited and published. Another edition was edited by Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī, but with the final editing by Vinodavihārī Gosvāmī (Calcutta: by the editor at Vāṇī Press [ādī and madhya līlās], 423 GA [c. 1909]; [antya līlā], 425 GA [c. 1911]). The original editor of this text died before he could complete it. The second editor also included a prose summary of the entire text at the end of the work. See also the work edited by Prasannakumāra Gosvāmī and Vinodālalā Dāsagupta Kaviratna, which came out in its 6th ed. (Calcutta: Becārāma Bhaṭṭācārya, 1319 BS [c. 1912]).

<sup>120</sup> With the commentary *Ānandacandrika tika* [of Utsavānanda], with additional notes and cross references (Calcutta: Śaraccandra Cakravartī at Kalikā Press, 1321 BS [c. 1914]).

<sup>121</sup> With the commentary *Ānandacandrika tika* [of Utsavānanda], translations of the Sanskrit, and additional notes, edited by Hariśacandra Majumḍāra (Calcutta: Yogīndranātha Bandyopādhyāya, 431 GA [c. 1917]).

<sup>122</sup> [Ādi līlā], edited by Pañcasāra Munīgaṇḍa (Dhaka: Śaśibhūṣaṇa Bandyopādhyāya, 1332 BS [c. 1925]).

<sup>123</sup> Edited by Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī (Calcutta: Kānāilāla Śīla, 438 GA [c. 1924]).

and one severely truncates the text by giving summaries of long passages,<sup>124</sup> a practice that has, for the most part, fallen into disuse, although one still finds abridgements available in the market.<sup>125</sup> In short, the audience for the text reached from village to city, and from the most humble to the financially well-endowed, while the text itself was intensively studied by scholars, used daily by devotees, and even became a commemorative object.

The CC had moved in succession from its status as a hagiography to that of religious icon, sufficient to be installed on an altar, to a more generally widespread cultural icon that denoted its owner's participation in and glorifying of indigenous religious and cultural values, marking a kind of religious nationalism commensurate to the times. With its obviously increasing popularity, the number of printings since 1925 is impressive. Excluding the multitude of Battola press versions, we have personally examined twenty-five other editions of the text from this period, many of which have seen multiple printings. In addition, many of the older texts, including some of the ones noted above, continued in print for decades, although new imprints were not always marked as such.<sup>126</sup> The reader may consult the bibliography for a good sample from this period, but at least five texts (several of which appear in related editions) are worth examining closely, for they are very germane to the translation at hand.

In the mid-twenties, several editions were popular among the scholars of the devotional communities, and these editions still set the standard for accuracy and interpretation. Since the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Haribhaktipradayinī Sabhā produced a multitude of Vaiṣṇava texts at the Radhāramaṇa Press in Baharampura, Murshidabad, which had been established exclusively for that purpose. The chief editor, Rāmanāyaṇa Vidyaratna, had

<sup>124</sup> Edited by Śyāmacānda Vasaka, 2d ed. (Dhaka: by the editor at Śyāmacānda Printing Works, 1332 BS [c. 1925]).

<sup>125</sup> See, for instance, *Caitanyacaritāmṛta: laghu saṁskaraṇa*, edited with introduction, *tippani*, and glossary by Sukumāra Sena (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1977).

<sup>126</sup> In 1982, I visited the Calcutta home of a man whose great-grandfather had been a prominent publisher in the late nineteenth century. Inquiring about several editions of religious texts that had been published nearly a century before, the gentleman agreed to provide copies at extremely low cost. When I acknowledged his generosity, he smiled knowingly and motioned to another part of his house. There, neatly packed in bins that towered a good twenty feet above, were the original plates for many of the major publications his great grandfather had edited and published. He explained that he had a stock of very old paper and whenever he needed some money, he would simply print off a few copies of one of the texts and sell them to antiquarian book dealers. The copies of the text in question had not been printed in 1885 as it noted on the title page, but only six weeks earlier, in the spring of 1982—TKS.



edited and published at least sixty Vaiṣṇava works, including the specially commissioned edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that had been underwritten by Rādhāramaṇa Ghoṣa Bhāgavatabhūṣaṇa, the private secretary of the King of Tripura State (and after whom the press had apparently been named).<sup>127</sup> Rāmadeva Miśra had eventually taken over the editorial and publishing responsibilities, but nearly all of the works produced during his tenure were reissues of Rāmanārāyaṇa's originals. Their later edition of the CC, however, does not bear the editing imprimatur of either Rāmanārāyaṇa or Rāmadeva, but that of Vrajanātha Miśra, who was responsible for printing other works for the Sabha after Rāmadeva Miśra. This edition includes a commentary by the otherwise unremarked Jaganmohana Dāsa.<sup>128</sup> What is significant, regardless of who originally edited it, is that while nearly all of their other texts are considered to be superbly produced, indeed often regarded as the authoritative editions, the Rādhāramaṇa Press edition of the CC never seems to have carried that kind of scholastic standing, a state of affairs corroborated by S. K. De in his previously noted lamentation.<sup>129</sup> In some respects this edition represents the last of a style of fascicle publication of the CC that was at that time very much of a dying breed, reflecting more the nineteenth rather than twentieth century style publications. But we have consulted this text, perhaps the best representative of its style and period, to check for possible variations from the text as it is reproduced today. None of these newer publications reproduces Jaganmohana Dāsa's commentary, a tacit acknowledgement of its lack of popularity, if not authority. This suggests, then, that it fails to meet the needs of contemporary publishers most of whom, at least for the last half century, have been largely communal organizations of a newer corporate order and with very different goals. Starting in the early decades of the twentieth century, the Vaiṣṇava groups began to produce high volume publications as part of larger strategies to provide comprehensive social services to ever-widening segments of India, and even the smaller operations moved to establish publishing endowments to ensure future publications of high quality. In much the same way

<sup>127</sup> For their edition of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, see above section I.1, n. 6. The production of this text, which was prepared for private circulation, is reputed to have cost about one million rupees; see Ramakanta Cakravarti, *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal*, 393.

<sup>128</sup> Edited by Vrajanātha Miśra, with the commentary *Vaiṣṇavapriyā tīkā* of Jaganmohana Dāsa (Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharampura, 1334 BS [c. 1927]). Unfortunately, because of the manner of reproducing previously edited texts, earlier dates are not generally marked in any of these Rādhāramaṇa Press editions, so there is no way to know if this is the earliest version without finding a physical copy of an earlier imprint.

<sup>129</sup> Vide section V.1, n. 95 above.

that a guru-lineage in the early generation would commission the writing of a hagiography of Caitanya to establish its credentials, publishing the CC in the twentieth century became a mark of a community's prestige, with the commentaries of its own leaders not only establishing their authority, but shaping their particular interpretation of the text, which became for them by definition the most authoritative. Some of these have carried them now to the turn of the twenty-first century, while others have had a less lasting impact.

One such text that was rigorously produced, but had a relatively limited lifespan, was that of Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī.<sup>130</sup> This compact edition is one of the earliest examples of the growth of a scholarly text within the devotional community. The first edition, begun decades earlier than the most recent, displayed its Bengali and Sanskrit text in very concise form, and included by way of apparatus little more than translations of the Sanskrit śloka. The second and third editions corrected mistakes found in the Bengali text and realigned the presentation to double-columned couplets. The fourth edition, published in 1925, retained the basic format of the second and third, but added new, and according to the editor's own admission in the preface, considerably more accurate translations of the Sanskrit. In this last edition the Sanskrit is set off in larger type and more notes are added at the bottom of the page. The way the text was revised in its presentation and apparatus—not in its content—closely parallels the process followed by the producers and users of the earlier MSS, and it marks the process that was to characterize nearly all multiple editions that would follow, a clear pattern of increasingly refined commentary and textual apparatuses.<sup>131</sup> Shortly after Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī's works began to circulate, three other significant editions were published, one of which today is the most widely available scholarly work, the edition of the Gauḍīya Mission. The second, a single volume work that although remarkably produced, did not widely circulate, was that of Rādhānātha Kabaṣī, while the last was the scholarly production of Rādhāgovinda Nātha.

Rādhānātha Kabaṣī's text appeared from the Madanamohana Mandira of Dhanyakuḍīya in 1938,<sup>132</sup> and was clearly designed for the consumption of the local Vaiṣṇava community centered there. For the period, the text is printed on good quality paper of fairly low acid content, with an extremely clear typeface, double

<sup>130</sup> Edited by Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī, 4th ed. (Calcutta: Nāṭabara Cakravartī, 1333 BS [c. 1926]).

<sup>131</sup> While there is no evidence to connect this version of the CC to Rādhāgovinda Nātha's efforts a few years later, the similarity between his edition of Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Caitanya Bhāgavata* and the earlier version by Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī is especially notable. They alone of all the printed editions of that text divide the chapters dramatically differently.

<sup>132</sup> Edited with commentary by Rādhānātha Kabaṣī (Calcutta: Śrī Madanamohana Mandira of Dhanyakuḍīya, 1345 BS [c. 1938]).



columned *payāras*, and with *śloka*s set apart. The commentary is substantial and neatly placed at the bottom of the page just as one finds in most other scholarly editions. The additional apparatus is limited, but the overall production indicates a high quality of editing and thoughtful commentary. It is a shorter analog to the other major editions and we might speculate that had it appeared sooner, it would have filled a major lacuna in the scholarly section of the market. But it appeared almost exactly at the same time as the Gauḍīya Mission's version, which not only transformed the text into a massive compilation, but circulated much more widely because of its stronger institutional base.

The Gauḍīya Mission version follows a pattern of growth similar to that of Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī, but over a considerably longer time frame and with a unique method of flexible reproduction. This community began in the nineteenth century through the efforts of Kēdāranātha Datta, who founded the Viśvavaiṣṇava Sabha (itself a combination of two societies, the Vaiṣṇava Sabha and the Hariśādhana Samāja), which would eventually transform into the Gauḍīya Mission with branches all over India.<sup>133</sup> As part of a massive publishing project that generated new compositions on Vaiṣṇava theology, ritual, and history, as well as producing inexpensive, but often heavily edited, versions of older primary texts from the Gauḍīya corpus, the Gauḍīya Maṭha, the Mission's largest branch located in Bāgabājara in Calcutta, produced an edition of the CC that includes a very prominent commentary, the *Amṛtaprabhā bhāṣya* of Saccidānanda Bhaktivinoda Ṭhākura (the Mission's founder) and additional notes to the text in an *anubhāṣya* by Bāṣobhanavīdayita Dāsa.<sup>134</sup> The format of this text combines several popular styles of presentation. It has double columned *payāras* with the Sanskrit set slightly apart and in a different type face, but the text is interlaced with explanatory notes in an even lighter faced type, while the two commentaries fit below the text, divided from it by a solid line and referenced by *payāra* or *śloka* number (which are combined in sequence). For the first time, the combined commentaries are a length more than equal to that of the text itself, approximately one and one-half times longer. The explanations are theologically authoritative for the community, providing clear interpretations of the Gauḍīya Mission's understanding of the tradition, while much

<sup>133</sup> See Ramakanta Cakravarti, *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal*, 396ff.

<sup>134</sup> Edited with introduction and notes by Bhaktikevala Auḍulomi Mahārāja, with the commentary *Amṛtaprabhā bhāṣya* of Saccidānanda Bhaktivinoda Ṭhākura and the *Anubhāṣya* of Bāṣobhanavīdayita Dāsa, 5th ed. (Calcutta: Gauḍīya Maṭha, 1364 BS [c. 1957]). We have been unable to locate the date of the original edition. The text was originally published in fascicles (*hla* by *hla*), and can still be purchased in parts, but no later than the early 1960s, the text was routinely bound in a single volume. The dates in the later printings, however, do not seem to change, so it is impossible to determine when any one fascicle was printed or the entire volume assembled.

scholarly material is marshalled as additional evidence for proper readings. While there are numerous cross references in the commentary to the text and other parts of the commentary, the text features an appended apparatus which makes it extremely accessible, even to the casual reader. Numerous other well qualified scholars were enlisted to prepare these apparatuses, to double-check the citations, and so forth. The tables of contents stretch for pages, with extremely detailed references to stories and events, providing a topical synopsis of the entire text. Each *śloka* is indexed by its opening foot, so too every *payāra*. Place names, *dramatis personae*, and subject indexes are easily referenced and run to several hundred pages, and an extensive glossary translates the older vocabulary into a more modern idiom. In short, the overwhelming density of the CC is brought within easy grasp for both scholar and devotee, but with the effect of tripling the size of the presentation. Only the edition of Rādhagovinda Nātha proves to be more expansive.

Unlike any other edition, the elements of the Gauḍīya text, however, are reproduced in flexible combinations by different branches of the Mission, especially after the decentralization of the Gauḍīya Mission over a succession dispute. One popular example comes from the Māyāpura Gauḍīya Mission. It was edited by Bhaktivilāsa Tīrtha and has been frequently reproduced; the edition in our possession was the fifth.<sup>135</sup> It includes a much truncated version of the apparatus, but the actual printing of the text and commentary is exactly the same, indicating the use of photo offset from a previous edition of the Bāgabājara text. Another instance, the recent edition edited by Bhaktikumuda Santa Gosvāmī Mahārāja<sup>136</sup> uses only an abridgement of the first of the two previous commentaries while adding the *anubhāṣya* of a later leader, Bhaktisiddhānta Sarasvatī, thereby reducing the length of the text and commentary from a massive 1147 (British quarto crown) pages in the larger edition to a somewhat more manageable 741. The format, print size, even organization of the title page and binding, remain constant, while the front apparatuses (indexes, etc.) are reduced by more than half. From these examples—and they are only examples of numerous permutations—the community clearly augments or truncates the accompanying material depending on its perceived needs, while leaving the text itself intact. Although the initial phases through which the text expanded do not differ markedly from other publications produced in multiple editions, it shows its truly corporate nature in its variable reproduction, for each part of the text was and continues to be created by different members of the

<sup>135</sup> Edited by Bhaktivilāsa Tīrtha, 5th ed. (Māyāpura, W. B.: Caitanya Maṭha, 470 GA [c. 1956]).

<sup>136</sup> Edited by Bhaktikumuda Santa Gosvāmī Mahārāja, with the commentary *Amṛtaprabhā bhāṣya* of Saccidānanda Bhaktivinoda Ṭhākura and the *Anubhāṣya* of Bhaktisiddhānta Sarasvatī Gosvāmī Ṭhākura (Khaḍgapura: Śrīcāitanya Āśrama, 491 GA [1977]).



community and creatively combined to meet specific contingencies. The result is a highly plastic product. The advantage of that arrangement is obvious; but the corporate nature of the text also tends generally to dissolve some of the thematic coherence of the text's interpretive framework, which on occasion usefully pinpoints general areas of disagreement (and for this we have relied heavily on these editions). But most importantly, this method of recombining the parts by adding and deleting as needed, suggests that the text will continue to be transformed to newer needs, while retaining a strong continuity with those that preceded it. Unlike other editions that were created entirely by one or two men and then become outdated, the Gaudīya Mission's works, conceived as ongoing communal projects, are poised to maintain currency and viability for its disparate communities well into the foreseeable future.

The edition by Rādhāgovinda Nātha,<sup>137</sup> however, maintains a different kind of viability which derives from the fact that its audience is less communally centered and its presentation somewhat more theologically neutral, revealing the compiler's own academic interests<sup>138</sup>—and our reasons for relying on it. Testament to his standing as a scholar, no other editor of the CC has been honored with an academic commemoration volume; his death in 1970 at the age of ninety prompted sixty-five scholars from across India's universities and āśrāmas to assemble a collection of essays in Bengali and English to mark his lifetime contributions.<sup>139</sup> When he began his project with the CC, he was a professor at Victoria College in Comilla

<sup>137</sup> Edited with the commentary *Gaurakṛpāraṅgiṇī tika* by Rādhāgovinda Nātha, 3rd ed., 6 vols. (Calcutta: Sādhana Prakāśaṇī, 1355-59 [c. 1948-53]). Vide Sect. I.1, n. 1 above.

<sup>138</sup> The standing of Rādhāgovinda Nātha as a scholar is attested by his other works, including a compilation of the all of the biographical material devoted to Caitanya, titled *Mahāprabhu śṛīgaurāṅga* (Calcutta: Madana Gopāla Nātha, 1369 BS), a shorter work on the nature of Caitanya's incarnation, *Śṛīgaurātattva* (Calcutta: by the author, 1360 BS), and his edition of Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Caitanya Bhagavata* (edited with the commentary *Nitāikarūṇakallolīnī tika*, 6 vols. [Calcutta: Sādhana Prakāśaṇī, 1373 BS]). Most impressive of all is his voluminous *Gaudīya vaiṣṇava darśana*, 5 vols. (Calcutta: Prācyavāṇī Mandira, 1363-66 BS), the most comprehensive study of Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava theology and ritual. At the time of his death, he was working on an edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, only three volumes of which had been completed; to our knowledge this work is unpublished.

<sup>139</sup> Janārdana Cakravartī, ed., *Ācārya rādhāgovinda nātha smāraka grantha* (Calcutta: Sādhana prakāśaṇī, 1973). His work was recognized by a variety of institutions. According to the notice in the beginning of the volume (p. ix), in addition to his degrees from Jagannātha College at Dhaka Viśvavidyalaya (BFA, 1902), the General Assembly (BA 1904), and Calcutta University (MA 1905), he was awarded honorary titles by nine different secular and Vaiṣṇava academic institutions: Vidyavācaspati (Navadvīpa Paṇḍitamāṇḍali); Bhaktisiddhāntaratna (Mādhava Gauḍeśvara Pīṭha, Vṛndāvana); Bhāgavatabhūṣaṇa (Sīthī Vaiṣṇava Sammilanī, 24 Paragaṇa); Bhaktibhūṣaṇa (Rādhakunḍa o Govardhanera Vaiṣṇava Samāja); Sarojinī Vasu Suvarṇapadaka (Calcutta University, 1955); D.Lit. (Vaiṣṇava Theological Institute, Vṛndāvana, 1956); Rābīndra-puraskāra (West Bengal State Government, 1959-60); D.Lit. (Calcutta University, 1969); and D.Lit. (Rābīndra Bharatī Viśvavidyalaya, 1970).

(today in Bangladesh). He had contracted to produce a scholarly edition of the CC for a Vaiṣṇava publishing foundation, the Bhaktigrantha Pracāra Bhaṇḍāra, which was organized to produce quality editions of popular Vaiṣṇava texts, but was not associated directly with any other religious institution. When the first edition appeared in 1934, he noted in the preface to the last fascicle that his commentary had gotten proportionately longer as he progressed through the text. The final outcome was a book considerably exceeding the originally contracted length and cost, and somewhat asymmetrical in presentation. Because of the manner of its publication, he notes that he could not redress the imbalance in the commentary retroactively, for those early fascicles had already been printed. So, he promised a quick release of a second revised and expanded edition. The apparatus for the second edition, which appeared as promised in 1936, grew dramatically. He not only expanded the commentary in the early portions of the text to make them commensurate with the later portions, but enlarged the commentary throughout. So dramatic was the additional material that his printer was forced to expand the format. Having published the first edition on 8-page signatures in British quarto foolscap (8-1/2" x 6-3/4"), the second and subsequent editions required the substantially larger quarto crown (10" x 7-1/2"). He also indicated in the preface that, among others, he had been able to consult a very old MS found in the village of Jhamaṭapura in Bardhamān, Kṛṣṇadāsa's own home (Kṛṣṇadāsa had, however, composed the text about eight hundred miles to the west in Vraja). While he had been working on the text, he had started to write essays on various features of it, especially historical and theological concerns, some of which were appended in the final fascicles at the end of the *antya līla*. Toward the end of this preface, he adds somewhat prophetically, "I have corrected many mistakes found in the first edition, but my work is not at all finished." Indeed, at the outbreak of World War II, Rādhāgovinda Nātha was preparing a third edition, but this work would be delayed by the war, and complicated by the partition of Bengal.

The original publisher was no longer financially viable after the events of the decade and Rādhāgovinda Nātha moved to Ballygunge in Calcutta to pursue the study of the Gaudīya tradition full time, a study which took him to many of the centers of Vaiṣṇava piety and learning. Financially well-placed scholars and devotees in Calcutta helped to reinvigorate the foundation under a new charter by raising nearly ten thousand rupees to establish a trust fund to guarantee continued future publications. The fund-raising was nowhere near complete by the time the third edition began to roll off the presses, and according to his introduction, it was unclear whether the entire text could be produced. It was eventually produced in six volumes of text and apparatus, a form it would retain from that point. The



introductory volume contains a full length study of the text and tradition, exploring historical, philosophical, and ritual issues germane to the book and the life of Caitanya; it is not presented as a monograph, but as a series of discrete essays, totalling an auspicious sixty-four in number. That volume appeared in 1355 BS (c. 1948). *Ādi līlā* and the first half of *madhya līlā* also appeared that same year as volumes two and three. Volume four, the second half of *madhya*, came out a year later, delayed largely by the scarcity of paper, which also exacerbated the financial stability of the foundation and forced the new printer, Nagendrakumāra Naga Rāya at Eastland Printers, to raise the price of the fascicle. Fund-raising stalled for a period, which forced the printer to wait until 1951 to produce volume five, *antya līlā*. The format of the text found in volumes two through five is double-columned *payāra*, with *śloka*s set apart, accompanied by the editor's own commentary, titled *Gaurakṛpataṅgaṇī tīkā*, at the bottom of the page. This commentary, which is nearly triple the length of the text itself, not only includes cross references, explanations of unusual words, primary intertextual references, and lengthy explanations of the theology of the passage, but also translates the Sanskrit word-by-word and then in general paraphrase so that it works as a primer for the reader, although on occasion these paraphrased glosses supply so much additional and interpretive information that the unwary might be mildly misled as to the content of the Sanskrit. The sixth and final volume of the work was the *paraśiṣṭa* (appendices), which appeared in 1953. These appendices include the most extensive set of indexes and cross-referencing material available, including *śloka* and *payāra* indexes, extensive glossaries, all citations to other *śāstras*, place names, places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) and rivers, characters, and for the first time, subject and textual indexes to the commentary. The last volume ends with four additional essays on aspects of theology, *sādhana*, and renunciation. The production of the third edition took five years to complete and the early portions of the text (introduction and *ādi līlā*) were sold out by the time of the publication of the last two volumes. Its popularity supported the contention that in spite of its price it was without parallel as a scholarly tool. The fourth edition, which was released by another press in Calcutta, Sādhana Prakāśanī, produced the text of the previous publisher, for the only emendations are listed in a set of errata. The introductory volume, which was itself a very popular book, began a fifth edition in 1978, published by Rādhāgovinda Nātha's student, Manorañjana Caudhuri at Sādhana Prakāśanī. While Rādhāgovinda Nātha's monumental work has made the task of translation much easier, the current translation stands completely independent of all other translations, partial and complete.

#### 4. Translations of the Text

The text of the CC has been translated into English periodically, but completely only three times, although one of those three appears to be taken almost in its entirety from an earlier work. The translations do not start to appear until the early decades of the twentieth century. Although there is no date in the copy we inspected, the text that we believe to be the first translation is also possibly the first complete translation: Sanjib Kumar Chawdhury's *Sree Sree Chaitanya Charitamrita of Sree Sree Krisnadas Kaviraj Goswami*.<sup>140</sup> It should be noted, however, that we have not examined the *ādi līlā*, and cannot then confirm that the translation was in fact complete (this will have some potential bearing on later editions noted below). The text was published in Dhaka in East Bengal, and the publisher was Nagendra Kumāra Rāya, who is credited with editing the Bengali text in an edition also produced in Dhaka between 1904-1911. The overall production of the book—printing, binding, and its accession date in the India Office Library portion of the Oriental and India Office Collection at the British Library—confirms a publication date some time prior to 1915. At the end of the *antya līlā*, a complete translation of the epilogue surprisingly appears to be from the hand of Kṛṣṇadāsa himself. It is worth quoting in part, for it replicates exactly the wording from the oldest MS noted by Rādhāgovinda Nātha, which dates the original text from 1615 AD.

For the satisfaction of the Lord Madan-Gopal and the Lord Govinda, I now dedicate this book, the Chaitanya-Charitamrita to the holy Lord Chaitanya himself. . . . So I complete this book today in the holy Brindaban. And today is the fifth day of the waning-moon of the month of Jaistha of saka era fifteen hundred and thirty-seven.<sup>141</sup>

The translation is certainly worthy of the name, for each chapter is fully translated with little omitted. There is a limited amount of paraphrase, but overall fidelity to the original is fairly high. Using Popovic's four dimensions of translation,<sup>142</sup> we would characterize the translation as not striving for precise linguistic equivalence, for in many places it does not attempt lexical precision in either word-for-word or even sentence-for-sentence replication. It does, however, capture the gist of the

<sup>140</sup> *Sree Sree Chaitanya Charitamrita of Sree Sree Krisnadas Kaviraj Goswami*, translated into English by Sanjib Kumar Chawdhury (Faridabad, Dacca: Nagendra Kumar Roy, n.d.).

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., *Antyalila*, 323. Vide Sect. III.1, n. 67 above.

<sup>142</sup> Anton Popovic, *Dictionary for the Analysis of Literary Translation* (Department of Comparative Literature, University of Alberta, 1976).



the semantic value to establish solid paradigmatic equivalence, for the translation gives the reader a very good sense of the parameters of the narrative and theological argument. Chawdhury has retained syntagmatic equivalence, for there is no rearrangement of the text nor are any sections or episodes eliminated or abridged. Stylistically he has chosen the English prose sentence to be the equivalent of the Bengali *payāra* and Sanskrit *śloka*, as is most often done for translations of premodern Bengali texts. The text does not appear to have circulated widely at all and has been effectively absent from the scholarship of the tradition. The text appeared again in 1950, published by the Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamṛta Karyalaya, apparently an operation established for essentially one purpose.<sup>143</sup>

In 1954-56 a new translation of the CC appeared from Puri under the authorship of Nagendra Kumar Ray (Nagendra Kumāra Rāya), the same publisher of both Chaudhuri/Chowdhury translations.<sup>144</sup> Yet Ray's translation is essentially the same as Chawdhury's, including the title, *Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamṛta by Sri Sri Krishnadasa Kaviraja Goswamin*.<sup>145</sup> The title page reports that the work had been translated by Nagendra Kumar Ray and revised by Satish Chandra Ray, but the introductory matter suggests that the model for it was indeed Chaudhuri's, for Ray claims authorship only for *ādi līla*, which as noted above, we never located in the Chaudhuri versions. On p. vii of his introduction, he ends by saying, "Madhya and Antyalīla have been translated by Sri Sanjib Chaudhuri M.A. and published by me." In this edition, Nagendra Kumar has changed only the occasional article or conjunction, retaining virtually every part of the original translation, down to synopses that serve as lead-ins to chapters, page breaks, although pagination does differ by virtue of the breaking of the text into multiple volumes, and even punctuation, especially notable when awkward. The epilogue at the end of the *antya līla* regarding the provenance and date of the original manuscript was, however, dropped. The five volumes that constitute the *madhya* and *antya līla* bear no title pages or other publishing information, although they are clearly Chaudhuri's. Interestingly enough, the text is published again in a second edition in 1959 from the

<sup>143</sup> *Sri Sri Chaitanya-charitamṛta of Sri Sri Krishnadasa Kaviraja Goswamin*, translated into English by Sanjib Kumar Chaudhuri, 1st ed. (Calcutta: Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamṛta Karyalaya, 1950).

<sup>144</sup> We were unable to determine if this publisher is the same publisher who helped Rādhāgovinda Nātha publish his edition of the CC.

<sup>145</sup> *Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamṛta by Sri Sri Krishnadasa Kaviraja Goswamin [Adilīla]*, translated into English by Nagendra Kumar Ray, revised by Satish Chandra Ray [*Madhya* and *Antyalīla* translated by Sanjib Chaudhuri], 1st ed., 6 vols. (Calcutta: by the translator at Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamṛta Karyalaya, 1954-56).

Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamṛta Karyalaya, which has, at this point, shifted its operations to Puri.<sup>146</sup> This text has enjoyed a somewhat wider circulation, finding its way into many of the libraries in India and abroad, but it never enjoyed the widespread popularity of the first partial translation, which was also published abroad by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

About the time Chawdhury's first translation appeared, Jadunath Sarkar published a translation of the *madhya līla*; which could have conceivably appeared prior to Chawdhury's. Published simultaneously in London and Calcutta, the text bore the title *Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings*.<sup>147</sup> This translation is a prose paraphrase and summary. The translator appears to operate on the assumption that an "invariant core" of meaning will come through regardless of the form—itself a not uncommon strategy for translators—for he strives to establish only an approximate linguistic and stylistic equivalence. Because the text is anything but literal, yet captures much of the spirit of the original, it bears resemblance to what Eugene Nida has styled a "dynamic" translation that is designed to produce an equivalent effect to the original.<sup>148</sup> Sarkar's interest seems to have been largely that of a historian committed to presenting the historical narrative of the movement, a translator's strategy which tends to render the more specifically theological sections less important; this allows him to summarize, condense, and abridge occasional sections according to his design. Sarkar later reprinted the text in an expanded and revised form, which mainly included additional similarly construed renderings of sections of Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Caitanya Bhāgavata* that were germane to the history of the period. The title was changed to reflect the larger interest in Caitanya's life as a historical event, but appeared under the mild misnomer *Chaitanya's*

<sup>146</sup> 2d ed., 6 vols. (Puri: by the translator at Sri Sri Chaitanya Charitamṛta Karyalaya, 1959[-63]). Only *Adilīla* has a date, but the Library of Congress cataloging indicates 1959-63.

<sup>147</sup> *Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings*, translated into English by Jadunath Sarkar (London: Luzac and Co.; Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1913).

<sup>148</sup> The idea of an invariant core suggests that the text in the source language has a meaning that will emerge essentially unchanged, regardless of the type of translation, rendering the need for literal word-for-word translations obsolete. Eugene A. Nida formalized this concept in his *Towards a Science of Translating* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964) as applied to the Bible. He articulates two basic kinds of translation: formal translation and dynamic translation. The former slavishly focuses its attention on the message itself, in both form and content, so that poetry would be translated as poetry, prose sentences would be translated as prose sentences, and so forth. Dynamic translation, however, depends on the invariant core to produce an "equivalent effect," allowing the author to disregard and rearrange anything in the text. This latter is certainly appealing to translators of religious texts because of the assumption that the word is by definition inspired, which guarantees that the divine message will emerge, even from translations that are less than elegant.



*Life and Teachings from his Contemporary Bengali Biography the 'Chaitanya-charitamṛta.'*<sup>149</sup> These two works are often confused in bibliographical reference, but they were reliable staples of their period.

In the mid-twenties, however, two significant new partial translations appeared that provided a somewhat more literal presentation of the text. The first is a translation of the *adi līlā* by Nihar Ranjan Banerjee under the title *Shree Shree Chaitanya Charitamṛtam*.<sup>150</sup> It was published from the Shree Gaurkishore Temple, Chakratirtha, Puri, and while the title page bears no date, the introduction is dated 438 GA and 1925. According to the introduction, the translation was undertaken as a small contribution to help alleviate the tensions and hatred that were prevalent throughout the world by making the model of Vaiṣṇava love available to the English speaking populace. This impulse to proselytize is not uncommon among educated, religiously committed Indians of the period, and in this vein, the author names several figures who had sufficient vision to spread the word abroad, and whose example inspired his contribution. The format is small (British octavo crown, trimmed to 7" x 4-3/4"), with an expansive twelve point typeface and ample leading, resulting in the *adi līlā* stretching to 356 pages. All Sanskrit *śloka*s are printed in bold *devanāgarī* type and numbered separately in translation, and include citations when known. The translation itself is very concise, with names generally rendered in a popular transcription (e.g., Roopa for Rūpa), although diacritics are consistently retained for some technical terminology. The translator has included the very occasional footnote, usually a reference to another text supporting or clarifying the argument. The literal accuracy of the translation is considerably greater than other similar works and the author's English is very comfortably idiomatic to the period. He generally refrains from attempting to expand the glosses of key terms and phrases in the text, making the overall style very much akin to our contemporary standards of technical translation. Unfortunately only the *adi līlā* appears to have survived, if indeed any other volumes were published. Again, the impact on the scholarly community, however, seems to have been nil, for the book is to our knowledge never cited in any of the scholarship of the period, although it can be occasionally located in major research and private libraries.

Two years later another author produced a more specialized volume that focused exclusively on the theologically dense sections of the *madhya līlā*. The al-

leged translation, titled *Lord Sree Gouranga's Teachings to Rupa Goswami on Bhaktirasā (or Sweet Sentiments of Devotion)*, was prepared by Bemandas Majumdar.<sup>151</sup> The text is straightforward with a somewhat over-elegant diction, but is a translation only in the very loosest sense, for many whole sections of the narrative are excised, truncated, or summarized, reducing the chapters in question to less than twenty percent of the original. Yet, the argument itself is faithfully followed, and includes very literal readings of sections, especially those quoted from Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvalanīlamanī*. In the introductory matter, this paraphrase includes a very instructive chart of the *avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa as devised by Kṛṣṇadāsa, which bears a certain resemblance to the chart that appears later in this volume. Privately financed, the text does not seem to have circulated beyond a very tightly circumscribed community, for it too fails to register in the scholastic literature of the period, perhaps reflecting its general lack of availability, being privately published, but just as likely the weight of scholarly value, especially in the light of the success of Jadunath Sarkar's rendering about the same time.

The last translation of the CC was prepared much more recently by A.C. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada.<sup>152</sup> Like so many editions before it, the text first appeared over a two year period, not in fascicles, but originally in seventeen glossy hardbound volumes. The production values are high with printing on heavy, good quality stock, including illustrations that use four-color separations for very clear and bold images produced by artists within the devotional group. The extraordinary length of this edition results from the fact that Prabhupada included text, translation, and commentary. The Bengali and Sanskrit texts, both in Bengali script, are followed by word-for-word glosses and then translations, which are often expansive, suggesting its oral delivery to transcribers, but which serves the important purpose of attempting to capture for the non-native speaker the full semantic fields of technical terms. The idiom, however, is somewhat unique to this devotional community, being very much affected by the counter-culture adherents who first converted to Prabhupada's mission in New York and by Prabhupada's own English, which was his second language. The commentary, called here a "purport," is lengthy and used as a vehicle to lay the foundations of basic Gauḍīya teachings aimed at an audience with little or no background in the history of the movement, but who might be inclined to join the group. In this sense, Prabhupada's translation is very

<sup>149</sup> *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings from his Contemporary Bengali Biography the 'Chaitanya-charitamṛta,'* translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1932). The book has been recently reprinted again, as part of the fifth birth centenary of Caitanya.

<sup>150</sup> *Shree Shree Chaitanya Charitamṛtam [adi līlā]* translated by Nihar Ranjan Banerjee (Puri: Gaurkishore Temple, 438 GA).

<sup>151</sup> *Lord Sree Gouranga's Teachings to Rupa Goswami on Bhaktirasā (or Sweet Sentiments of Devotion)* [From the *Chaitanya Charitamṛta* of Krishnadas Kaivraj Goswami], translated into English by Bemandas Majumdar (Monghyr: Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh, 1926).

<sup>152</sup> Translated with text and commentary by A. C. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada, 17 vols. (Los Angeles: International Society for Krishna Consciousness, 1974-75).



much a vehicle to proseletize—much as the text has been since its initial writing—only to a foreign, rather than local audience; this is further evidenced by the somewhat unusual methods of distribution which frequently depends on selling copies to people transiting airports, attending large sporting and musical events, and frequenting other social gatherings. Because of the heavy subsidy, the text is very inexpensive. Except for studies of the contemporary Vaiṣṇava communities, the text is not generally cited in academic writing, even though it has been reissued several times since its original publication and is still widely and easily available today.

D. C. Sen's various books on Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism,<sup>153</sup> as well as his *History of Bengali Language and Literature*<sup>154</sup> also contain some translated passages, but mainly retell stories from the biographies of Caitanya and other Vaiṣṇava writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These somewhat dated volumes still serve as an important introduction to the biography of Caitanya for those readers restricted to European tongues. There are several additional, usually partial, translations of the CC into modern Bengali, Hindi and Brajabhāṣā, Sanskrit, and European languages. The reader may consult the bibliography for a sample of these works. The scholarly works that analyze the CC, and the larger Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava world is, however, considerably more vast than the translations would suggest.

### 5. Scholarship of the Text and Tradition

Perhaps more than all of the critical studies combined, the previously mentioned essay by Amulyacandra Sena called *Itihāsa śrī-caitanya* has caused near apoplexy among the followers of the tradition and a good many scholars as well. Dr. Sena has applied critical standards, based on both internal and external evidence, and has reached certain conclusions which seem to be extremely offensive to believers, e.g., the already noted judgment that the beloved story of the conversion of Śarvabhauma has an element of fiction mixed in with it. The extent of the offence which has been taken, and the extent to which Vaiṣṇavism is still a social force, can be judged from the fact that the book was recalled from the market shortly after

its publication.<sup>155</sup> If one grants the premise of believing Vaiṣṇavas, viz. that Caitanya was more than a man, one can understand readily enough the height of the feeling which surrounds the book. And it is true that Dr. Sena does belabor his point to a certain extent: to ignore the fact that certain of Kṛṣṇadāsa's statements are pious hyperbole, and to stress that it would have been impossible for Rūpa and Sanātana to spend one night under each tree in Vṛndāvana, as Kṛṣṇadāsa says they did, may be going too far. Both A. C. Sena and S. K. De also seem taken with the fact, previously mentioned, that Kṛṣṇadāsa often quotes from texts which had not at that time when they were quoted in the sequence of the CC been written. This is indeed historically strange; but as has been pointed out before, Kṛṣṇadāsa was not writing history. But even in that context the Vaiṣṇavas would have an answer for the charge: whatever early writers wrote was only the word of Caitanya, who was speaking through their mouths. The word itself is eternal. So the religious context of the texts must be taken into consideration. But even though he does not do this, Dr. Sena's book is a careful and thoughtful analysis, and deserves the attention of anyone concerned with distilling whatever there is of history from these religious books.

In terms of historical criticism, Sena has not gone much beyond S. K. De's study, *The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*,<sup>156</sup> which remains the standard book in English on the subject, and the best of its kind in any language. Like Sena, De's book, especially in the section called "The Life and Personality of Caitanya,"<sup>157</sup> pokes holes in accepted dogma, and points out historical inaccuracy with irrefutable erudition. But the tenor of the book is one of reserve and tact, established in the Preface in the first edition: "The author . . . is willing to confess to an imperfect capacity, but his desire to appreciate, in the light of modern standards of scholarship, should not be misjudged."<sup>158</sup> It is this humility, which would be very familiar to a Vaiṣṇava, which has perhaps allowed De's study to be accepted.

Walther Eidlitz' book *Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya: Sein Leben und Seine Lehre*<sup>159</sup> is actually one of the earlier recent studies on the subject (it was begun, in fact, in 1938),

<sup>155</sup> Vide Sect. II, n. 15 above. So complete was this recall that when in 1982 I visited the publisher to inquire about purchasing a copy of the book, carrying with me a photocopy of the title page, the manager denied ever publishing the book and simply dismissed my "evidence"—TKS.

<sup>156</sup> Vide Sect. I, n. 6 above.

<sup>157</sup> De, VFM, 67-102.

<sup>158</sup> De, VFM, 1st ed. (Calcutta: General Printers and Publishers, 1942), ix. This statement is not found in later editions.

<sup>159</sup> Walther Eidlitz, *Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya: Sein Leben und Seine Lehre*, Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 7 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968).

<sup>153</sup> Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Chaitanya and his Age* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1924); idem., *Chaitanya and his Companions* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1917); idem., *The Vaiṣṇava Literature of Medieval Bengal* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1917). Vide Sect. V.1, n. 98 above.

<sup>154</sup> Vide Sect. III.1, n. 61 above.



and has much still to recommend it. The first part places the Bengali Vaiṣṇava movement in the larger context of devotional Hinduism; the second traces the development of Caitanya's life and thought, mostly through the author's translations from the *CBh*, *CC*, and *CCN*, though other texts are not ignored. Several recent studies have followed the same pattern as Eidlitz. One of these studies is by A. K. Majumdar who has structured his *Caitanya: His Life and Doctrine* along the lines of Kṛṣṇadāsa's *CC*, but has consulted the full range of biographical and philosophical texts.<sup>160</sup> The book is very well documented and contains a useful bibliography.

The standard sourcebook for the biographies of Caitanya and his companions remains that by the great, now-deceased Vaiṣṇava scholar B. B. Majumdar, *Śrī caitanya caritā upadāna*.<sup>161</sup> This is an extraordinary piece of scholarship in its breadth and its penetrating analysis, and it examines critically all the primary source materials for the early centuries of the movement, establishing relative dates, probable interpolations, etc. Carrying on and extending this scholarship is the recent and still unpublished dissertation by Tony K. Stewart, "The Biographical Images of Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya: A Study in the Perception of Divinity."<sup>162</sup> This study, besides providing thorough bibliographic information on the biographical texts in Bengali and Sanskrit, analyses the evolution of the idea of Caitanya's divinity from its origins in the earliest text, Murārī's *KCC*, through the five intermediate biographies to Kṛṣṇadāsa's *CC*: it is, effectively, a study of theological development through an analysis of the medium of biography, and it includes extensive translations.

Less textual in orientation and more designed to provide social and historical background to the early phase of the movement is another excellent and still unpublished dissertation, this one by Joseph T. O'Connell, called "The Social Implications of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Movement."<sup>163</sup> It is a study particularly valuable for its insight into Hindu-Muslim relations. It joins another, older book in this area of concern, namely *The Chaitanya Movement* by Melville T. Kennedy, a somewhat flawed but still useful book that contains interesting if unsystematic observations on some modern developments of the movement.<sup>164</sup> Ramakanta Chakravarti's *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal: 1486-1900*, provides a useful guide to the post-Caitanya

<sup>160</sup> A. K. Majumdar, *Caitanya: His Life and Doctrine—A study in Vaiṣṇavism* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1969).

<sup>161</sup> Bimānabihārī Majumdar, *Śrī caitanya caritā upadāna*, 2d ed. (Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1959); hereafter cited as *CCU*.

<sup>162</sup> Vide Sect. II, n. 21 above.

<sup>163</sup> Joseph T. O'Connell, "The Social Implications of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Movement" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1970).

<sup>164</sup> Vide Sect. II, n. 50 above.

era<sup>165</sup>; those familiar with Bengali will find more details in the previously mentioned *Narottamadaśa o tāhāra racanāvalī* by Niradaprasāda Nātha, Mihira Caudhuri Kāmilya's *Narahari cakravartī: jīvanī o racanāvalī*, Jmūtavahana Rāya's *Śrīnivāsa ācārya o ṣoḍaśa śatābdhira gauḍīya vaiṣṇava samāja*, and Śāntilata Rāya's *Vaiṣṇava sāhitya o yadunandana*.<sup>166</sup> Two older works that are especially difficult to locate, but which prove invaluable when found, are Amūlyadhana Rāya Bhaṭṭa's *Śrī śrī dvādaśa gopala*,<sup>167</sup> and Gauraguṇānanda Ṭhākura's *Śrīkhaṇḍera prācīna vaiṣṇava*.<sup>168</sup> A newer regional study that extends this type of scholarship and fills in significant gaps in the movement's history is Kānanavihārī Gosvāmī's *Bāghana-pāda sampradāya o vaiṣṇava sāhitya*.<sup>169</sup> Prabhat Mukherjee has authored several books on the Vaiṣṇavism of Orissa, and most germane to the current interest is his *History of the Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*.<sup>170</sup> For the lives of the six Gosvāmīs, the standard reference continues to be Nareśacandra Jānā's *Vṛndāvanera chaya gosvāmī*.<sup>171</sup> Two more specialized studies of the Braj region are the Hindi *Caitanya sampradāya: siddhānta aur sāhitya* by N. C. Bāṃsal<sup>172</sup> and Prabhudayala Mītala's *Caitanya mata aur braja sāhitya*.<sup>173</sup> David Haberman's *Journey through the Twelve Forests*<sup>174</sup> gives an account of the traditional pilgrimage to the Braj region and, of immediate interest here, explores the relationship of the different Vaiṣṇava groups that lay claim to restoring the lost sites of Vṛndāvana.

There is a very large residue of work, in both English and Bengali, which deals with one or another aspect of the philosophy, theology, religion, and literature of the movement that centered around Caitanya, while not relating specifically to his life. For example, three recent studies have dealt in one way or another with the unique Vaiṣṇava ideas of the relationship between religious and esthetic experience, David Haberman's dissertation published as *Acting as Way of Salvation: A Study*

<sup>165</sup> Vide Sect. V.2, n. 98 above.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid. and vide Sect. III.1, n. 67 above.

<sup>167</sup> Amūlyadhana Rāya Bhaṭṭa, *Śrīśrī dvādaśa gopala* (Calcutta: Mānuṣ Press, 1331 BS).

<sup>168</sup> Gauraguṇānanda Ṭhākura, *Śrīkhaṇḍera prācīna vaiṣṇava*, 2d ed. (Śrīkhaṇḍa, WB: Yaśoda-nanda Ṭhākura, 469 GA).

<sup>169</sup> Kānanavihārī Gosvāmī, *Bāghana-pāda sampradāya o vaiṣṇava sāhitya* (Calcutta: Rabīndra-bhārati Viśvavidyālaya, 1993).

<sup>170</sup> Prabhat Mukherjee, *History of the Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*, South Asian Studies no. 10 (Delhi: Manohar for South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University, 1979).

<sup>171</sup> Nareśacandra Jānā, *Vṛndāvanera chaya gosvāmī* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1970).

<sup>172</sup> Nareśa Candra Bāṃsal, *Caitanya sampradāya: siddhānta aur sāhitya* (Agra: Vinoda Pustaka Mandira, 1980).

<sup>173</sup> Prabhudayala Mītala, *Caitanya mata aur braja sāhitya*, Braja Sāhitya Mālā 16 (Mathurā: Sāhitya Samsthāna, 1962).

<sup>174</sup> Vide section II, no. 44 above.



of the *Rāganuga Bhakti Sādhana*,<sup>175</sup> Donna M. Wulff's *Drama as a Mode of Religious Realization: The 'Vidagdhamādhava' of Rūpa Gosvāmin*,<sup>176</sup> and Neal Delmonico, "Sacred Erotic Rapture: A Study of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*." <sup>177</sup> And June McDaniel's *Madness of the Saints: Ecstatic Religion in Bengal*<sup>178</sup> treats some of the more mystical phases of the religious traditions in Bengal, including Vaiṣṇavas and related groups, such as Bāuls and Sahajiyās. To understand these groups, it is a desideratum to be familiar with the metaphysics and aesthetic rendering of *rasa* by the Gosvāmins and the interpretation of the dual incarnation articulated by Kṛṣṇadāsa. Among those groups, the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās perhaps receive the most attention, and the scholarship on them is considerable, in spite of the obscurity of their writings and the difficulty of investigating religious practices that are by their very nature secret. Manindra Mohan Bose's 1930 study titled *The Post Caitanya Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal*, the first full scale study of this group's system of theology and ritual, has been recently reprinted.<sup>179</sup> Shashibhusan Dasgupta's *Obscure Religious Cults* is an excellent comparative study that contextualizes the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās in the larger religious environment of Bengal.<sup>180</sup> Edward C. Dimock's *Place of the Hidden Moon* demonstrates the intimacy and reliance of the Sahajiyās on individuals with the mainstream Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava tradition as well as its philosophical and theological speculation.<sup>181</sup> Building on those works are Paritoṣa Dāsa's several studies, most notable *Sahajiyā o gauḍīya vaiṣṇava dharma*,<sup>182</sup> and Glen Hayes' unpublished dissertation, titled "Shapes for the Soul: A Study of Body Symbolism in the Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā Tradition of Medieval Bengal."<sup>183</sup> Apart from the Sahajiyās, the Vaiṣṇava scholarship affects other Bengali communities such as the Karta Bhajās, Āliyas, and Bāuls, and the Pāñca Sakhā of Orissa, but to detail this

<sup>175</sup> Vide section I, n. 9 above.

<sup>176</sup> Donna M. Wulff, *Drama as a Mode of Religious Realization: The 'Vidagdhamādhava' of Rūpa Gosvāmin*, AAR Academy Series 43 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984).

<sup>177</sup> Neal Delmonico, "Sacred Erotic Rapture: A Study of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1990).

<sup>178</sup> June McDaniel, *The Madness of the Saints: Ecstatic Religion in Bengal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

<sup>179</sup> Manindra Mohan Bose, *The Post Caitanya Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal* (1930: reprint Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1986).

<sup>180</sup> Shashibhusan Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 3d ed. (Calcutta: Fimal KLM, 1976).

<sup>181</sup> Vide Sect. II, n. 13.

<sup>182</sup> Paritoṣa Dāsa, *Sahajiyā o gauḍīya vaiṣṇava dharma* (Calcutta: Fimal KLM, 1978).

<sup>183</sup> Glen Alexander Hayes, "Shapes for the Soul: A Study of Body Symbolism in the Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā Tradition of Medieval Bengal" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1985).

scholarship beyond reference to the encyclopaedic compilation by Upendranātha Bhaṭṭācārya, titled *Bāmlāra baula o baula gāna*, will serve little purpose.<sup>184</sup>

To make a comprehensive list of all studies relevant to the matter at hand would be an impossible task within the present confines. The reader is directed to the bibliography which, although not exhaustive, can serve as a guide to the scholastic literature and the primary texts of the tradition. Two other studies, however, have been of particular importance to the production of the present book, and they should be mentioned here. They are Rādhāgovinda Nātha's monumental five volume survey of Vaiṣṇava philosophy, *Gauḍīya vaiṣṇava darśana*,<sup>185</sup> an invaluable reference work, and Sukumar Sen's *A History of Brajabuli Literature*,<sup>186</sup> which, although published more than fifty years ago, remains the best compilation of information on the early *pada*-writers, excellent poets and excellent sources for the history of the movement.

<sup>184</sup> Upendranātha Bhaṭṭācārya, *Bāmlāra baula o baula gāna* (Calcutta: Orient Book Company, 1364 BS).

<sup>185</sup> Vide Sect. V.3, n. 138 above.

<sup>186</sup> Sukumar Sen, *A History of Brajabuli Literature* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1935).



## VI. CAITANYA'S IMAGE IN EARLY SOURCES

### 1. Caitanya as Avatāra: Early Perspectives

The hagiographical tradition dedicated to Caitanya is prolix, a monument to his charisma and exemplary devotion. But the texts are much more than hagiographies, in the traditional sense of that word, because the authors never portray their beloved subject as anything less than an extension of their lord Kṛṣṇa, but more often as Kṛṣṇa himself. There are seven complete biographies extant to the sixteenth century, beginning with Murāri's Sanskrit *KCC* and ending with Kṛṣṇadāsa's *CC* in the early seventeenth century.<sup>187</sup> Each biographer is inescapably bound to his own historical circumstance and, more important here, to his or more probably his *guru*'s personal devotional perspective. It comes as no surprise that several of these authors are considerably more skilled than others in expressing the fundamental tenets of their acceptance of Caitanya's divinity. Yet within this tradition stretching nearly a century, there is a discernible continuity, a tendency toward greater sophistication in theology, in western terms probably best described as a process of development in the biographical image of Caitanya. This trend, however, ends rather abruptly with the *CC* of Kṛṣṇadāsa. His is, both literally and figuratively, the final word in shaping the sacred image of Caitanya.

Before Gaura's renunciation, the Navadvīpa devotees began to apprehend in him the first hints that he was more than a good devotee; he was, so they began vaguely to articulate, an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa, a *bhakta* appearing in order to instruct

<sup>187</sup> As already noted, the best critical account of the vast array of primary materials for the study of Caitanya's life is the late B. B. Majumdar's *CCU* (vide Sect. V.5, n. 161 above). His appraisals of the texts have been followed with few emendations by most recent writers, including the previously cited works by Sushil Kumar De, Amūlyacandra Sena, Radhagovinda Natha, and Tony K. Stewart.

the devotional community in those uneven times of Muslim domination. It was not long until his followers came to believe in him as the godhead himself, *svayaṁ bhagavān*, not merely an extension or part of that godhead descended. Even though he attributes the inspiration to earlier *bhaktas*, Kṛṣṇadāsa proposes a final, novel image of Caitanya as the dual-incarnation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The two became one as Caitanya, who was overtly Rādhā and covertly Kṛṣṇa, an androgynous divinity that encompassed the full range of devotional possibilities between humans and God. When devotees envisioned him as a model for emulation—that is, as Rādhā—he served as the subject of devotion; at other times, he was approached as the object of that devotion—Kṛṣṇa.

### Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta of Murāri Gupta

Murāri Gupta's Sanskrit *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta*<sup>188</sup> is generally accepted as the oldest extant biography of Caitanya and probably is the first one to take a definite shape beyond a few verses of adulation. The book, popularly referred to as Murāri's *Kaḍaḍā*, meaning "diary" or "notebook," is significantly more than that; the printed text contains 1926 *śloka*s, divided into roughly equivalent books of sixteen, eighteen, eighteen, and twenty-six chapters respectively. The narrative is unsophisticated in conception and unadorned in its execution, hence its value as a straightforward record of the basic acts of Caitanya, sufficiently reliable to provide the frame for every subsequent biographer. Murāri was a contemporary of Caitanya, apparently his elder classmate in the Sanskrit *ṭola* of Gaṅgādāsa Paṇḍita; he was a *vaidya* by caste, and a devotee of Rāma. Murāri composed this biography at the behest of Śrīvāsa (*KCC* 1.1.9), but not until he received the expressed permission of Caitanya himself (2.4.24-26), petitioned apparently when Caitanya was still living in Navadvīpa.

Exactly when the text was completed is open to question, but the evidence suggests that Murāri had written most of it before Caitanya died and finished it shortly thereafter, for Caitanya's passing is explicitly noted (1.2.14). Doubts about the date have been compounded by inconsistencies in the printed editions, several editors and transcribers having seen fit to emend the text here and on other points.<sup>189</sup> That the MSS from which the printed editions were prepared have disappeared has fueled

<sup>188</sup> Vide, Sect. II, n. 16.

<sup>189</sup> In 1303 BS (c. 1896) the editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Śiśira Kumāra Ghōṣa, transcribed the text from a MS held by Madhusudana Gosvāmī of the Dhaka region of present-day Bangladesh. A second MS, written in the *nāgari* script, was discovered in Vṛndāvana, which was consulted along with the first to create the first printed edition, brought out in that same year by



the controversy even further, causing some scholars to doubt its authenticity. But the fact remains that every hagiographer in the tradition, including Kṛṣṇadāsa (CC 1.13.14), follows Murāri's biographical chronology and offers him homage; some quote him or paraphrase him fairly extensively. B. B. Majumdhara concludes that the printed text, apart from minor inconsistencies, is essentially accurate and does, in his learned opinion, represent the original biography by Murāri.<sup>190</sup> Majumdhara's argument is sound: Narahari Cakravarti's eighteenth century *Bhaktiratnakara* quotes thirteen ślokaś found in the modern version of KCC; Kavikarṇapūra's early biography, the *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahakāvya*, claims to and does follow Murāri up to the point of Caitanya's renunciation; and Locana Dāsa's late sixteenth century Bengali *Caitanya Maṅgala* translates large sections of Murāri's work, corroborating the narrative of the KCC through 4.21, approximately ninety-five percent of the text.

Murāri contributes generously to the hagiographical tradition and to the fledgling and still speculative theology regarding Caitanya. He was the first to articulate *in extenso* the position that Caitanya was God, and in so doing he provided the first systematic theological statements to justify the claim. However bold his assertion of Caitanya's true identity may have been, he followed strictly the framework provided by the Vaiṣṇava *purāṇas* for such postulations: Caitanya was a portion (*aṁśa*) of the godhead, a part descended from heaven to establish the proper mode of worship for this apparently god-forsaken Kali age, in short, a traditional *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa. This *avatāra* was of course the classical *yuga avatāra*, the descent for this the last of the four ages, but from this rather straight-forward position, Murāri plants the seeds for several theories that were to shape profoundly later theology and practice (*sādhana*). In one of his earliest speculations, and a theological move that would be accepted as the norm by every other hagiographer, Murāri argues that when

Syāmalala Gosvāmī. A second *nāgari* edition was published in 1317 BS (c. 1910). The third edition, edited by Mṛṇālakānti Ghoṣa, appeared in 1337 BS (c. 1930) in Bengali script; and it was in this edition that the date of transcription was changed from 1425 śaka (c. 1503) to 1435 śaka (c. 1513), creating much controversy in the process. The last edition, the fourth, also edited by Mṛṇālakānti, retreated from these and other minor changes, but then suffered from additional emendations and "corrections" by the Bengali translator, the learned Vaiṣṇava scholar Haridāsa Dāsa. In celebration of the fifth birth centenary of Caitanya, Madanamohana Gosvāmī, a devotee from Calcutta, has published a Bengali translation of the KCC that, according to his introduction (p. ii), was made from an old MS in his possession, but also with the aid of Mṛṇālakānti Ghoṣa's edition, whose Bengali translation it follows very closely in content, but not diction (*Kṛṣṇa-caitanyacaritāmṛtaḥ bā śrī śrī murāri guptera kaḍaca*, trans. Madanamohana Gosvāmī [Calcutta: Puṣparāṇi Maṅḍala, 1382 BS]).

<sup>190</sup> Majumdhara, CCU, 76-81.

Caitanya descended to earth, he brought with him his *dhama*, his personal realm. All of the personal relations Kṛṣṇa had in Vraja, his mother and father, his brother, his friends, and even enemies, he carried along when he descended; and these figures are the very people who surrounded Caitanya in this world. Four among them carried a special significance apart from Caitanya: Nityānanda, Gadādhara, Advaitācārya, and Śrīvāsa. These men—or in this theory, descendants of their heavenly counterparts—assumed a central place in all of the theologies because they came to represent the requisite parts of a complete and satisfying *bhakti*. Each one eventually headed a central spiritual lineage, so when taken together with Caitanya, they form the historical nucleus of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava society. Murāri only provides a speculative outline of these positions, often intimating more than he openly declares, but it was enough to lay the foundation for a more sophisticated articulation of the *gaura parāmya vāda*, the belief in the supreme divinity of Caitanya.

#### Caitanya Bhāgavata of Vṛndāvana Dāsa

The first Bengali biography is also the most popular narrative of Caitanya's life, the *Caitanya Bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvana Dāsa.<sup>191</sup> The author grew up near and continued to have access to the inner circle of Caitanya's Navadvīpa community, for his mother, Nārāyaṇī, was sister-in-law to the important devotee Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita. There are many elaborate stories which surround Vṛndāvana Dāsa and his mother, some of them perhaps factual;<sup>192</sup> but more important is the fact that Vṛndāvana Dāsa wrote at the direct command of his *guru*, Caitanya's close companion Nityānanda

<sup>191</sup> Vide Sect. I, n. 2 above. According to Jatindra Mohan Bhattacharjee's *Catalogus Catalogorum of Bengali Manuscripts* and Tarapada Mukherjee's *Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts of the Vrindaban Research Institute* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1978), well over four hundred MSS complete and partial are preserved today in accessible collections.

The *CBh* has been printed numerous times during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In addition to the Rādhāgovinda Nātha and Gauḍīya Māṭha editions noted above, that of Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī is significant since it apparently served as the basis for Rādhāgovinda Nātha's version (*CBh*, ed. Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī [Calcutta: Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Sammilana, 452 GA]). The Murshidabad edition, like most of the other quality works produced by the active Vaiṣṇava community there, was first published in fascicles and then reprinted from time to time (ed. Rāsavihārī Bhāgavatābhūṣaṇa [Murshidabad: Rāmadēva Mīśra at Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharampura for Haribhaktipradayinī Sabha, 1320-26]).

<sup>192</sup> The controversy centers on two important points: first, Vṛndāvana Dāsa's father is never mentioned, which raises the spectre of illegitimacy; and second, Nārāyaṇī is reputed to have consumed Caitanya's leftover food, a privilege associated with intimacy, but also a standard mythic variant for insemination (*CBh* 2.2.319; 2.10.288-94). Majumdhara notes that none of the condemning speculation can be verified (CCU, 180-83). See also Sena, *ISC*, 137-38; and De, *VFM*, 48, n. 1.



(CBh 1.1.60-61; 2.2.339-40), and the text should be read in that light. That the text was probably finished sometime between 1546 and 1550 when Vṛndāvana Dāsa would have been in his twenties—most scholars settling for 1548 AD<sup>193</sup>—argues heavily for its historical accuracy—or at least a version of events acceptable to the community—for many of Caitanya's close companions were still alive and probably had the opportunity to read the text. Significantly, Kṛṣṇadāsa, who calls the CBh by the name of *Caitanya Maṇigala*, pays his respects to Vṛndāvana Dāsa on numerous occasions in the CC, commonly referring to him as the Vyāsa of the Caitanya story (e.g., CC 1.11.51-52; 1.13.45-46).<sup>194</sup> With his usual humility, Kṛṣṇadāsa claims only to expand on Caitanya's later life in an effort to finish the work first begun but not completed in the CBh, which concentrated on his early life (e.g., CC 1.13.47-48; 3.20.64-66; 3.20.73-92).

At 12,400 couplets (*payāra*), the CBh is about 900 strophes longer than the CC, which makes it the longest biography from the early period. Vṛndāvana Dāsa's narrative style is popular largely because of its earthiness, unburdened by the often ponderous theological speculation that characterizes the CC. It follows Caitanya's life up to and immediately following his renunciation. The text is divided into three uneven sections (*ādi*, *madhya*, and *antya khaṇḍas*), with more than half—the entire *madhya khaṇḍa*—devoted to those few months of ecstasy Caitanya experienced in Navadvīpa between his return from Gaya and his *saṁnyāsa*. Later devotional developments within certain sectors of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community will utilize this mythology, which describes young Gaurāṅga's first taste of the emotions of *bhakti* (*bhāva*), as a model for their own practice. These sections confirm and extend Murāri's claim for Caitanya's divinity by recounting a number of episodes in which Caitanya revealed a celestial form. As did Murāri, Vṛndāvana Dāsa presents Caitanya as the supreme lord, Kṛṣṇa Nārāyaṇa, who has come to overwhelm the evil-doers of the decadent Kali age and to reinstitute the proper law (*dharma*). Where Murāri only hints, Vṛndāvana Dāsa provides details of the puzzling dissociative states experienced by Caitanya when he was possessed of the various *bhāvas* of devotion. His descriptions are vivid and passionate, capturing the spectacle of Caitanya's profound religious experiences. He too was bound by the same purāṇic

<sup>193</sup> Majumḍāra, CCU, 188-95; see also Asit Kumāra Bandyopādhyāya, *Baṁlā sahityera itibhṛta*, 5 vols. (Calcutta: Modern Book Agency, 1373-90 BS), 2:347-49; hereafter cited as BSI.

<sup>194</sup> Vṛndāvana Dāsa was widely believed to be the personality of Vyāsa in the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa's realm (*dhāma*), as reported by Kavikarṇapūra in his *Gaurāṅgānoddēśadīpikā* (ed. with Bengali trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyārātana, 4th ed. [Murshidabad: Rāmadeva Miśra at Rādhārāmaṇa Press of Baharampura, 1329 BS], v. 109); hereafter cited as GGUD. This composition matches each of the primary characters of Caitanya's *dhāma* with his or her counterpart in the Kṛṣṇa-*dhāma*.

conception that bound Murāri, but Vṛndāvana Dāsa asserts much more boldly Caitanya's role in bringing about the end of the tyrannies of the Kali age—and specifically, the end of the Muslim domination of Bengal and the widespread blood-rituals of worshipers of the goddess.<sup>195</sup> By placing such emphasis on Caitanya's psychological condition (*bhāva*), he anticipates the future direction of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theology, moving as it does away from the martial images of divinity to more benign forms.

#### Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya of Kavikarṇapūra

The *Kṛṣṇacaitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya*<sup>196</sup> is a Sanskrit work by a young pandit of the city of Puri, Paramānanda Sena. He was the son of the prominent Bengali devotee, Śivānanda Sena, who led the devotees annually to Puri to visit Caitanya in the later years. Tradition has it that Paramānanda was a precocious youngster who apparently demonstrated his skills by composing a verse for Caitanya, the latter promptly bestowing on him the title "Ear Ornament of Poets" or Kavikarṇapūra. The text of the KCCM, often considered an admirable but immature work, reflects the author's extensive training in the literary arts, especially *alaṁkāra-śāstra*, that special science devoted to the sophisticated but overt techniques of poetic style (in contrast to the subtle and more dramaturgical *rasa-śāstra* adapted so effectively by Rūpa Gosvāmin). The KCCM is divided into twenty chapters, comprising 1912 *śloka*s, written in a variety of meters.<sup>197</sup> Even though the text was finished in 1464 *śaka* (c. 1542),<sup>198</sup> making it roughly contemporary to Vṛndāvana Dāsa's CBh, it appears never to have made much of an impact on the believing community,

<sup>195</sup> The hope that Caitanya would somehow lead his community to a victory over the local Muslim government and triumph over those who spill blood in sacrifice is found in references to the function of the *avatāra*, especially the *yugāvatāra*, e.g., destroying and decapitating heretics (CBh 2.2.86-92; 3.3.94); calming fears because he carries the Sudarśana discus (3.2.135ff); Caitanya's and Nityānanda's roles as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (2.4.21ff; 2.23.523; 3.5.218; 3.8.31); his equation with Kṛṣṇa of the BhG (2.24.49ff and passim); and multiple revelations of his celestial sovereignty with weapons (passim). As previously noted, Jayānanda writes of a prediction given a Muslim ruler that he will be overthrown by a *brāhmaṇa* (JCM 2.4.22-27), vide Sect. I, n. 3 above.

<sup>196</sup> Vide, Sect. II, n. 27 above. The only other edition of this work to be printed in the last half century is KCCM, ed. with Bengali trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyārātana, 2d ed. (Murshidabad: Rādhārāmaṇa Press of Baharampura, 1332 BS).

<sup>197</sup> S. K. De counts thirty-three different meters (VFM, 568, n. 1). Kavikarṇapūra also employs any number of stylistic devices, ranging from the sound plays (*śabdālaṁkāras*) like punning (*śleṣa*) to more complex devices such as palindromes (*pratilomānūloma*) and repetition of the same verse twice with different meanings (*śloka-vṛtti*), etc.

<sup>198</sup> Majumḍāra, CCU, 96-97; see also Bandyopādhyāya, BSI, 2:317; and De, VFM, 41-43.



probably for the above-mentioned stylistic reasons, or more simply because it was written in Sanskrit, although passages did find their way into the CC, where they were often unattributed.

Unlike Murāri, from whose narrative structure he deviates but little through the renunciation, Kavikarṇapūra presents Caitanya's life as a series of loosely connected anecdotes, keying on exemplary events, rather than striving for narrative cohesion. Kavikarṇapūra adds little to the already existing theories of Caitanya's divinity, save the way he expands the significance of his four chief companions. In this set, called the *pañca-tattva*, or "five metaphysical principles [of *bhakti*]," Caitanya and four of his most prominent devotees constitute the sufficient conditions and the necessary functions of the new incarnation: the lord as the model form of devotee (Caitanya = Kṛṣṇa), the lord's innate power to satisfy his desire (Nityānanda = Balarāma or Śeṣa), the material cause of the incarnation (Advaitācārya = Sadaśiva or Mahaviṣṇu), the lord's feminine consort (Gadādhara = Rādhā), and the hosts of devotees (Śrīvāsa, et al. = remaining devotional entourage). This early doctrine reconciled easily with the theory of Caitanya as the *avatāra* of the age, which was propounded by Murāri and Vṛndāvana Dāsa, and it remained the primary interpretive strategy for explaining the mechanics of Caitanya's divinity until the comprehensive formulations of Kṛṣṇadāsa, who incorporated it into a more systematic theology.

#### Caitanya Maṅgala of Jayānanda

The *Caitanya Maṅgala* of Jayānanda Miśra is perhaps the most maligned and least understood of the Caitanya biographies.<sup>199</sup> The text was probably composed sometime between 1550 and 1560, although we cannot date it any more precisely than that. Majumdāra, who had originally dismissed the text only later to prepare the

<sup>199</sup> Vide, Sect. I, n. 3. The printing history of this text is partially responsible for its notoriety. Nagendranātha Basu first introduced the text to the academic world in a series of articles in the *Baṅgiya sahitya pariṣat patrikā* in 1304 and 1305 BS (c. 1896-97; see bibliography), and released the first edition shortly thereafter (*Caitanya Maṅgala* of Jayānanda Miśra, ed. Nagendranātha Basu [Calcutta: Baṅgiya sahitya pariṣat karyālaya, n.d.]). Because of numerous errors, including the omission of over forty passages, the text was re-edited by Nagendranātha Basu and Kalidāsa Nātha (Calcutta: Baṅgiya sahitya pariṣat, 1312 BS). Significantly, the uproar over the questionable scholarly techniques employed in the first edition, coupled with the equally suspect handling of the MSS of Murāri's KCC and Govindadāsa's *Kaṇḍa*, led the scholars of the Baṅgiya Sahitya Pariṣat to establish general guidelines for the treatment of MSS being put into print, taking the first steps toward producing "critical" editions. The text was published again privately in what claimed to be a critical edition, including a lengthy introduction and extensive indexes; unfortunately, the editor chose not to include his name or any of the other pertinent bibliographical data, but personal discussions with scholars in Calcutta place the text in the late 1940's or 1950's and attribute

best critical edition of it, calculates from internal evidence that the author Jayānanda, who was born around 1513, finished the text no later than 1560. Jayānanda's father was one Subuddhi Miśra (JCM 1.1.50), whose name can be found among Caitanya's personal lineage,<sup>200</sup> and his mother Rodānī, a servant of Nityānanda (3.25.53). The author claims that when he was but a year old, Caitanya passed the night in his father's house, at which time Caitanya took exception to the child's name (Guhā/Guhyā),<sup>201</sup> renaming him Jayānanda (1.1.49; 3.25.52). There is no evidence to controvert the assertion, even though a number of scholars have remained skeptical, perhaps because they do not trust the text generally, nor is there any independent corroboration.<sup>202</sup> Even though Jayānanda may not have been the most prominent *bhakta* asked to write a hagiographical work in praise of Caitanya, he was most certainly intimate with a number of the central figures. Jayānanda appears to have received initiation (*dīkṣā*) into the Vaiṣṇava faith by Abhirāma, perhaps the most prominent member of Nityānanda's select following of twelve disciples, the *dvādaśa gopāla*.<sup>203</sup> Abhirāma in turn led Jayānanda to one of Caitanya's favorite followers, Gadādhara Paṇḍita, who became his teacher (*śikṣā guru*), and whose name appears in every signature line of the JCM along with Caitanya's. It was the command of the latter, claims Jayānanda, that he make public this collection of songs devoted to Caitanya (1.1.47).

Even though Jayānanda's work does not exhibit the sophistication of the lyrics which constitute the reportory of *kīrtana*, it is composed of songs, replete with melody and time signature information. It was clearly a popular text at some point, if the number of surviving MSS is any indication,<sup>204</sup> but little is certain about its

editorship to Sukumar Sen. These editions have been completely superseded by the Majumdar and Mukhopadhyay edition (1971); but it should be noted that after consulting numerous MSS, Majumdar and Mukhopadhyay have rearranged the order of the divisions within the text yet again.

<sup>200</sup> Bandyopadhyaya, BSI, 2:396.

<sup>201</sup> *Guhā*, which means "filthy one" or "one who is kept concealed," both with scatological overtones, is a nickname occasionally applied to a surviving son. The name acknowledges his narrow escape from the clutches of death and continues to extend protection by being unattractive to Yama and his minions. Notably Caitanya's own childhood nickname, Nimāi, offered a similar deterrent to any ghoul, who would associate him with the bitter taste of the leaves of the *nim* tree (<*nimba* [Skt], *azadirachta indica*).

<sup>202</sup> Majumdāra gives no reason for his skepticism (CCU, 223), but later seems to have a change of heart (Introduction to JCM, 16).

<sup>203</sup> See Bhāṭṭa, *Śrīśrī dvādaśa gopāla*; and Majumdāra, CCU, 577-80.

<sup>204</sup> Although the text is not particularly popular today, the MSS evidence suggests that it did at one time enjoy a wide popularity. Bhattacharjee lists over eighty MSS extant today in *Catalogus Catalogorum* (76). A number of MSS bearing section titles found in the JCM have also been catalogued under LCM, perhaps adding as many as ninety more MSS.



style of performance. The narrative itself likewise suggests that his audience was not the adept devotee, but the Vaiṣṇava lay practitioner. Its style and delivery are clearly reminiscent of the popular medieval Bengali genre of *maṅgala kavya*, but its composition exhibits features commonly found in completely oral compositions, such as extensive repetition and narrative simplicity, which are used to underscore its central points. This is in stark contrast to primarily chirographic works such as the *CC* that depend heavily on an analytic precision and solipsistic reflection only afforded through reading and rereading; most of the biographies fall somewhere inbetween.<sup>205</sup> The internal structure of the *JCM* also supports the contention that it was performed serially, being divided into nine different sections (*khaṇḍa*), each descriptive of its content, starting with the mythic frame of the text's narrative, Caitanya's birth and childhood, his renunciation, his years in Puri and the pilgrimages, and his demise. The author refers directly to a number of other hagiographies devoted to Caitanya, as well as the popular *itihasas* and *purāṇas*.<sup>206</sup> From a theological standpoint, however, Jayānanda seems only to be conversant with the more popular forms of piety, emphasizing in broad outline the fundamental aspects of Vaiṣṇava worship, e.g., the importance of chanting the name of Kṛṣṇa, pilgrimage, eating only food offered to the deity (*prasāda*), and so forth. Jayānanda portrays Caitanya as the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa, thereby supporting but in no way significantly extending previous incarnational speculation.

#### Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka of Kavikarṇapūra

Kavikarṇapūra's second hagiographical work is a ten act drama written in Sanskrit, the *Caitanyacandrodaya*.<sup>207</sup> This drama is significant for a number of reasons, not

<sup>205</sup> See Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, pp. 96-115.

<sup>206</sup> For a list of the texts he cites by name, see Stewart, *BIKC*, 220.

<sup>207</sup> Vide, Sect. III.1, n. 64 above. Although very few MSS of this text exist, it has enjoyed continuous publication since 1854 when the Asiatic Society of Bengal released its edition (ed. Rajendralāla Mitra, with the commentary of Viśvanātha Śāstri explaining the Prakṛta passages, Biblioteca Indica, no. 40, 48, 80 [Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1854]). The influential *paṇḍita* Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara published the text thirty years later (ed. with commentary by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara [Calcutta: Sarasvati Press, 1885]). One precise and nicely edited text is that of Purīdāsa Mahāśaya (ed. Purīdāsa Mahāśaya [Vṛndāvana: Haridāsa Śarma, 1361 BS]). A number of editions include Bengali translations, one of the most accurate of which is that of Bhaktivilāsa Tīrtha (ed. Bhaktivilāsa Tīrtha, with Bengali trans. by Tamāla Kṛṣṇa Vidyālaṅkāra [Māyāpura: Caitanya Maṭha, n.d.]). Another notable edition is that of Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna (ed. with Bengali trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, 2d ed. [Murshidabad: Rāmadeva Miśra at Rādhāramaṇa Press of Barahampura, 1330 BS]).

the least of which is its emphasis on Caitanya's later years, when he lived as a *saṁnyāsin* in Puri. Kavikarṇapūra spent most of his own adult life in Puri, and as a prominent Vaiṣṇava and poet of some stature he undoubtedly would have been intimate with the stories and many of the individuals directly involved. He writes in the first act that he composed the drama at the direct request of the Gajapati ruler Pratāparudra in order to assuage the latter's grief at Caitanya's passing (*CCN* 1.2). This statement was often cited as proof of the text's early composition (Pratāparudra died in 1540 AD), but recent scholarship has determined a much more plausible later date, sometime between 1570 and 1579 with that statement being read as a rhetorical strategy. The complex argument rests on an evaluation of Kavikarṇapūra's technique in *rasa-* and *alambaka-śāstra*, which in the *CCN* is far more sophisticated than an earlier date would allow based on the skills he exhibits in the *KCCM*.<sup>208</sup> The *CCN* is quoted extensively by Kṛṣṇadāsa, which suggests that he felt it was reliable, although he frequently fails to attribute the quotations to Kavikarṇapūra. The *CCN* is quoted by others as well, e.g., Narahari Cakravartī's *BhR*. Premadāsa, a devotee and *paṇḍita* in Nityānanda's wife's spiritual lineage in Baghanāpāda, appreciated its qualities sufficiently to translate it into metrical Bengali in 1712.<sup>209</sup>

Most early biographies, including Kavikarṇapūra's own *KCCM*, emphasized the regal and resplendent power (*aiśvarya*) of Caitanya, the incarnation of the sovereign lord Kṛṣṇa as a major component of his divinity; but the *CCN*, focusing on his other-worldly ascetic life, promotes his role as purveyor of divine love, the sweeter, gentler side of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* (*mādhurya*). These two positions, as will be seen in the *CC*, are a complementary pair of defining features, poles around which Kṛṣṇa's personality has been historically articulated, and like Kṛṣṇa before him, so must Caitanya be presented. To do this Kavikarṇapūra employs a range of rhetorical techniques to highlight and then explore the ramifications of Caitanya's ascetic turn; the central extended allegory has the minions of evil (Adharma, et al.) seeking to destroy the earth, but they are thwarted by the advent of Caitanya, who propagates *prema bhakti*, the erotic devotion deemed most suitable by Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. Despite the shift to *mādhurya*, the drama of the *CCN* is a clear allegory of the popular purāṇic interpretation of Caitanya as the *avatāra* of the Kali age.

Because of its allegorical nature, the *CCN* is often compared to Kṛṣṇa Miśra's famous *Prabodhacandrodaya*, but any similarity beyond the analog of exterior form

<sup>208</sup> S. K. De argues cogently for the later date (*VFM*, 44-45), which seems to sway Majumdar from his argument for early composition (see "*Śrīcaitanya candrodaya nāṭaka racanākāla*," *Baṅgīya sahitya pariṣat patrikā* 42, no. 1 [1342 BS]: 49-51) to a post-1572 date (*CCU*, 101-2).

<sup>209</sup> Majumdar, *CCU*, 104-106.



is weak. Where the *Prabodhacandrodaya* casts over sixty allegorical characters, the *CCN* calls only for eight, the remaining characters made up of historical figures in Caitanya's entourage. One might argue, as Kavikarṇapūra seems to do, that Caitanya's followers are personifications of special devotional tendencies precisely because they are incarnations of the mythic assembly of Kṛṣṇa, his *dhama*. The significance of this position can be better understood through another work Kavikarṇapūra composed at this same time (c. 1576), the short, tersely written *Gaurāṅgodaśadīpikā*, or the "Lamplight Illuminating the Followers of Gaura."<sup>210</sup> The primary theological statement of the *GGUD*, which can be construed as a reader's guide to the characters in the drama of Caitanya's life, seeks to verify that Kṛṣṇa's *dhama* has a perfect match on earth, which the author proves by identifying approximately one hundred eighty historical figures with those in the Kṛṣṇa mythology. In this identification process, Kavikarṇapūra systematizes several popular beliefs about Caitanya's descent into a coherent doctrinal statement; importantly, he directly attributes and quotes several *śloka*s of Svarūpa Dāmodara, which provide the cornerstone for his fledgling theological system; significantly these *śloka*s are used the same way by Kṛṣṇadāsa in the *CC*.<sup>211</sup> In Kavikarṇapūra's hands, Caitanya is no longer the simple *avatāra* of the early tradition, but an increasingly complex figure whose image serves different theologies that develop within the group during the sixteenth century.

Kavikarṇapūra makes explicit the idea of a multifunctional identity for Caitanya, most clearly in the dramatic device of *garbhāṅka* or a play-within-a-play (*CCN* 3). There he suggests that Caitanya's essential dual nature manifests its loving side best in the personality of Rādhā, rather than Kṛṣṇa. In so doing Kavikarṇapūra acknowledges a strain of devotion that had been popular among a small band of Nāṭya followers since Caitanya's presence there. This perspective, which underscores an emerging emphasis on Caitanya's feminine nature, anticipates in an inexact way the formal doctrine of the dual-incarnation, around which Kṛṣṇadāsa's *CC* is conceived. This new complementarity of divine images in Kavikarṇapūra's works proves incisive. In a very deft move, different phases of Caitanya's life are aligned with Kṛṣṇa's, only inverted: The adult Kṛṣṇa, lord of battle and arbiter of *dharma*, who exhibits his sovereign majesty (*aiśvarya*) as demonstrated in the *Mahābhārata*,

<sup>210</sup> See Sect VI.1, n. 194 above. This text has been printed a number of times with virtually no disagreement among editions; the MSS sources are somewhat limited in number and very consistent.

<sup>211</sup> These *śloka*s stand as the solitary corroboration of Svarūpa's writings apart from the *CC*. See below the section on Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kāṇḍa* and the commentaries to *CC* 1.4.ś.1.8; 1.4.ś.1.44; and especially 1.7.ś.1.2.

is aligned with the young householder Viśvambhara, who in his years at Navadvīpa practiced a basic devotion of service (*dāsa*). Kṛṣṇa the adolescent lover of the *gopī* maidens, who reveals his loving side (*mādhurya*) as depicted in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, is compared with the condition of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya as the adult ascetic living in Puri. These serial images dominate the visions of the *KCCM* and the *CCN* respectively, while the *GGUD* hints that its *dhama* incarnation theory encompasses both.

#### Caitanya Maṅgala of Locana Dāsa

The *Caitanya Maṅgala* of Locana Dāsa<sup>212</sup> can be viewed as a transition text, situated at a theological midpoint between the earlier biographies, especially Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh*, and Kṛṣṇadāsa's *CC*. Strikingly, for the first time in the hagiographical tradition, the *LCM* promotes the loving aspect—the essential sweetness or *mādhurya* of Caitanya—nearly to the exclusion of his identity as cosmic overlord—the majestic *aiśvarya*. Composed in Bengali, the text is datable to the mid-sixth or seventh decade of the sixteenth century, with a few scholars pushing it into the eighties.<sup>213</sup> The text is quite popular, judging from the numerous manuscripts and printed editions—it has been continuously in print for nearly a century<sup>214</sup>—but is not often

<sup>212</sup> Vide, Sect. II, n. 19 above. The most scholarly edition of this text is easily that edited by Mṛṇālakānti Ghoṣa.

<sup>213</sup> Majumdāra (*CCU*, 150-54) opts for a date sometime between 1550-66 because he felt the beliefs found in the text predated the *GGUD* of Kavikarṇapūra. De (*VFM*, 58-59) disproves Majumdāra and argues for a date sometime in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Bandyopādhyāya (*BSI*, 2:379-80) summarizes the whole issue and appears to favor a mediating view.

<sup>214</sup> The text has been printed in many editions, enduring multiple press runs, but suffering from a remarkable lack of uniformity in the organization of the material. One of the earliest, and certainly an exceedingly popular version of the text, was published by the Gaura Viṣṇupriyā Patrika Press with unattributed editorship, but probably by the editors of the journal of the same name (Calcutta: Śrī Śrī Gaura Viṣṇupriyā Patrika Press, 417 GA). The editions by Atulakṛṣṇa Gosvāmī (edited with translation of Sanskrit verses, 2d ed. [Calcutta: Śrī Bāṭabara Cakravartī, 1320 BS]) and Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna (2d ed. [Murshidabad: Rādhāramāṇa Press of Bahārampur, 1325 BS]) were both widely used, although their formats differed dramatically from each other and previous editions—the Murshidabad text printed in uninterrupted text, while Atulakṛṣṇa's divided chapters and sections differently. The more recent edition of Bhaktikevala Audulomi (2d ed. [Calcutta: Gauḍīya Mission of the Bāgajāra Gauḍīya Maṭha, 1386 BS]) is not as reliable as his work on the *CC*, even though it is widely distributed and has the convenience of numbered chapters and verses. This and other "modern" editions have been heavily edited to eliminate passages that the editor found offensive or otherwise problematic (see Stewart, *BIKC*, Appendix E, "Edited Passages in Locana Dāsa's *Caitanya Maṅgala*," 496-97).



cited by scholars or referred to by devotees within the tradition, generally giving way to the two most popular works by Vṛndāvana Dāsa and Kṛṣṇadāsa.

Locana Dāsa was the student of Narahari Sarakāra of the Vaiṣṇava community of Śrīkhaṇḍa, not far from Navadvīpa, and it was at his *guru*'s request that he composed his text. The association is significant, for Narahari, Locana Dāsa, and others in this community practiced a form of worship known as *gaura nāgara bhāva*, a shorthand designating the belief of those devotees who saw in Caitanya the Lord Himself (*svayaṁ bhagavān*), not a partial manifestation or *avatāra*; Caitanya was the new Madanamohana. Just as Kṛṣṇa had personally and completely appeared in the Dvāpara age before him, Caitanya too was perceived to be the full divinity. Caitanya as Gaura, the Golden One, acted in much the same fashion as Kṛṣṇa, but did not simply imitate those actions; he was worshiped for his own sake. To worship, these devotees recovered for themselves their timeless identities as *gopīs*—they understood themselves to be a part of Kṛṣṇa's *dhāma*—and loved Caitanya accordingly, that is, as the sole male in their universe. But in the LCM, Caitanya also assumes the role of Rādhā from time to time, a role which dominates his personality during his ecstatic, dissociative states. In so doing Caitanya demonstrates to the devotees of the Kali age the best way to express their love for Kṛṣṇa, thus promoting Rādhā as a model for emulation, for it is only through the love of Rādhā that Kṛṣṇa can fully taste his own sweetness; no other love can compare.

Caitanya's dual role as Kṛṣṇa or Rādhā represents both sides of the devotional equation: he served as both the object of devotion and the exemplary means to promote that devotion. Respecting Rādhā's priority in this union, the devotees who sought to discover their own true, eternal identities as players in the larger drama of Vraja, would assume a role (*bhāva*) commensurate with Caitanya's often-shifting state, usually as a companion or servant to Rādhā.<sup>215</sup> It was with this sensibility that Locana Dāsa wrote his biography of Caitanya. With his awareness that both of these roles—lover and beloved, means and end, devotee and lord—are necessary to the epiphany of Caitanya, Locana Dāsa presents him alternately as Rādhā or Kṛṣṇa, depending on the context. When Caitanya was Kṛṣṇa, he invariably found a consort or companion to maintain the symmetry of the dual function: she could

<sup>215</sup> This position created no little controversy in the early community as evidenced by Vṛndāvana Dāsa's invectives in *CBh* 2.10.210-11. The writings of the *gaura nāgara* believers, primarily lyric compositions or *padas*, can be found scattered through *Vaiṣṇava padāvalī*, edited and compiled by Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya, rev. ed. (Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad, 1386 BS), and collected in one volume, *Gaurapadataraṅgiṇī* compiled by Jagadbandhu Bhadra, edited by Mṛṇalakānti Ghōṣa, 2d ed. (Calcutta: Baṅglīya Sahitya Paṇīṣat, 1324 BS). The only significant theological text is the short Sanskrit *Kṛṣṇabhajanāmṛta* of Narahari Sarakāra, which has appeared in numerous editions (e.g., edited with Bengali translation by Sundarānanda Vidyāvinoda [Dhaka: by the editor, 465 GA]).

be Lakṣmīpriyā or Viṣṇupriyā, his wives; Gadadhara Dāsa, his best friend; Nityānanda, his ascetic companion, or others. And when he was Rādhā, his companions were the *sakhīs*; there was no room for that lordly majesty of Kṛṣṇa the warrior, which was always removed to the distance, as befitted sovereignty. In the LCM, Caitanya's divinity found several outlets, a perspective which recognized that both masculine and feminine features were complementary parts of the whole; thus for the first time Caitanya's biographical image was very consciously fashioned as alternating or serial androgyny. As will become apparent, Locana Dāsa's vision proved prescient to systematic formulations of the Gosvāmins in Vṛndāvana, who had nearly completed their system of theology by the time Locana Dāsa wrote, and only awaited Kṛṣṇadāsa's application of it to the life of Caitanya.

#### Kaḍaḍā of Svarūpa Dāmodara

Svarūpa Dāmodara was perhaps Caitanya's closest companion during the many years he spent resident in Puri. The tradition tells us that it was Svarūpa who acted as Caitanya's secretary, screening visitors, interpreting Caitanya's many and varied moods, and often organizing the devotees into Caitanya's daily routine. Kṛṣṇadāsa observes that Svarūpa probably knew Caitanya better than anyone, and with his appreciation for *bhakti-rasa* and penchant for literary interpretation, who could be better placed to penetrate the mystery of Caitanya's appearance on earth? Except for second-hand reports, the only record of Svarūpa's speculations is a small Sanskrit composition popularly labeled a *kaḍaḍā*, a diary or notebook. Kṛṣṇadāsa often defers to Svarūpa's work, for it was in this work that the incarnational theory followed by Kṛṣṇadāsa was first formally articulated; but Svarūpa's text, unfortunately, has been lost, if indeed it ever existed in a written form.<sup>216</sup> Modern printed editions of Kṛṣṇadāsa's CC regularly cite verses from the SDK, so it would appear that at the very least we might reconstruct the barest outline of this missing text; but the situation, as is often the case in such matters, is decidedly more complex than that.<sup>217</sup> Nearly

<sup>216</sup> There have been a number of works purporting to be this missing text, usually in Bengali and usually Vaiṣṇava Sahajīyā in nature. One of the latest examples is *Dāmodara svarūpa gosvāmī kaḍaḍā*, edited by Gaurahari Dāsa, new ed., 2 pts. (Medinipur, WB: Sunīrkumala Kumāra, 1381 BS); Svarūpa's missing text is hereafter cited as SDK. A recent study analyzes the role of Svarūpa and conjectures about the text based on the biographical and other references; see Nirmalendu Khāsanabīṣa, *Śrīsvarūpa dāmodara o tāra kaḍaḍā: mahāprabhura līlā kaḍaḍākarera bhūmika* (Calcutta: Ratana Khāsanabīṣa, 1398 BS).

<sup>217</sup> The printed edition of the CC by Rādhagovinda Nātha cites the SDK frequently in the opening chapters of the book; see CC 1.1.śl.5-13; 1.4.śl.8; 1.4.śl.44; 1.5.śl.2-3; 1.5.śl.7; 1.5.śl.15; 1.5.śl.16; 1.6.śl.2-3; 1.7.śl.2.



all of the attributions appear to be the work of the editor, following a long tradition in the printing of the CC, for the oldest manuscripts do not substantiate the attribution. This does not of course preclude the possibility that the verses in question are the work of Svarūpa; in fact it seems rather probable that they are, based on other general comments in the text of the CC. There is, however, one notable exception: CC 1.7.śl.2. Kavikarṇapūra quotes this śloka verbatim in the opening to his GGUD and attributes it explicitly to Svarūpa Dāmodara,<sup>218</sup> which suggests that at least the ideas expressed therein do in fact originate with Svarūpa as Kṛṣṇadāsa says they do. Beyond that, we can do little but speculate.

The assumption that the SDK was ever more than a few verses—and the collective wisdom of the scholarly community is that it probably was substantial, if not lengthy—would appear to be based on the fact that Murāri's extended Sanskrit narrative, KCC, bore the same epithet of *kaḍacā*. Yet the verses in question bear no resemblance to Murāri's style, nor do they appear to be anything resembling a diary. If we interpret *kaḍacā* as jottings, or an assembly of stray strophes, then it would be easy to imagine its resemblance to *stotra* literature: eulogistic and precise theological formulations in a very dense Sanskrit, but which often stand alone. They are abstruse in a manner appropriate to the *sūtra* form which requires elaboration and commentary—and this is exactly how they are used in the CC. That Svarūpa would write short *stotras* or the occasional verse on Caitanya would surprise no one, especially considering his alleged erudition, and the fact that his student, Raghunātha Dāsa joined other Gosvāmins in writing similar compositions. That these poetic works could be lost, however, is much more difficult to explain unless they were intended for a private elite audience or as oral expostulations were never recorded. Because we have agreement on at least one recorded strophe, it would favor a private circulation, and that would provide the perfect opportunity for Kṛṣṇadāsa to know of it.

If the text did exist—and it seems highly unlikely that Kṛṣṇadāsa would claim it if it were not so—but was not publicly circulated, the most likely source of information would be one of Svarūpa's closest associates. This associate could conceivably be Kṛṣṇadāsa's own *guru*, Raghunātha Dāsa, who was the student of Svarūpa and his personal charge (CC 3.6.200-202).<sup>219</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa writes that Raghunātha supplied him with the details of Caitanya's later life, which were expanded from Svarūpa's original source (1.3.15; 1.4.91-97; 1.4.137-38; 1.13.44; 2.2.73; 2.8.263;

<sup>218</sup> The phrase is "svarūpacaraṇairuktaṃ," i.e., "spoken by the venerable Svarūpa." See the commentary to CC 1.7.śl.2.

<sup>219</sup> Raghunātha is called "Svarūpa's Raghunātha" because Caitanya commended him to Svarūpa's care and instruction upon his arrival in Puri.

3.3.256; 3.14.6-9). He calls Svarūpa the *sūtrakāra*, the composer of concise statements about the final *līlās* of Caitanya; he calls Raghunātha the *vṛttikāra*, who expands on those (3.14.6-9). Svarūpa passed on to Raghunātha the story of the final *līlās*, and Raghunātha in turn "told" Kṛṣṇadāsa about them and their source in Svarūpa's text (2.2.73). Whether Kṛṣṇadāsa had access to the original verses or whether those found in the CC were reconstructions provided by Raghunātha is really beside the point. Kṛṣṇadāsa paints an imposing picture of Svarūpa and emphasizes his own theological indebtedness to this great devotee, so we have no reason not to accept him at his word and assume that at the very least we are reading some of what Svarūpa conceived. Significantly, apart from the pivotal verses in CC 1.4-7 where the *pañca tattva* doctrine is elaborated from alleged SDK materials, Kṛṣṇadāsa claims that he follows Svarūpa's version of that critical meeting between Caitanya and Rāmananda Rāya (2.8.263), the revelation of Caitanya's androgynous dual-incarnation. While Kṛṣṇadāsa credits the Gosvāmins with all of his explanations for Kṛṣṇa's divinity and Rādhā's love, he credits Svarūpa with every major theological innovation regarding Caitanya's divinity and how that relates to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In short, all of the novelty of Kṛṣṇadāsa's theorizing about Caitanya is said to derive from the SDK.

### Other Biographical Sources

The *pada* or lyric literature of the early devotees provides us with another important perspective on Caitanya, as well as a tantalizing glimpse of early practices and beliefs. The most substantial compilation is that of Jagadbandhu Bhadra, titled *Gaurapadatarāṅgiṇī*, which contains well over twelve hundred poems about Caitanya.<sup>220</sup> The earliest collection of lyric materials is the *Gauracaritracintāmaṇi* of Narahari Cakravartī, the author of the *BhR* and several other important historical works on the second generation of the movement.<sup>221</sup> These poems, however, were often written for much different purposes than the narrative biographies surveyed above and should, for that reason, be treated as devotional or theological documents; they can be quite rewarding as a source of early, albeit unsystematic and often undeveloped theological speculation. So too are the occasional Sanskrit *stotra* and *stava* compositions found in collections like Raghunātha Dāsa's

<sup>220</sup> See Sect. VI.1, n. 215 above.

<sup>221</sup> *Gauracaritracintāmaṇi* of Narahari Cakravartī [Ghaṇaśyāma Dāsa] (Navadvīpa: Haridāsa Dāsa at Haribol Kuṭīra, 461 GA).



*Stavāvalī*,<sup>222</sup> and Rūpa's *Stavamālā*,<sup>223</sup> as we have already intimated. One significant longer Sanskrit work which falls into this same general category is Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī's *Caitanyacandrāmṛtam*,<sup>224</sup> but again the statements are more celebratory and eulogistic than systematic.

There are other, somewhat minor, narrative sources for the life and teachings of Caitanya which date back to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. We have already mentioned the controversial *GDK*, which purports to be the diary of Caitanya's servant during the latter's pilgrimages south and west.<sup>225</sup> The text is probably very old, although its authenticity cannot be declared with certainty. Because the information in this text is limited to the short period of Caitanya's pilgrimage, it does not materially affect any evaluation of his life. A much greater loss is a substantial part of the *Gaurāṅga Vijaya* of Cūḍāmaṇidāsa, a disciple of Dhanañjaya Paṇḍita, one of Nityānanda's chief devotees.<sup>226</sup> This text has been printed in an excellent edition by Sukumar Sen based on a solitary, incomplete MS in the Asiatic Society, which is unfortunately mutilated at both ends. Although containing one hundred-thirty folios, the extant text covers only the opening portion of the book. Written much in the popular style of *JCM*, the *Gaurāṅga Vijaya* appears to date to the middle decades of the sixteenth century, making it among the earliest biographical compositions. As one might expect, Cūḍāmaṇidāsa elaborates on the role of Nityānanda, the founder of his lineage, but contributes little else new by way of history or theology, although it should be noted that his version of these early years in the life of Caitanya does not entirely concur with the more popular biographies. That Cūḍāmaṇidāsa's text survives by a sole manuscript, and the fact that his name barely surfaces in the chronicles of devotees over the centuries, suggests that what he wrote was not deemed of great significance by the community; its value today clearly lies more in its curiosity as an early, but alternative reading that was abandoned by the tradition. Other similar, although probably not quite so early, biographical compositions have surfaced over the years. One unpublished example of a lengthy biographical work on Caitanya, although incomplete, is the *Gaurāṅgīlāmṛta* of Vamśīdāsa in the manuscript library of the Bengali

<sup>222</sup> *Stavāvalī* of Raghunātha Dāsa, edited by Purīdāsa Mahāśaya (Mayamānasīmha: Śācīnātharāya Caturdhurī, 461 GA).

<sup>223</sup> *Stavamālā* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, edited by Arpaṇa Devī (Calcutta: by the editor, 1387 BS).

<sup>224</sup> *Caitanyacandrāmṛtam* of Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, edited with Bengali translation by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyaratna, with the commentary *Rasikāśvādīnt* of Anandī, 3d ed. (Murshidabad: Rāmadeva Miśra at Rādhāmaṇa Press of Bahārampura, 1319 BS).

<sup>225</sup> See Introduction, Sect. II, n. 35 and n. 37.

<sup>226</sup> *Gaurāṅga Vijaya* of Cūḍāmaṇi Dāsa, edited by Sukumar Sen, Bibliotheca Indica, no. 283 (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1957).

Department at Calcutta University.<sup>227</sup> Occasionally works will surface in other scripts, such as the recently printed edition of Govinda Dāsa Babāji's *Caitanya Cakāḍa*, the MS of which is in Oriya script, with a language from the period that is locally distinctive to Puri. This unique text appears to be a very early piece presented to King Pratāparudra perhaps within a few years of Caitanya's death, and it begins with Caitanya's trip to Orissa after his renunciation. The text corroborates the other biographies and adds little new. Not surprisingly, the text emphasizes Caitanya's connection to Jagannātha and the most often cited manifestation of his divinity is the six-armed form that reveals his sovereign majesty.<sup>228</sup> Another rediscovered piece from the manuscript library of Dhaka University is the substantial *Caitanya Tattva Pradīpa* of Vrajamohana Dāsa, which is datable to the early decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>229</sup> After this, the proliferation of shorter works or biographical sketches of Caitanya imbedded in longer works of theology and history in the seventeenth century leads to a qualitatively different style of biographical interpretation than what had previously transpired. The community had by then standardized the features of his life and had nearly completed the mythologizing process that would eliminate those views that failed to conform. This trend is especially notable as other groups adopted Caitanya as the model for their own religious purposes; and it marks the effective end of this early phase in the biographical tradition devoted to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

## 2. The Androgynous Dual Incarnation: Final Image

The CC is well-known for its comprehensive summaries of Gosvāmin theology, reconstructing as it does many of the complex arguments found in such texts as Rūpa's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvalanīlamāṇi*, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *Haribhaktivilāsa*, and Jīva's *Bhāgavata-saṁdarbha* (CC 2.6; 2.19-25; and 3.1).<sup>230</sup> Its greatest original

<sup>227</sup> *Gaurāṅgīlāmṛta* of Vamśīdāsa, MS no. 3996 (Bengali Manuscript Collection, Department of Bengali, Calcutta University; n.d., incomplete, folios 1-70, 90-92, 95-105).

<sup>228</sup> Govinda Dāsa Babāji, *Caitanya Cakāḍa*, edited by Sadaśiva Rathaśarmā (Calcutta: Kailāsa Prakāśana, 1985).

<sup>229</sup> The text is discussed at length by Āhmad Śartph in his Bengali article "Caitanya tattva pradīpa: vrajamohana dāsa viracita," *Dhaka viśvavidyālaya patricka* 6 (Pauṣa 1384 BS): 31-52. The text was printed the following year by Dhaka University: Āhmad Śartph, editor, "Vrajamohana dāsa viracita 'caitanya tattva pradīpa,'" *Sahitya patricka* 22, no. 1 (Winter 1385 BS): 129-93.

<sup>230</sup> The background and nature of the CC has been examined elsewhere in the Introduction; see Sect. III-V.



contribution, however, is in its application of the basic theological tenets found in these and other texts to the interpretation of Caitanya's life through the framework provided by Svarūpa (CC 1.1-4; 2.8; and applied in 3.14-20) and Kavikārnāpūra (CC 1.5-12). Kṛṣṇadāsa weaves together all of the prevailing theories of Caitanya's divinity and then hierarchizes them into an integrated structure that assigns relative values to each and explains how these apparently competing interpretations might be unified. He brings together the popular devotional styles of Bengal and the highly analytic theological reflection of scholars in Puri and Vṛndāvana to provide a comprehensive theological statement that would eventually serve to unite the different communities of followers. His argument serves as a blueprint and justification for the group we have come to know as the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava *sampradāya*.

Kṛṣṇadāsa's arguments hinge on the logic of CC 1.4. Kṛṣṇa's decision to descend as Caitanya has two causes, which are in Kṛṣṇadāsa's words "external" to himself (*bahiraṅga*) and "internal" (*antaraṅga*). Externally, he is motivated by the evils of the Kali age to come to earth as the *yugāvatāra*, to reinstitute *dharma* which had sagged miserably. This is the first role of Caitanya: to effect the salvation of the world through the chanting of the name of Kṛṣṇa, *nāma saṁkīrtana* (1.3.19-20; 1.4.4-13), and it was this role that the early biographers emphasized. It is, for Kṛṣṇadāsa and presumably for Svarūpa whom he follows, external in another way, in the sense that it is secondary, it does not possess the same intrinsic value as the internal reason for it is not complete. Ultimate truth concerns itself with an unchanging reality, not with the ephemera of causal creation (*māya*). An *avatāra* whose function is to establish *dharma* in the world would be an extension of divinity, but one which magically descends into the realm of *māya* and by descent participates in *māya*. *Avatāra* is by definition not complete divinity, but an extension (*aṅga*) or a part (*aṁśa*, *kalā*) of it, which makes it less significant; and here the *avatāra* of the age, the *yugāvatāra* is a concomitant cause of Kṛṣṇa's incarnation, a coincidence in time and space with a more significant, i.e., complete form. The mechanism that is used to execute the work of the *yugāvatāra*, to institute this new *dharma* of devotion, will be found in the descent of the *pañca tattva* of Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaitācārya, Gadādhara, and Śrīvāsa, who represents the remaining members of the community. Here Kṛṣṇadāsa incorporates the popular doctrine stated most eloquently by Kavikārnāpūra in his *GGUD* as the organizing principle of CC 1.1-8. For all its effectiveness, however, the *yugāvatāra* in this instance merely accompanies (*anusaṅga*) the appearance of Kṛṣṇa as *svayaṁ bhagavān*, the Lord Himself. The primary reason, the inter-

nal reason, is far more significant, and is motivated from within the godhead, not dictated by outside circumstance: Kṛṣṇa chose this time to descend in order to taste the love experienced by Rādhā; everything else is secondary.

The work of the *yugāvatāra*—in this case spreading love (*prema*) through the power of the Name—involves an undeniable martial aspect: evil and its progenitors must be destroyed, for the institution of the proper *dharma* automatically implies the destruction of *adharma* or evil, i.e., anything that stands against Kṛṣṇa's will. Kṛṣṇadāsa recognizes this function in the person of Caitanya as Viśvambhara; his given name—He Who Bears the Universe—is a title which reflects the supreme lordship (*aiśvarya*) of the sovereign ruler Nārāyaṇa (1.4.32-37; 1.4.224). But, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, this sovereign figure does not generate among his devotees a response that satisfies Kṛṣṇa, for these devotees are filled with an awesome respect and deferential obsequiousness for his supernal form as sovereign lord. Kṛṣṇa prefers, perhaps even craves, the emotional closeness of the love afforded by the dwellers of the Vraja region of his youth, especially that offered by the cowherd girls, the *gopīs*. Says Kṛṣṇa in CC 1.4.16-17: "All the world is caught up in the desire to know my majesty; but I am not satisfied with *prema* toward my lifeless majesty. When one considers me as *īśvara* and himself as insignificant, I am not won over by him; for I am won by love (*prema*)."

The "internal" cause of the *avatāra*, then, was to taste that intimate sweetness (*mādhurya*) of *prema rasa*, and in so doing, to propagate a new devotional form, the *rāga mārga*, the way of passionate love (1.4.14). Kṛṣṇa's preference for love stems from the fact that passionate attachment is far more complete and satisfying than the awed respect that would be exhibited by a subject toward a king or even a servant toward his master. The love of the *gopīs* and other denizens of Vraja ranges through all possibilities; they act toward Kṛṣṇa as friends and lovers, children and parents, and occasionally even with the respect of subjects. Most importantly, the *gopīs'* love is unpremeditated, it is unpredictable, and because it is unpredictable, it cannot be controlled. The compelling nature of such love is its "leftness" or *vamata*, an endlessly entertaining waywardness that is reminiscent of the *līla* of Kṛṣṇa himself.

Rādhā, as chief of the *gopīs*, expresses best this playful, erotic love; and her love for Kṛṣṇa is completely unmediated and pure. Rādhā's love, like a mirror, reflects back Kṛṣṇa's own and magnifies it, which in turn increases his pleasure, and which is reflected back, increased, to Rādhā, and so forth, in a magnifying spiral. In each case of this exchange, however, Kṛṣṇa realizes that it is Rādhā who benefits most; she experiences the highest love imaginable, for she savors the ever-growing sweetness of the lord himself, *svayaṁ bhagavān*. Kṛṣṇa, on the other hand, must settle only for its reflection, which even though magnified by Rādhā still offers her a



greater opportunity for pleasure. This curious anomaly, wherein Kṛṣṇa finds himself incapable of tasting what must be the most pleasurable experience in his vast creation, frustrates him into action. To satisfy this desire of experiencing Rādhā's own pleasure, he decides to come to earth. There are, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, three things Kṛṣṇa sought to discover: first, Kṛṣṇa wanted to know just how great was Rādhā's love (1.4.89-92); second, how great was his own sweetness (1.4.119-35); and third, and most significant, how great was Rādhā's happiness and pleasure resulting from her experience of Kṛṣṇa (1.4.136-78).

In the first instance (1.4.105-18), Kṛṣṇa finds himself maddened by Rādhā's love, even though the fundamental metaphysical truth of the cosmos, he himself is replete with full *cit* (consciousness) and *ānanda* (bliss). Rādhā's love overwhelms him, making him "dance in many strange and wonderful ways." Even though Rādhā's love is all-pervasive, complete, and eternal, and has no more room for growth, paradoxically it grows greater with each passing moment. Her love is the epitome of profundity, pure and stainless, devoid of all pride and selfishness. Yet it contains the wiliness and unpredictable tendencies that characterize the godhead itself—and this unpredictable nature gives it an unparalleled satisfaction. As the chief object of Kṛṣṇa's affections, she is the receptacle of highest love, the container of the ultimate bliss of *prema*.

Second, Kṛṣṇa realizes that when she interacts with him, Rādhā enjoys a far greater satisfaction than anything he himself possesses. His sweetness draws people to him, making the hearts of men and women restless and uneasy; yet Kṛṣṇa himself cannot taste this overpowering sweetness because it is coterminous with his own being, not separated from him in a condition of duality than would enable him to encounter it. In order to make it possible to taste himself, he must first experience a separation from himself, but the very act of separating himself makes it impossible for him to know fully that sweetness, for he is then divided from the experience of it. How Kṛṣṇa resolves this need to be both simultaneously distinct from and identified with himself is the wonderful mystery of the Caitanya *avatāra*.

Kṛṣṇa's third and final desire follows logically from the two previous. He wants to know just how great must Rādhā's experience be, her pleasure and happiness from tasting Kṛṣṇa's sweetness. The way this was possible, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, was revealed by Svarūpa Dāmodara. According to Svarūpa (CC 1.4.137-48), Rādhā's experience must be radically distinguished from all ordinary experience. Rādhā's love, and that of the *gopīs*, is completely selfless, focused exclusively on giving pleasure to Kṛṣṇa; it is devoid of any base satisfaction of personal bodily senses, so it is called *śṛṅgāra*, the complete erotic love. The *gopīs* exist solely for Kṛṣṇa's personal pleasure; and because it depends so exclusively on him as its object, he is unable to

experience this totally selfless love. Not being able to experience it, he cannot return it. Each time he tries to reciprocate, their own experience augments that much more, reflecting back an even greater *prema*. There is only one possible solution: to become a *gopī*, but not just any *gopī*, but the greatest of all, Rādhā herself (1.4.179-82):

179 Taking the *bhāva* of that Rādhā came the *avatāra* Caitanya, and preached *nāma* and *prema*, the *dharma* of the age. 180 In that *bhāva* [Kṛṣṇa] fulfilled his own desires, which is the root-cause of the *avatāra*. 181 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is Vrajendrakumāra; the *mārti* of Kṛṣṇa is full of *rasa*; he is *śṛṅgāra* [love] incarnate. 182 To taste that [*śṛṅgāra*] *rasa* he descended as an *avatāra*, and, as an accompanying cause, he propagated all the *rasas*.

And so Kṛṣṇa descended to earth by assuming the dual form with Rādhā. Caitanya was this androgyne, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the embrace of eternal union, making their experience one, yet separate to allow Kṛṣṇa mysteriously to taste this love both as himself and, most importantly, as Rādhā.

The form of this androgyne is subtle: Kṛṣṇa descends by assuming the emotional condition (*bhāva*) and the body of Rādhā, producing Gaurāṅga, the golden-limbed Caitanya. Caitanya experiences the emotional life of Rādhā and because of it, he displays her color, even though he retains the physical body of a man. His androgyny hinges on both personality and action. He is overtly Kṛṣṇa in body, but suffused with the coloring and beauty of Rādhā; he is overtly Rādhā in attitude and action, while covertly tasting the experience as Kṛṣṇa. The two identities are experienced simultaneously, possible only through the magic of Kṛṣṇa's *māyā* and his creative power, *śakti*. He is always in union with Rādhā and always separate from her; but logic cannot possibly penetrate such divine mystery, which dissolves the analytic dualities of human cognition. Says Kṛṣṇadāsa of Caitanya (1.17.293-97):

293 That one was blue-black in color, a flute in his mouth, the lover of the *gopīs*; this one is golden, sometimes *brāhmaṇa*, sometimes *saṁnyāsīn*. 294 Thus in himself Prabhu held to the *gopī bhāva*, and called Vrajendranandana as "lord of my heart." 295 He was Kṛṣṇa, he was a *gopī*—the highest paradox; most impenetrable are the unimaginable actions of Prabhu. 296 Let no one argue this, or entertain a doubt, such is the *acintya śakti* of Kṛṣṇa. 297 The actions of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya are unthinkable and wonderful; marvelous are his *bhāvas*, his qualities, and his activities.



Kṛṣṇa's manifestation in this dual form embodies the truth of the *bhedabheda* philosophy followed by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. From Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa is simultaneously distinguished or differentiated (*bheda*) and not distinguished or undifferentiated (*abheda*), in a mixture which proves for humans to be ultimately inscrutable (*acintya*). Just as musk and its scent are not separable, so Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa remain in a single symbiotic form, divided only to taste the *rasa* of love.

According to the biographies (and only the later ones at that), Caitanya did not come to realize his fundamental identity as Rādhā until after he had renounced the householder's station and became an ascetic. Prior to that he had had received hints that he possessed her emotional condition, the *Rādhā-bhava*, but it began to assert itself most clearly after the meeting with Rāmananda Rāya mentioned by nearly all of the biographers,<sup>231</sup> though except for Kavikarṇapūra's limited attempts in the *KCCM* and *CCN*, no one but Kṛṣṇadāsa (*CC* 2.8) ventures to expand on the substance of their discussions. As we have seen (Sect II above), according to Kṛṣṇadāsa, Caitanya was en route to the south of India at the beginning of his great pilgrimage when he met Rāmananda at the behest of Śarvabhauma Bhāṭṭācārya. Their discussion, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, covered the abstruse topics of *bhakti-tattva* (2.8.54-105), *kṛṣṇa-tattva* (2.8.106-114), and the all-important *rādhā-tattva* (2.8.115-45). They touched on other topics, including lengthy discussions about the appropriate forms of ritual practice (*sādhana*) and worship (2.8.197-213). After several days of intense exchange, with Caitanya pressing Rāmananda harder and harder, the latter admitted that when he first looked upon Caitanya, he saw him as the dark-colored cowherd Kṛṣṇa, but as he watched, that image had faded into the glow of the golden radiance of Rādhā. Caitanya attempted to deflect this observation as the exuberance of Rāmananda's devotion—the devotee seeing just what he wanted to see—but Rāmananda would have nothing of it (2.8.225-28). He then begged Caitanya to reveal to him his true form, which he had finally apprehended to be dual, for he had, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, uncovered the very secret of Caitanya's *avatāra*. In what could be properly marked as the climax of the book, Caitanya reluctantly acceded to his devotee's wish to reveal his divinity (2.8.229-42):

233 Then smiling Prabhu showed to him his true form: Rasarāja [= Kṛṣṇa] and Mahābhava [= Rādhā], the two in one form. 234 And when he saw this Rāmananda was faint with joy; he could not control his body, and fell to the earth. 235 Prabhu with a touch of his hand brought him back to consciousness; and seeing him as a *saṁnyāsīn*, [Rāya] was astonished. 236 Embracing him Prabhu comforted him. "Except for you, no one has seen this form. 237 It is

<sup>231</sup> See *KCC* 3.15.1-5; *KCCM* 13.34-49; *CCN* 7.11-18; *JCM* 5.11.10-22 and *LCM* 4.2 (p. 185).

because of your perception of the *tattva* of the *rasa* of my *līlā* that I have shown this form to you. 238 The golden-colored body is not mine, but is the touch of the body of Rādhā; she touches no one except the son of Gopendra. 239 I experience in my heart and soul everything she feels; then I taste the *rasa* of the sweetness of myself. 240 None of my acts are secret to you. Even though I have hidden them, by the power of your *prema* you understand the secret meaning of everything. . . ."

After this revelation, Caitanya's public actions begin to reflect this shift to Rādhā's persona, for her emotional experience soon dominated his life. As Kṛṣṇadāsa so vividly describes it in the last six chapters of the *anya līlā*, the *bhāva* of Rādhā so overwhelmed Caitanya that he required the constant care of a coterie of devotees. He was frequently absent from their mundane world, lost in the eternal activities of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa as he tasted for himself and within himself that elusive love-play. And so it ended in his forty-eighth year. Fittingly, Kṛṣṇadāsa does not record Caitanya's demise; rather, he reminds his readers that these intimate activities of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa that were experienced by Caitanya are eternal, are never-ending, so to speak of their cessation is to obscure their truth, but that truth requires a subtle understanding, and it is to erect a proper framework for interpreting it that Kṛṣṇadāsa devotes most of his literary attention. These propositions apply the Gosvāmin theology to the life of Caitanya through Svarūpa's concise formulation, and in that application become the theological standard for the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community. With scholarly skill he fitted every popular theory of Caitanya's divinity into a comprehensive scheme that defined their relationship in a clear hierarchy of meanings; but it is not the interpretations that are new, only their arrangement.

The theory of the dual incarnation, however, required Kṛṣṇadāsa to modify the mechanism of the *avatāra*, the *pañca tattva*. When Kṛṣṇa descended as Caitanya to carry out his desires, he brought with him his realm, his *dhama*, the key figures of which were the same as those previously counted: Nityānanda, Advaitācārya, Gadādhara, and Śrīvāsa as the first among the rest. Through these four, Caitanya spread his *prema bhakti*. Following the outline of Kavikarṇapūra, but incipient in every biography, Kṛṣṇadāsa acknowledges these central figures and lineages of devotees in *CC* 1.5-12. But because Rādhā is embodied in the person of Caitanya himself, according to the theory of the dual incarnation, Gadādhara is demoted from that role, yet retains his position as the first among the female companions to Rādhā (*sakhīs*). By acknowledging this popular *pañca tattva* theory—which Kavikarṇapūra had attributed to Svarūpa Damodara—Kṛṣṇadāsa hierarchizes the three most widely-



accepted theologies into an all-inclusive, comprehensive system. The result is a way of looking at Caitanya which has something for everyone: the primary reason for Kṛṣṇa's descent was the dual-incarnation, his secondary reason was to be the *avatāra* of the Kali age, and the mechanism for effecting both was the *pañca tattva*. The details of these intricate ideas the reader will discover directly from Kṛṣṇadāsa, especially in the *ādi līlā* and in *madhya līlā*, chapter 8.

The masterful way in which Kṛṣṇadāsa systematizes these apparently competing beliefs extends beyond the realm of theological ideas; he actively positioned his biography as the complement to the earlier ones. Vṛndāvana Dāsa, in his *CBh*, was known as the Vyāsa of the Caitanya *līlā*, but he focused almost exclusively on Caitanya's early life as a householder devotee. Kṛṣṇadāsa, in the *CC*, consciously supplemented this narrative by examining Caitanya's life after renunciation. Where Vṛndāvana Dāsa recorded in awe the magnificent public spectacle of Caitanya's divinity, his *aiśvarya*, Kṛṣṇadāsa concentrated on his inward emotional or psychic life, the *bhāva* of Rādhā which nurtures the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa, his *madhurya*. Kṛṣṇadāsa physically constructed the *CC* to parallel Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh*, so each contains three divisions of roughly commensurate length; and there are many such instances of complementarity. In short, Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote with a clear sense of finishing what Vṛndāvana Dāsa and others started, and he says as much (e.g., 1.8.29-45; 1.13.45-48; 3.20.73-94). His extraordinary theological training, the vast numbers of texts he cites, and the eminence of his own *gurus*, all combine to make his arguments authoritative. For these reasons Kṛṣṇadāsa's book endures as the classic biography of the tradition; and for these same reasons, especially its interpretive strategies that link together the texts, the *CC* is arguably the best commentary on this biographical tradition.<sup>232</sup> It has been so effective that there have been few significant new formulations of Caitanya's divinity since; but so convincing is this theology that after reading the *CC*, one is invariably led to ask if this work is about Caitanya at all, or is it really about Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa? The ambiguity is, of course, inherent in the conception of the androgynous incarnation: to talk of Caitanya is to talk of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. For this reason, it is necessary to examine in some detail the basic concepts which govern the larger habitus of the Vaiṣṇava devotee; and to those we now turn.

<sup>232</sup> For more on the strategy by which Kṛṣṇadāsa positions his text and uses it to comment on the tradition, Stewart, "One Text from Many: The Caitanya Caritāmṛta as 'Classic' and 'Commentary'." Vide Sect. V.2, n. 101 above.

## VII. TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF VAIṢṆAVISM

Among the virtues of the *CC*, theological clarity stands out. Therefore to do more than comment on one or two areas where misunderstanding might be possible, or to give more than a general outline to help the reader follow what Kṛṣṇadāsa has put forth systematically and in great detail, would be both presumptuous and redundant. The following comments and short essays, therefore, are somewhat random. They attempt to anticipate questions which might be raised by western readers of the *CC* text. These will be largely questions of interpretation and of unfamiliar detail; to the western reader, the basic emphasis on theological dualism and on devotional love toward God as the essential means and condition of salvation will hardly be unfamiliar. But this statement in itself raises corollary problems, for what is the Christian term "salvation" doing in this context?

### 1. Sin and Salvation

It is not lightly that one should transport terms, especially technical terms, from one culture to another. To say "medieval India" is to run the danger of summoning up images of bannered castles and knights on great white horses, as well as libraries of manuscripts diligently copied by devoted and religious men. To call Śact the mother of Caitanya the "holy Mother," as some translations and devotional texts have done, is to invite a vision of halos and the color blue, a stable in ancient Palestine and tears on an icon in a gothic church, as well as tenderness and love. There is a common meaning, but the reference is not one to one.

The term which has been most often translated "sin" is *papa*. *Papa* is sin not as western Christianity usually means that term: either a racial heritage which requires atonement or an act which goes against the edicts of God. In the Vaiṣṇava context, the term means a kind of intellectual blindness, an inability, or a lack of



desire, to see what exists as the true relationship between the self and God, reciprocal love. If sin is blindness, salvation is light; and indeed, this is one of the images which the Vaiṣṇavas commonly use. The soul, the individual creature, the *jīva*, is stumbling about in the darkness of the material world, deluded in the darkness into thinking that what is not real is real, that the rope is a snake, that the things of the world and of the flesh are man's true ends. And then the moon rises: Caitanya is born, and the darkness of ignorance is driven away, and man is saved from making the awful errors which would condemn him to the suffering of many births. Man has eyes to see; it is the world around him that is dark.

The Vaiṣṇavas often put this another way. Life is the sea, and the body the boat which takes one across that sea, to the farther shore. The sea is often heavy, and the waves high and deep; the body is beset by the temptations of the world and of the flesh. The soul, the *jīva*, is drowning; and only God, through the *guru* who is the clever helmsman who knows how to handle a boat in the stormy water, can save him. To save is *nistāra*, to pull the *jīva* from the water and transport him safely to the other shore. The storm is not man's fault, it is natural to the sea. But man needs help; unless he is the wise helmsman, he cannot save himself.

The Vaiṣṇavas say there are three kinds of people: those who are by their nature "saved," those who have "their faces turned toward Kṛṣṇa," and those who have "their faces turned away from him." The first category is a category of one: Caitanya, whose very nature makes him the model devotee. The second category consists of those who want to know, who want to see, who realize their paucity of strength and are humble in the knowledge; they take God's hand, offered in love and compassion. But even when the boat is righted and the helmsman at the steering oar, the *jīva*'s responsibility remains; the helmsman does not row the boat. The oarsmen have a long and arduous pull, and if their strength gives out the boat founders, despite the hand at the helm. The third category consists of those beyond the pale; they continue in error, even when the darkness has been dispelled. They are those who are deluded as to the measure of their own strength, and refuse the helmsman's helping hand. The three categories are much like those posited by the Gnostics. To quote Henri-Charles Puech:

Only the "psychic men"—the intermediary category who are neither saved by nature like the "pneumatics," nor fatally damned like the "hylics"—require an education to achieve salvation, require a succession of efforts and good works, hence a progress in time or through a series of reincarnations.<sup>233</sup>

<sup>233</sup> Henri-Charles Puech, "Gnosis and Time" in *Man and Time*, edited by Joseph Campbell, Bollingen Series 30, "Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks," vol. 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 79.

Most of what follows will be about those who desire *bhakti* and who need "education"—training and discipline—to attain it. What of those who "have their faces turned from him?"

The Vaiṣṇavas present that paradox in the context of "tolerant" Hinduism, the active missionary. As earlier Hindus tried to solve the problems of the Buddhist heresy by absorbing the Buddhists, and the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, the Vaiṣṇavas say that all can be saved from the stormy waters if they will only look up, that all can be rescued from the darkness, if only they will see the light. The light, of course, is the lamp of truth in the hand of Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya. Truth is *bhakti*, so says the *BhG*. But the *BhG* also says that the way of knowledge (*jñāna mārga*) and the way of training and discipline (*yoga mārga*) and the way of works (*karma mārga*) all have their satisfactions. The followers of these paths have their faces turned upward, they are religious people; can they see the light? Yes, say the Vaiṣṇavas, they can see the light, but dimly. The pure brilliance of the truth, of *bhakti*, can be seen only with the eyes of the *bhakta*. Some followers of the *jñāna mārga*, in the dimness, will continue to stumble, they will continue to misinterpret the texts and in their delusion to seek release in order to realize what they consider to be the natural and true unity of their selves with the *brahman*; they think this is truth, but they are mistaken. But there are other *jñānins*, to whom the light is brighter, and they will follow a path of *jñāna* mixed with *bhakti*, a path of knowledge and devotion together, and they will know a lower truth, but which is still a truth. So too with others. The *yogin* seeks his attainment of power, of eternal life; if he sees, even dimly, that this is not the ultimate goal, he too will know a lower truth. If he mixes his discipline with devotion to Kṛṣṇa, he is not lost. And the follower of *karma*, if he dedicates his work, with faith, to Kṛṣṇa, as the *BhG* says to do, he too is not lost.

But the Vaiṣṇavas were surrounded not only with followers of these three paths, but with worshipers of deities other than Kṛṣṇa, both Vaiṣṇava and non-Vaiṣṇava. The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava reaction was the same: worship of other deities is acknowledged, but can be permitted only insofar as those other deities, even Śiva and Viṣṇu, are considered to be aspects of Kṛṣṇa; if one considers them separate and independent objects of worship, he too is in darkness, and is lost.<sup>234</sup> This is true even of the other great Vaiṣṇava deity Rāma, although always understated; the truth is that Rāma is only an aspect of Kṛṣṇa: in CC 2.15.33-35, Caitanya's personality as Rāma

<sup>234</sup> De, *VFM*, 363.



comes out. Caitanya is the basic truth; Rāma but a part of that, contained in it.<sup>235</sup> *Papa* then is also denial of Kṛṣṇa as the highest god, the container of all gods. The light is there, the *BhP* is there, Caitanya is there; those who do not choose to see are fully deserving of what they get. What do they get?

Those lacking proper sight, being in darkness, are bound to stumble over things, to do things which have grievous consequences for themselves. They cannot escape this. And where they do wrong deeds, they will suffer the consequences, for the law of *karma* is inexorable. They may suffer in this life. The story is told in CC 3.3.178-201 of the young and handsome Gopala Cakravartī, whose wrong was to deny the absolute power of the name of Kṛṣṇa to bring salvation from this life. Even though the great *bhakta* Haridāsa forgave him this, "within three days that *brahmaṇa* became a leper. His long nose melted and fell off. His fingers and toes, which had been like *campaka* and *kalikā* buds, shrivelled up and melted in his leprosy. . . . The nature of a *bhakta* is to forgive a fault committed because of ignorance; and the nature of Kṛṣṇa is not to be able to bear an insult to his *bhaktas*" (vv. 196-200). Ignorance of the divine law is no excuse. And not only may they suffer in this life, but in innumerable lives to come. "Those eternally bound ones," says CC 2.22.10-12, "always have their faces turned from Kṛṣṇa; they suffer eternal passage through *saṃsāra*, and the miseries of hell. Because of their faults (i.e., *doṣa*, that which comes of their blindness and impure nature) the *piśācis* of *māyā* (i.e., demons in the form of temptations of the flesh) torment them; they afflict them deeply, immersing them in the spiritual and the other torments. They are slaves to lust and anger, and receive the blows of their feet."

If the Vaiṣṇavas have such an attitude toward other Hindus, one would expect an even less compromising one toward Muslims. But the feeling seems to have been the same as that toward the *jñānins* and others: if they choose to look, by the light of *bhakti* they will see that their texts are really teaching *bhakti*; and if they see that, salvation is possible. There are several examples of such discussion in the CC (e.g., 2.18.175-194), in which Muslims are persuaded by Caitanya that the Qur'ān really teaches *bhakti*, and so are saved. There seems actually to be some basis in fact for these reports, for possibly several of Caitanya's intimate followers were converts from Islam; the case of Haridāsa at least is well documented.<sup>236</sup>

This exclusive attitude led, as might be expected, to reactions. Vedāntin scholars and logicians, like other scholars and logicians, did not like to be told that they

<sup>235</sup> It is interesting to note that Caitanya's first biographer, Murāri Gupta, was a devotee of Rāma. Murāri was upset and afraid to tell Caitanya that he was a Rāma-*bhakta*, but Caitanya explained to him satisfactorily what that really meant. See KCC 2.7.10-18.

<sup>236</sup> The main story can be found in CBh 1.11 [= 1.16 GM ed.].

were indulging in sophistry and idle argument, and they were constantly being told that. For the Vaiṣṇavas, like Augustine, believe that "our knowledge hides Him from us; by our ignorance He is known," knowledge being *jñāna*, ignorance being faithful acceptance of the Vaiṣṇava texts. Muslims and Śaivites and others would understandably take less than kindly to the notion that they were intellectually blind and religiously incompetent, misreading their own books and misinterpreting their own traditions. And so, one day when *kīrtana* was going on at the house of Śrīvāsa (CC 1.17.32-34):

32 Hearing the *kīrtana* from the outside they [the unbelievers] fumed and burned with rage, and discussed how to give sorrow to Śrīvāsa. 33 One day a *brahmaṇa* named Gopala Capala, the chief among the disbelievers, a foul-mouthed man and talkative, 34 brought all the paraphernalia for worship of [the goddess] Bhavānī, and in the night he placed them smeared at the door of Śrīvāsa.

The paraphernalia would have included wine and perhaps the remnants of animal sacrifice, abhorrent to a Vaiṣṇava. And the gentle Haridāsa, whose only real desire in life was to sit in his hut and repeat the names of Kṛṣṇa, was on the order of the Muslim governor, whipped through twenty-two market places as a punishment for his apostasy (CBh 1.11.17-154 [= 1.16.17-157 GM ed.].<sup>237</sup> And the *brahmaṇas* of Navadvīpa, offended and shocked by the Vaiṣṇavas, complained to the Muslim rulers: "We do not know whether they drink when they sing and dance . . . [but] he [i.e., Caitanya] has destroyed the *dharma* of the Hindus and is instigating contrary ways. . . . You are the lord of the town; we are all your people. Have Nīmāi [i.e., Caitanya] called, and forbid him" (CC 1.17.201-206).

<sup>237</sup> For a translation of this episode from the *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, see "The Exemplary Devotion of the 'Servant of Hari'," translated by Tony K. Stewart in *The Religions of India in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 564-77.



## 2. The Power of the Name

The lamp is in the hand of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; his hand is outstretched. All people have eyes to see; all people have ears to hear and tongues to speak. As people are able to see the truth, they are able to hear and speak it. The word, throughout the history of Indian religion, is powerful. The name of Kṛṣṇa, heard and uttered by anyone, has the power to save. Caitanya has come to save by propagation of the name.

The Kali is a desperate age, and the people of the age are laden with sin. So laden are they that they are incapable of the arduous forms of religious striving necessary in previous ages, such as the long and complicated vedic sacrifice. And so merciful is Kṛṣṇa that he recognizes that an easier method of salvation is necessary, lest the whole human race be doomed. The utterance of the name is that method. The name is so powerful that when it is uttered even by accident, it is efficacious. The *Haribhaktivilāsa* (11.289) says:

One name, uttered by anyone, or sent along the path of memory, or heard, whether purely or impurely pronounced, or whether [the syllables] are separated or not, brings salvation. This is true; [but] if that name is cast among impious people who are attached to greed for people and wealth and body [only then] is it not quickly fruitful.

The name is available to all. Haridāsa, who was a foremost exponent of the use of the name, speaks in CC 3.3.48-60 of the Muslim who utters by accident the name of Rāma, a mere aspect of Kṛṣṇa, in saying the word *hārāma*.<sup>238</sup> "Even though the meaning is different," says Haridāsa, "and though the intention of the name is other, still the power of the name is unconquerable" (3.3.54).

To some extent, this aspect of the belief has been overemphasized in some modern forms of Vaiṣṇavism, and those forms take on the aspect of *mantrayāna*, the tāntric system which believes that all power is vested in the word itself. It is true that in CC 3.7, Caitanya praises Haridāsa for the propagation of the greatness of the name, and for his discipline in repeating the name "three lakhs of times" each day (vv. 35-36). But in that same passage he also praises Śārvabhauma for his

great learning (presumably in the Vaiṣṇava texts, not the *vedānta*) and Rāmananda for the depth of his understanding of *bhakti* (vv. 18-28). It is also true that *nāma saṁkīrtana*, the singing of the name of Kṛṣṇa, is given as one of the five most important forms of *sādhana bhakti*, the prescribed ritual (*vaidhī*); but equal place with it is given to association with holy men, listening to the reading of the *BhP*, dwelling at Mathurā (Vṛndāvana), and honoring and serving the image of Kṛṣṇa (CC 2.22.74-75). The sound of the name enters the ear which is open, and strikes the heart, and the heart is softened. The name can conquer even those who seem like enemies. It is the name, sung in *kīrtana*, which conquers the Muslim Qazi of Navadvīpa who had been so hostile (CC 1.17.115-219).

The idea of the power of the word, especially the spoken word, can hardly be said to be new with the Vaiṣṇavas, nor peculiar to Indian culture. The sacred syllable "om" [ॐ] is the beginning and end of all things, the alpha and omega; it justifies what has gone before, and empowers what is to follow. The gods and elements are controlled by powerful ritual formulas, which have been revealed, and which must be reproduced exactly as revealed in order to reestablish their power. The name and knower of the name are one, knowledge is identity; one who knows the name of a deity becomes that deity; he controls that deity with all his power. In other times and places, it was through a name that Moses killed an Egyptian (Exodus 2.12), according to tradition; the true name of God is so powerful it cannot be pronounced or even written. It was through their knowledge of the names of demons (or pre-Christian gods) that medieval European sorcerers and alchemists performed their miraculous feats. And Jesus, according to Arnobius in his *Adversus nationes* possessed his miraculous power, including the power to fly, because he had stolen the names of certain gods from Egyptian temples, and had them secreted about his person.

What the Vaiṣṇavas add is the idea that the power of the name is available to all. One need not be a *brāhmaṇa*, in the Vedic tradition, to have access to the power. One need have no esoteric knowledge. Kṛṣṇa's ready revelation of his name in all its forms is an aspect of his mercy to all those who will pay heed.

<sup>238</sup> The Bengali *hārāma* is the Persian *hārāma*, which as an adjective means unlawful, forbidden, prohibited, illegitimate; as a noun the meanings range from wrong-doing and iniquity to fornication and adultery. The source is the Arabic root *-h-r-m*, with the meanings of "holy," "venerable," and "sacred," which are connected through the act of setting apart, the violation of which boundaries would be criminal or sinful. It is also the source of the English "harem."



## 3. The Jivan-mukta

The fate of those who do not take advantage of his mercy is well known, and as with the handsome Gopala Cakravarti, often painful. But what of those who do? Reaching the other shore of the sea of life, they dwell eternally in the place of Kṛṣṇa. And some, whose arms are strong and determination firm, may reach that shore before the body dies. These are released from the bondage of the world, their salvation is accomplished; but still the world surrounds them. The question is both doctrinal and social: for we have seen how the Vaiṣṇava conviction of salvation has led to sometimes strained relations between *bhaktas* and those around them.

Although he seems to have irritated some of those around him, the *bhakta*, says the CC (1.17.23-25) is:

23 ... humble as grass, he will take the name of Hari [i.e., Kṛṣṇa] incessantly; he will be modest, and honor others. 24 The Vaiṣṇava will be patient as a tree; though he be beaten and cursed, he will say nothing. 25 as a tree says nothing even when it is cut. A tree does not beg for water, even when it dries and shrivels up in the sun.

And Kṛṣṇadāsa takes it further (2.22.44-47):

44 All these qualities are the signs of a Vaiṣṇava: ... 45 compassion, doing no injury or malice, the essence of truth, treating everything equally, freedom from fault, generosity, gentleness, purity, indifference to the world, 46 benefaction to all, peacefulness, having refuge only in Kṛṣṇa, freedom from passion or desire, freedom from longing, being steadfast, having conquered the six passions, 47 eating moderately, abstinence, honoring all things, not having pride in self, gravity, mercy, friendliness, poesy, skill, and silence.

He acts in this admirable fashion because, in his state of salvation, there is no other way he can act. He acts in this way because Kṛṣṇa has driven him mad; and by calling this madness, a deviation from the norm, the Vaiṣṇavas comment on the rest of society. But the divine madness also manifests itself in more traditional ways. "In taking the name of Kṛṣṇa," says Caitanya (1.7.74-85):

74 ... my mind becomes distracted. 75 ... I become as mad: I laugh, I weep, I dance, I sing, as if drunk on wine ... 79 ... my guru smiling said to me, 80 'This is the nature of the great *mantra* of the Kṛṣṇa-name ... 84 It is the

nature of *prema* to agitate the body and mind, and ... 85 ... the *bhakta* laughs and cries and sings and dances and being mad runs here and there. ...'

The *bhakta*, leaving himself open to Kṛṣṇa, becomes possessed by Kṛṣṇa.<sup>239</sup> And when this happens, he may be in this world, but he is no longer of it. The madness of the Vaiṣṇava was incomprehensible to those around him. Those who had reached the state could not explain, because they were beyond the everyday world. The *līla*, the divine play, of Kṛṣṇa, seems like random play only to those who do not participate in it. To those who do, it has a meaningful pattern. The *bhakta* participates in it. His madness is in fact that seemingly random *līla*, expressed in the world.

For this is one of many ways in which the finite and infinite meet and interact. The Vṛndāvana *līla*, described in the *BhP*, was of this world and yet is infinite: it is the same and not the same. As in the relationship of fire to flame, the saved *bhakta* is on this earth and beyond this earth; and Caitanya is both a man and not a man, a *bhakta* but Kṛṣṇa himself; Kṛṣṇa is both within and beyond.

## 4. The Concept of Time

Time present and time past  
Are both perhaps present in time future,  
And time future contained in time past.  
If all time is eternally present  
All time is unredeemable.

(T. S. Eliot, *Burnt Norton*)

The Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal would very much have liked Eliot's sentiment, as they would have liked Dylan Thomas' idea that death is inherent in conception, for, while they do not spend a great deal of time exploring philosophically such paradoxes and ironies, the paradox *bhedābheda*, simultaneous immanence and transcendence, is central to their thought. It allows for the idea that the earthly Vṛndāvana, upon which Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* actually walked, is identical with the heavenly Vṛndāvana, which is eternal and unchanging. And, later, it allows for the idea that the *avatāras*

<sup>239</sup> The question of possession is a complex one. See the commentary on CC 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.2.62; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; 2.23.31-32; see also 1.10.54; 3.2.2-4.



of the godhead may differ in form, in time, and in space, while remaining fully godhead, existing eternally in a single divine essence. It allows Caitanya to say that, on the level of the real, what surrounds him is not sixteenth century Bengal but the eternal Vṛndāvana. And it allows the followers of the nineteenth century saint Ramakrishna to observe that their Master is Caitanya, and therefore also Kṛṣṇa.<sup>240</sup> Time and space have collapsed.

The thought of the Vaiṣṇavas about time is not overt, in the sense that they systematized it in their texts, and yet certain very basic tenets can be explained only in terms of what they understood about the matter. At the root of Vaiṣṇava belief, as it is at the root of many Indian ways of thinking, is the distinction between what Eliade calls "mythic" or "sacred" time and "profane" time. In the Vaiṣṇava context, of course, "mythic" time is the eternal Vṛndāvana, while "profane" time, strange as it seems to use that term, encompassing as it does the earthly historical Vṛndāvana, is that "moving multiplicity" which yields pain and pleasure, death and life, and many other differentiations so seemingly integral to our paltry existence. The crucial observation made by the Vaiṣṇavas is that these two types of time are related to each other, and to some extent even overlap one another, though "profane" time does not, in the Vaiṣṇava view, lead as it does in the linear Christian view to a culmination in which it will be abolished and merge with the sacred. "Profane" time, to Vaiṣṇava and to much other Indian thought, moves in lesser and greater cycles: the tiny ones of sun and moon, the greater ones of life and death and rebirth and redeath, and the vast ones of creation, destruction, and re-creation.<sup>241</sup> It is from what Eliade calls the "terror" of this time, the anguish of the eternal return and all its pain, that the Vaiṣṇava, together with many of his fellow Hindus, seeks escape.

Unlike the Gnostics who in some ways hold parallel views, the Vaiṣṇavas do not express a loathing or revulsion for this life. They would rather put it more positively, and say that the joys of this life—love, for example—will be experienced to an infinitely greater degree, in time and in quality, in the heavenly Vṛndāvana. But the central distinction is the same. The basic image is of man, as Puech says of the Gnostics, plunged into pure time, into absolute change and into the various

<sup>240</sup> M[ahendranath Gupta], *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna*, translated by Swami Nikhilananda (New York: Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre, 1942), 330. The complex and difficult doctrine of *acintya-bheda-bheda* is explored by Dimock in an article "On Maya" in *The Journal of Religion* 71, no. 4 (1991): 523-37.

<sup>241</sup> Mircea Eliade, "Time and Eternity in Indian Thought," in *Man and Time*, edited by Joseph Campbell, 173-200, is a good brief discussion of the matter.

pains engendered by that, as opposed to the immutable joy of "the eternal moment" of the myth.<sup>242</sup>

Nor do the Vaiṣṇavas speculate extensively on the creation or on the origins of evil. As in many other things, they simply accept the standard theories of the succession of ages (*yuga*) and their gradual degeneration, placed within the larger cycles. They do however assume simultaneous realities, and although their ideas have little to do, in speculative purpose or in history, with those of Plato and the Gnostics, it might help clarify the matter to put them against such a backdrop. The conceptions of Plato, as they are found in the *Timaeus*, and of the Gnostics, are alike in that to both the material universe, including time, is an imitation, a replica, of eternity. Says Timaeus:

The nature of the Living Being was eternal, and it was not possible to bestow this attribute fully on the created universe; but he determined to make a moving image of eternity, and so when he ordered the heavens he made in that which we call time an eternal moving image of the eternity which remains for ever at one.<sup>243</sup>

The creation is thus a faithful replica of what is true, and thus is not in itself painful or evil; these sensations come from a "disease of the soul." To the Gnostics, however, to quote Puech again, the Demiurge

is separated from the pleroma by a gap, a profound caesura. Hence truth escapes him, and, in the replica which he presumed to create, the eternity, stability, and infinity of the superior Ogdoad take the degraded form of a moving multiplicity, consisting of successive moments, years, centuries which compose and divide time. . . . the time which results from the work of the Demiurge is no longer the most perfect image; it is no longer—according to its own rank—the most faithful imitation of eternity, but a *pseudos*, a lie—an imposture and caricature verging on illusion.<sup>244</sup>

In the lie is the source of the Gnostic revulsion, and of his yearning for reunion with the stable, peaceful, source of Light.

<sup>242</sup> Puech, "Gnosis and Time," 74-84.

<sup>243</sup> Plato, *Timaeus*, translated by Desmond Lee (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965), 50-51 (sect. 7).

<sup>244</sup> Puech, "Gnosis and Time," 72.



The Vaiṣṇava conception is close in some ways to the Platonic one, for although its source seems to be pre-existent and not created, here too is the faithful replication of the heavenly Vṛndāvana upon the earth. The Vaiṣṇava idea, though, goes a little further, for it is that by participation in the earthly replica the *bhakta* also participates in the eternal *līlā*, for the temporal penetrates the atemporal. The display of proper emotion and conduct in ritual and in social life, in the temporal realm, creates an atemporal, reified and essential experience, a *rasa*, to which idea we shall return shortly. And since the material world is, while not exactly real in the Platonic sense, at least a faithful imitation, and since the temporal does penetrate the atemporal, ritual activities are reenactments in time of what is happening eternally. At a certain point in his development the *bhakta* sees this relationship, and in doing so moves entirely into the atemporal realm: he is a *jīvan-mukta*. This is the pattern for all *bhaktas* except Caitanya himself, who is both a *bhakta*—the model for all devotees—and Kṛṣṇa himself—*svayaṁ bhāgavan*.<sup>245</sup> Caitanya already participates fully in the atemporal world, his actions are already real. In the temporal world he seems to be acting like Caitanya; the truth is that his acts are the acts of Kṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇa too is both in time and beyond it, as the *brahman* is the formed and the formless, corporeal and incorporeal, the mortal and the immortal.<sup>246</sup> In a hymn to Kṛṣṇa the poet Vidyāpati wrote:

I call you Lord,  
the infinite and finite,  
my salvation.<sup>247</sup>

But this is of course itself a view from the temporal world, in which things can be understood only by the making of distinctions. When one truly knows, he knows that fluid time and the “eternal now,” as Eliade calls it the *nunc fluens* and *nunc stans*, are really one and the same; there is no distinction between them. Thus Caitanya himself, and the perfected *bhaktas* around him, look and see both sixteenth century Bengal and what sixteenth century Bengal really is, the eternal Vṛndāvana. They themselves are beyond change, and they see what is beyond change. Their

<sup>245</sup> See Stewart, *BIKC*, ch. 2. For a discussion of the *bhedābheda* theory, see also Dimock, “On *Māyā*.”

<sup>246</sup> *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 2.3.1.

<sup>247</sup> Dimock and Levertov, *IPK*, 69.

minds are at rest, and as the *caryā* writer says, “Time enters only the unsteady mind.”<sup>248</sup>

This seems to lead to a somewhat different view of the *vasanās* than that held, for example, by some of the yogic systems. The *vasanās*, in yogic thought, have to do with memory, and not only memory within a single life, but the unconscious memory of previous existences as well. The *yogin*’s task, in his attempt to conquer time, includes destroying these links to time. The Vaiṣṇavas too seek to transcend temporality, but when Caitanya says that he “remembers” (*smaraṇa*) his nature as Kṛṣṇa, it seems that the *vasanās*, or something similar to them, in fact provide the link between the temporal and the atemporal now. The distinction, of course, is that the usual conception of the *vasanās* suggests a passage of linear time—or a segment of a cyclical time so small as to seem linear—while Caitanya’s remembrance is spatial, opening the profane to the infusion of the sacred. Perhaps it is as one “remembers” a person who may be present in time but not in space: that person may be far away, but very much “there.”

### 5. *Samnyāsa* and *Bhakti*: Some Aspects of the Doctrine of *Bhāva*

The doctrine of *bhedābheda* infuses not only the Vaiṣṇava ideas of time, but in fact every corner of both religion and theology. It would in fact be possible to characterize the whole system as one which conjoins seeming opposites (a position which one ordinarily thinks of as a characteristic of the *tantras*, and which in fact allowed a Sahajiyā or tantric interpretation of Vaiṣṇavism).<sup>249</sup> An understanding of this eliminates the need for certain obvious questions, for example: how is it possible for someone like Caitanya to be a *saṁnyāsin*, a mendicant ascetic in the Vedānta tradition of intellectualism and discipline, and at the same time be a *bhakta*, mad with the presence (and particularly with the absence) of Kṛṣṇa, controlled by religious passion—everything, in other words, that a *saṁnyāsin* is not supposed to be? One has to realize that to Vaiṣṇava thinking there is only a series of continuums, between human and divine, between male and female, religion and esthetics, and between *bhakti* and *saṁnyāsa*. These continuums exist, of course, only within the context of *bhakti*, and the pure *jñānin* does not see the interplay between human and divine. But *bhakti* is truth, and if one is a *bhakta* false distinctions are wiped

<sup>248</sup> *Caryapada* 1 of Lui-pa in *Caryāgṛtikāśa*, edited by Nilaratana Sena (Simla: Indian Institute for Advanced Study, 1977), 2, folio 1-B.

<sup>249</sup> See Dimock, *PHM*, passim.



away. This works itself out in a variety of ways, and central to the working out is the doctrine of *bhāva*.

*Bhāva* is, as we shall see again, like *rasa* a term drawn from poetics. In both contexts it means the raw material out of which the ultimate experience, religious or esthetic, is shaped. *Rasa* is that ultimate experience, an abstract, universalized experience that cannot be defined except in terms of itself. But it is experience, and to be comprehensible as such it must relate in some way to experience on a more mundane and particular level. *Rasa* is the enjoyable experience of poetry. It is not particularized experience, for if it were one would not be able to say that one had enjoyed a poem the theme of which was tragic. Yet if one had not known the particular experience of pain, the poem would be incomprehensible. The experience is related to the poem, for otherwise the poem could not arouse it. So it is with the Vaiṣṇava religious perception. *Rasa* is the full, blissful religious experience of the *bhakta* when he has attained direct relationship to Kṛṣṇa. It is an experience which is related to the human and particular experience of love, but infinitely beyond it. Particular love is the state, the condition, the *bhāva*, which is raised by religious striving, by *sādhana*, to the state of *rasa*.

The story told by the *BhP* is the description of the absolute and eternal condition of Kṛṣṇa; and those who populate the *BhP* story participate in various ways in Kṛṣṇa's *līlā*. There are those who serve him. There are those who, like the cowherd boys, laugh and play and wrestle with him, and have affection for him as a comrade. There are those who have parental affection toward him, his foster parents Yaśodā and Nanda, and the elders of the village. And there are those *gopīs* who have passionate love for him, who leave their homes and give up their comfortable places in society to meet him, and who are heartbroken when he goes away. Common to all is some kind of love. And common to all people is the experience of one or more of these kinds of love: one serves or has been served, one is a child or parent, one knows or has known sexual passion. And to all people now, depending upon temperament, time of life, and mental condition, one or another of these states is dominant.

It is obvious that if love is the proper relationship between man and God, the more intense the love the more intense the religious experience and satisfaction. Being pragmatists, the Vaiṣṇavas observe that of these kinds of love relationships, passionate love is the most intense. This, then, is the *bhāva*. But it is equally obvious that passionate love for a male is the only one among these relationships which is not typically available to a male worshiper in particular experience. So *bhāva* also means the transformation of one's self into the condition of a *gopī*. And this

is where *sādhana*, ritual and religious discipline, comes in. One concentrates all one's activity and power of mind on one or another of the characters of the *BhP* story, preferably a *gopī*. And with the constant application of sixty-four types of discipline, meditation, chanting, listening to the *BhP*, serving the image, etc., a change takes place in the psychic state. One knows one's self as that *gopī* upon whom one has been concentrating; and knowing is becoming.

This knowledge, this transformed state, is the madness which the *bhakta* displays. He is simultaneously in two worlds. He walks around in this one, performing bodily and social duties, as Kṛṣṇadāsa says, "by memory and habit." But his real existence is even now in the eternal Vṛndāvana, face to face with his beloved Kṛṣṇa. The separation between human and divine has been wiped away. The state in which the *bhakta* is still striving for complete transformation is called *vaidhī*, injunctive, *bhakti*; when he has attained his goal and knows pure abstracted bliss in Kṛṣṇa's presence, his *bhakti* is *rāganuga*, ruled by pure passion.

The question may be asked: when social distinctions are wiped away, as they are when the *bhakta* has attained his goal, and even when he is striving, does this imply a kind of egalitarianism? It is true that throughout the texts, and in the *BhP* itself, the feeling is common that socially a *brāhmaṇa* is a *brāhmaṇa* because of an accident of birth; the *bhakta* is the true *brāhmaṇa*. Caitanya, a *brāhmaṇa* by birth, is always embracing *śūdras* and Muslims, and even, when he is transported, allowing a woman to touch his person. The transformed *bhakta* knows no differentiation, social or otherwise. But it seems that the habits of the world, now mechanical, which are the last to go, are those which relate to caste. Before Caitanya is transported completely, in periods of lucidity, he observes conventions. When he no longer participates in the world at all, the question does not arise.

## 6. The Religious Experience: *Rasa* in Poetry and *Bhakti*

Seeing a relationship between poetic and religious experience is peculiar to the Vaiṣṇavas, though it is not strange in the context of the system. It is an interesting proposition: a person sitting in a museum gazing transfixed at a painting, or in a concert hall listening to a piece of music; he or she is much like the *yogin* sitting in contemplation on his mountain top, totally absorbed in the experience, totally oblivious of everything that is going on in the vicinity. It is a thought which fascinates Kṛṣṇadāsa, as it fascinated his *guru* Rūpa. Rūpa in fact wrote two major works



on the subject, the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*<sup>250</sup> and the *Ujjvalanīlamanī*.<sup>251</sup> These books, given Rūpa's "zest for formal definitions and nice and hair-splitting distinctions," as De calls it, are incredibly detailed classifications of the theme of the love of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* in terms of poetic theory. The man of sensibility, the *sahṛdaya*, the man who alone can truly appreciate the fine points of poetry and the arts, becomes the *bhakta*, who alone can taste the ultimate experience of joy which the worship of Kṛṣṇa brings. Kṛṣṇa himself becomes the incarnate poem, the object of all the senses, that through which the experience of *rasa* comes. The sound of his flute enchants the ears, the grace and color of his body delight the eye, the perfume of his body thrills the nose, and so on.

An understanding of this implies an understanding of the meaning of the term *rasa*, which is in actuality far more complicated than was suggested above. Like most

<sup>250</sup> There are many editions of this and the following text, two of which are generally deemed standard as attested by the many printings each has enjoyed: *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, edited with Bengali translation by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, with the commentary *Durgasamgamantī-ṭīkā* of Jīva Gosvāmin, 5th ed. (Murshidabad: Rāmadeva Miśra at the Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharampura for Haribhaktipradāyini Sabhā, 1340 BS); and that edited with Bengali translation by Haridāsa Dāsa, with the commentaries *Durgasamgamantī-ṭīkā* of Jīva Gosvāmin, *Artharatnālpadīpikā* of Mukundadāsa Gosvāmin, and *Bhaktisārapradarśinī-ṭīkā* of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, 3d ed. (Mathura: Haribol Kuṭṭra from Śrī Kṛṣṇajānamasthāna, 495 GA). Earlier editions of this second text were printed in Navadvīpa. All references will be to this latter Haridāsa Dāsa edition, hereafter cited as *BhRS*.

S. K. De's summary is an excellent survey, introduction, and analysis of the text (S. K. De, *VFM*, 170-203). The first part (*vibhāga*) of the *BhRS* was translated into English in 1965, but the translation has remained unfinished to date: translated by Tridāṇṭī Swāmī Bhakti Hṛdaya Bon Mahārāj, with Sanskrit text in *devanāgarī*, English transliteration, and English translation with comments, vol. 1 (Vrindaban, UP: Institute of Oriental Philosophy, 1965). David Haberman has included translations of select passages in his dissertation, "Acting as a Way of Salvation: *Rāganuga Bhakti Sadhana*" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1984), and in the printed edition of this work (see Sect. I, n. 9); he is currently preparing a complete translation of the text.

<sup>251</sup> The *Ujjvalanīlamanī*, like its companion the *BhRS* has seen many editions, the two most scholarly and popular being those of the editors noted above: *Ujjvalanīlamanī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, edited with Bengali translation by Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, with the commentaries *Locanarocantī-ṭīkā* of Jīva Gosvāmin and *Ānandacandrikā-ṭīkā* of Viśvanātha Cakravartī (Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press of Baharampura, 1304 BS); and edited with Bengali translation by Haridāsa Dāsa, with the commentary *Svātmāpramodhinī-ṭīkā* of Viṣṇudāsa (Navadvīpa: by the editor at Haribola Kuṭṭra, 469 GA).

Again S. K. De's English summary of the text is the best single statement of its intent and purpose (*VFM*, 203-24). Neal Delmonico is currently preparing a translation of the text and includes many passages in his dissertation entitled, "Sacred Erotic Rapture: A Study of Rūpa Gosvāmin's 'Ujjvala-nīlamanī,'" (see Sect. V.5, n. 177 above).

words in poetics, it is difficult to define, because, as S. K. De says in his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, "its perception is inseparable from its existence; . . . it is identical with the knowledge of itself."<sup>252</sup> The standard example is as follows. One is looking at a performance of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the stage, and the actors are acting out the scene of the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. The scene is a painful one, yet the audience does not experience pain in a personal way. If the audience did experience personal pain, one could not say "I enjoyed that scene." The experience is actually twice removed from particularity. Sītā herself felt pain. The actor who acts her part does not feel her pain, he merely transmits certain characteristics of the actuality to the audience. And the audience is once again removed from the actor, experiencing only what can be deduced from his actions. And yet the esthetic experience which one undergoes is not entirely apart from personal experience, for it is through personal experience that one must fill in the actual emotions of Sītā as they are being depicted or transmitted. The audience is led back to something once familiar.

If *rasa* is "identical with the knowledge of itself," then, it must be defined, like God, in terms of what it is not. It is not normal; it is *alaukika*. Normal everyday experience is tied to particulars and to physicality; normal everyday experience is profane. It does not reside in the hero of the drama, nor in the poem, though these are vehicles which exhibit the situations of time, place, circumstance, personality, mood, and so on, which provide the means of establishing the *rasa*. Nor is it in the reader's apprehension, for if it were different feelings would be aroused in different individuals. Presumably one who has had the experience could define it, but this also turns out to be impossible, for as the experience is supernatural, it cannot be discussed in normal terms; one who has seen God cannot describe God, for human language has no means, except perhaps by indirection and in poetry. And finally, *rasa* has no relationship to any individual; it is a Jungian sort of universalized experience, it is a suspension of secular time and usual personal consciousness which goes beneath cognition. It is not difficult to see that this also defines the religious experience of the Vaiṣṇavas as well. Some of the definitions of *rasa* put forward by J. A. Honeywell in an article called "The Poetic Theory of Viśvanātha," in *The Journal of Esthetics and Art Criticism* make the identification even clearer. *Rasa* has a relationship to the real word, but it is not the real world, for the world of esthetic experience is a world of universals, and the real world a world of particulars. Honeywell writes

<sup>252</sup> S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 2 vols. bound in one (1923 and 1925; reprint, Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1976), 2:137.







designed to set and enhance the mood. And the reader or listener, alive to the poet's skill and of sufficiently wide experience to understand not only the conventions but the meaning in human terms of the poem, will supply what is wanting; for a single poem cannot cover the whole range of experience even of a single subcategory. By these means, from a condition of *sthāyi bhāva*, the experience of *rasa* is gained.

All of this is marvelous in its complexity, and Kṛṣṇadāsa and Rūpa delight in making and naming categories and subcategories of the states of mind of hero and heroine, all possible settings, all possible manifestations of emotion, and all combinations of these. So neat are these divisions, and so well-trained the man of taste, that the poet's hint will suggest the whole range of experience. The heroine trembles; the man of taste, the *sahṛdaya*, knows that her condition is one of fear or anticipation. She is in a garden; the *sahṛdaya* knows that she trembles in anticipation of her lover's coming. There are hundreds of variables, and the *sahṛdaya* must be trained to understand them. The *sahṛdaya* is the *bhakta*, and his *sthāyi bhāva* is *rati*, love. The *bhakta* must be trained to separate out all emotions and conditions of mind which might interfere with the raising of that *bhāva* to the state of *rasa*, to interpret experience in the light of real, or poetic, truth. To train him so is the task of the *guru*, the poet. The *guru* is one who has himself experienced *rasa*, but who, since he is still a man, cannot tell in didactic language his pupil what the experience is. But he can show him how to gain it.

The Vaiṣṇavas suggest that their system can be divided into three essential categories: that which is to be gained (*sādhya*), the means of gaining it (*sādhana*), and he who is to gain it (*sādhaka*). In doctrinal terms these are Kṛṣṇa or *prema*, *bhakti*, and the *bhakta*. In poetic terms they are *rasa*, poetry, and the *sahṛdaya*. Consider the following oppositions: the poem is in time, the experience of the poetry is timeless. From the point of view of the listener, the poem is an experience; the effects of that experience, if the poem is a work of true art, reach into the universal; they go far beyond the immediate confines of the time taken to read or listen, and far beyond the lines of the page. The poem in that way becomes part of the psychological makeup of the appreciator of the poem, and as such enters into far more than particular experience. The experience of the poem is beyond time, is perfect. To Vaiṣṇava thinking, in fact, there are no such oppositions as time and timeless, perfect and imperfect, because the poems cannot be separated from the experience they convey. Since perfection is defined as the experience of Kṛṣṇa, the poem does not merely convey that experience, it is an inseparable part of that experience. In philosophical terms this is somewhat deviant from the more standard schools such as the Vedānta, for what it says is that *cit*, pure consciousness, eternal spirit, can-

not be separated from *māyā*, which the Vaiṣṇavas call the material creation. It says that the material senses, hearing and sight, which can also be touch, and taste (which is one literal meaning of the word *rasa*), and which are the means of esthetic experience, are also used in religious or perfect experience; imperfect man thus relates to eternal and perfect consciousness and spirit.

This is of course perfectly in keeping with the view of the manifest (*prakāṣa*) and unmanifest (*aprakāṣa*) *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa: the idea that the *līlā* which took place within earthly time and which is reported in the *BhP* is not a metaphor of, but actually is the eternal *līlā* which takes place in the infinite Vṛndāvana. Caitanya is at the same time a *bhakta* of Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa himself. And Kṛṣṇa is at the same time Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The flame is not the fire, but is not different from the fire. The poem is not *rasa*, but is indistinguishable from *rasa*.

And if this were to be carried one step further, the poet is not his poem, but is inseparable from his poem (as the saved *bhakta*, the potential *guru*, is not Kṛṣṇa but is inseparable from Kṛṣṇa). And at this point, the two systems, *bhakti* and poetics, blend in yet another way. In the last section of the CC (3.5.87-149) the following situation takes place: a poet has brought his drama to be read to Caitanya. It was customary for Svarūpa Dāmodara to read first all verses brought to Caitanya, for "if there was an artificial *rasa*, or any opposition to the ultimate truths, Prabhu could not bear it, and became angry" (v. 94). Svarūpa was the censor. As it happened, he did not like this drama, and he said to its author (3.5.99-102):

99 "... in the words of indifferent poets there is seeming *rasa* [i.e., *rasābhāsa*, a technical term meaning that which seems at first to be able to give the experience of *rasa*, but which on examination turns out not to be able to do so, because of the faulty usage of techniques designed to stimulate *rasa*], and it gives me no joy to listen to opposition to the truths. 100 Those who cannot discriminate between *rasa* and that which seems like *rasa* can never gain the shore of the sea of *bhakti-siddhānta* [i.e., perfection in relation to Kṛṣṇa]. 101 They do not know grammar, they do not know [poetic] ornamentation (*alaṅkāra*) ... 102 such worthless people do not know how to describe the Kṛṣṇa *līlā* ..."

Svarūpa is using the two categories of poetic analysis—*śabda* (word, form, prosody) and *artha* (meaning)—to criticize the poem. Its meaning is faulty because the poet has said that Caitanya is the spirit in the image of Jagannātha, while the truth is that Caitanya and Jagannātha are fully identical. Its form is faulty as well, because the poet has not used alliteration and the other formal devices skilfully. The implication is clear: a proper devotional poem must be both doctrinally accu-



rate and formally perfect, or else *rasa* (of either kind) will not be generated; no distinction is made between the religious and the esthetic. Or, put another way, a poem cannot be formally perfect if it is not doctrinally correct. As Edwin Gerow has written, the only proper offering to God is of a gem as beautifully cut and as highly polished as the poet can make it.<sup>260</sup>

The Vaiṣṇava attitude is one which does away with the problem which vexes so many of the critics of Metaphysical poetry: the seeming inappropriateness of Donne's wit and formal consciousness, for example, to his devotional subject matter and his psychological realism. Donne's "comparing (his beloved) to a perfect equilateral triangle"<sup>261</sup> would have seemed not at all out of place to the Vaiṣṇavas. For the Vaiṣṇavas, as for the poets who subjected themselves to the Ignatian spiritual exercises in order to make the context of their poetry real and immediate, intellect and poetry do not conflict. The subject of Vaiṣṇava poetry is reality, and the world of that poetry is real; as Ignatius said, "the composition will be to see with the eyes of imagination the corporeal place where the thing I wish to contemplate is found."<sup>262</sup> The eternal Vṛndāvana is available to all *bhaktas*; but his particular place in it depends upon the object of the individual *bhakta's* contemplation. Beauty is truth; art reflects the divine pattern. "One of poetry's greatest potential values was that God could employ it as a means through which man might perceive those relationships."<sup>263</sup> To employ poetry for less than that approaches blasphemy. Religious and poetic truth are identical.

The true poet, the true *bhakta*, could not of course employ poetry for anything other than religious expression, for the world in which he moves is that of truth. That world and the creation of his poem are inseparable. If he employs hyperbole, if all things in his world are larger than in the real one, that is because Kṛṣṇa and the infinite world in which he moves are that much larger than things in this petty one; and no hyperbole can ever reach the end of it. Even the poet cannot express the grandeur of it. But the poet has the power to suggest; he is, in Eliot's view, "one who perceives and distinguishes vibrations beyond the range of ordinary

<sup>260</sup> Edwin Gerow, "The Sanskrit Lyric: A Genre Analysis," in *The Literatures of India: An Introduction*, edited by Edward C. Dimock, Jr., et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1974), 150.

<sup>261</sup> The remark is Rupert Brooke's in his essay "John Donne," quoted by J. E. Duncan, "The Background of Eliot's [Donne] Criticism" in *The Metaphysical Poets: Key Essays on Metaphysical Poetry and the Major Metaphysical Poets*, edited with an introduction and commentary by Frank Kermode (Greenwich: Fawcett, 1969), 139.

<sup>262</sup> *Spiritual Exercises*, quoted in Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religion and Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 27.

<sup>263</sup> J. H. Summers, "Herbert's Conception of Form," in Kermode, ed., *The Metaphysical Poets*, 236.

men."<sup>264</sup> The poet transforms the immediate into the metaphysical. The *bhakta's* petty human love becomes a love for God. Dr. Johnson said in his "Life of Waller" that "contemplative piety, or the intercourse between God and the human soul, cannot be poetical."<sup>265</sup> Rūpa Gosvāmin differs, and in so doing has suggested some of the ways of grasping the always slippery and easy movement between physical and metaphysical, so problematically accepted in much of Indian thought.

## 7. The Poetry

Paul Tillich, in his *Systematic Theology*, wrote that

Unbelief, in the view of the Reformers, is not the unwillingness or the inability to believe in the doctrines of the church, but, like faith, it is an act of the total personality. . . . "Unbelief," for Protestant Christianity, means the act or state in which man in the totality of his being turns away from God. In his existential self-realization he turns toward himself and his world and loses his essential unity with the ground of his being and his world. . . . Unbelief is also the empirical shift from the blessedness of the divine life to the pleasures of the separated life. . . . It is the first mark of estrangement, and its character justifies the term "estrangement."<sup>266</sup>

To this way of thinking, love is that condition in which man's "center" belongs in the divine center, in which "self-love and love for God are united." Thus, "Unfaith is ultimately identical with un-love; both point to man's estrangement from God."<sup>267</sup> The separation of man from his true center in divine love seems to be the beginning of a process which leads inevitably to the condition of estrangement. And to draw the opposite conclusion, which Tillich does not in this place do, love or faith seems to constitute the first stage in a process of reconciliation or reunion of man's center with the center of divine love.

<sup>264</sup> T. S. Eliot, "What Dante Means to Me" in *To Criticize the Critic* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1965), 134.

<sup>265</sup> Samuel Johnson, "Life of Waller" in *Lives of the English Poets*, edited by George Birkbeck Hill, 3 vols. (NY: Octagon Books, 1967), 1:291, no. 136.

<sup>266</sup> Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 2:47-48.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:48.



This manner of thinking would be most congenial to the Vaiṣṇavas. The condition of "self-love and love for God united" is *prema*, and the experience of it is *rasa*. Separation from God and turning toward immediate and worldly things is *kāma*, self-love, sexual desire, passion which seeks the satisfaction only of the self. And the indefinable longing which arises in the condition of separation is *viraha*, which the *gopīs* feel when Kṛṣṇa leaves them to go to Mathurā, and which man feels when he is not in his pure and natural state of loving relationship to God.

Of the two basic states of the love relationship, the Vaiṣṇavas, like the Sufis and others who use poetry as doctrinal expression, place the primary emphasis on separation. The idea of actual union of man and God, of the *bhakta* and Kṛṣṇa, is not acceptable to the dualistic Vaiṣṇavas. And yet, with their ideas of the simultaneous immanence and transcendence of Kṛṣṇa, union is latent in the condition of separation, as separation is in union. The poetic imagery then can be interpreted in either way; only when one applies the stated doctrinal position to it can it be properly interpreted. This potential ambiguity has been exploited by other dualistic religions as well. The Persian Sufi poet writes of his Beloved, whose long tresses, often hiding her face, are dark as the mysterious night, whose lips are rubies, whose body is the cypress tree in the nightingaled garden, whose eyes are fountains of life and pools to drown in. St. John of the Cross hears his soul, the Bride, sing:

There in my festive breast  
walled for his pleasure-garden, his alone,  
the lover remained at rest  
and I gave all I own,  
gave all, in air from cedars softly blown.<sup>268</sup>

And the great troubadour Bernard de Ventadour, somewhat more bluntly, sings:

If only she were bold enough  
to lead me one night there,  
and naked take me in her arms . . .<sup>269</sup>

The type of imagery is present in the Christian tradition right down through Gerard Manley Hopkins and Coventry Patmore. Although it suggests union, it is essen-

tially a poetry of separation, a love poetry which states man's longing for his original and true state of what Tillich would call belief. It is in most ways unthinkable that Hafiz or St. John or Bernard or Patmore were considering actual sexual union with the deity (as do, for example, the extreme monistic Tantrics of Hinduism or Buddhism), or with Christ. Devotional religion means dualism; if it did not, as the Vaiṣṇavas are quick to point out, one would end up worshipping one's self. The love of man for God and the expression of this must employ the erotic image, for the range of analogy in human experience is limited; this is the *sthayī bhava* which is raised to the condition of experiencing *rasa*. And separation is as much a part of the condition of love as is union; more so—for if there were no separation there could be no dynamic coming together, no reconciliation, to use Tillich's term. This is why Kṛṣṇa separated himself into two.

Their lyric poetry and song is a major contribution of the Vaiṣṇavas to literature, and so much a part of their devotional attitude that even the scholarly Kṛṣṇadāsa occasionally gives voice to it. The lyrics make up a cycle, describing in a general way the life of Kṛṣṇa, and within that in great detail the love affair between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā: the initial infatuation and fright, attraction and dislike, pique and passion, union and separation, when Kṛṣṇa leaves the fields of Vṛndāvana, with the *gopīs* grieving, in order, so it is stated, that by their longing and their grief true love for him will grow. A look at three poems from different parts of the cycle will indicate their character and how they express the central religious ideas. The first is spoken by Rādhā or one of the *gopīs*, as she describes her love for Kṛṣṇa to one of her friends:

As water to sea-creature,  
moon-nectar to *chakora* birds,  
companionable dark to the stars—  
my love is to Krishna.

My body hungers for his  
as mirror image hungers  
for twin of flesh.

His life cuts into my life  
as the stain of the moon's rabbit  
engraves the moon.

<sup>268</sup> John Frederick Nims, *The Poems of St. John of the Cross* (New York: Evergreen Press, 1959), 21.

<sup>269</sup> Moshé Lazar, *Amour cortois et Fin'amors*, Bibliothèque Française et Romane, Série C: Etudes Littéraires 8 (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964), 72.



As if a day when no sun came up  
and no color came to the earth—  
that's how it is in my heart when he goes away.

Vidyapati says, Cherish such love  
and keep it young, fortunate girl.<sup>270</sup>

Two of the images of the poem are primarily conventional. First of all, the poetic conceit is that the moon is full of nectar; and *akora* birds are those fictitious creatures which are said to live on moonbeams. Secondly, the stain on the moon, the man in the moon, is in the Indian convention a deer or a rabbit. And along these lines, such traditional similes and metaphors are developed as "her face is like the moon" and "the moon seems stained, when seen beside her face," which of course is flawless.

On the most simple structural level, the poet presents us with a progression from the darkness of the sea, the darkness of night made darker by the stars, through the brightness of the mirror, the pure light of the moon, with emphasis on the purity of the face of the beloved through mention of the stain; and in the fourth verse there is a sudden reversal, moving again from light to darkness, from hope to desolate loneliness. The poem is a love poem; it is also a religious poem. The first verse is a statement of the existential relationship of Kṛṣṇa to his *bhaktas*: he is necessary for life, as water is to fish; he is desired and fulfilling, as moonbeams are to *akora* birds; he makes life visible and meaningful, as darkness does to stars. And the second verse is an almost theological statement. That which is non-physical has neither shadow nor image. Rādhā is then saying that Kṛṣṇa is the true reality, and that she is a reflection of this, without substance. She is also however saying, more importantly, that she and Kṛṣṇa are somehow one, as an entity and its reflection are inseparable from one another. And the third verse says that Rādhā, or the devotee, is indelibly marked with the touch of Kṛṣṇa; it is because of the touch that he is mad. But perhaps the most important point is suggested by the last two lines, the *bhaṇita* or signature, a custom of poets of the period. In the poem itself, Vidyapati has been speaking as Rādhā or one of the other *gopīs*. In his *bhaṇita* he speaks to her. Throughout he participates fully in his poem. This is *bhava*; the poet has taken on the nature of Rādhā or one of the *gopīs*.<sup>271</sup>

<sup>270</sup> Dimock and Levertov, *IPK*, 17.

<sup>271</sup> For a discussion of poetry as devotional expression and the poet as devotee, see Edward C. Dimock, Jr., "On Religious and Esthetic Experience" in *The Sound of Silent Guns* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 11-20.

The second poem is from the section of the cycle called *māna*, the irritation and jealousy of Rādhā when Kṛṣṇa has been with other girls. She speaks:

The marks of fingernails are on your breast  
and my heart burns.  
Kohl of someone's eyes upon your lips  
darkens my face.  
I am awake all night;  
your eyes are red.  
So why do you entreat me, Kān,  
saying that you and I have but one heart?  
You come with choking voice  
while I want to weep.  
"Only our bodies are apart."  
But mine is light,  
and yours is dark.  
Go home, then,  
says Govindadāsa.<sup>272</sup>

The poem is tight and complex. One or two superficial things ought to be noted. According to the *Kāma Sūtra*, fingernail marks on the breast are highly erotic, both in meaning and in stimulus. Kohl is the dark collyrium used by women as a cosmetic around the eyes, and by children as a medicinal ointment. Kān or Kanu is a pet name for Kṛṣṇa. And Rādhā's body is golden in color, while Kṛṣṇa's is *śyāma*, a dark emerald or deep blue-green; this yields such highly erotic images as "the emerald set in the ring of gold."

The *bhava* of the poem seems to be that of Rādhā, although there is a slight ambiguity: when Govindadāsa says "Go home," he may be speaking as Rādhā to Kṛṣṇa, as a companion to Rādhā, or as a friend to them both. Given the ritual practices prevalent among the more adept Vaiṣṇavas at the time this poem was written, one would be inclined to see the author in the role of Rādhā's companion, a *mañjarī*; but Govindadāsa will not be the only Vaiṣṇava to participate in the poem's *rasa*, so the ambiguity serves an important function, opening the poem to a range of emotional perspectives dependent on the reader. This malleability contributes greatly to its power and elegance. And the poem must be read on several levels. The first is that characteristics of another are attributed to the self, and this

<sup>272</sup> Dimock and Levertov, *IPK*, 45.



is of course what *bhāva* means. The second is somewhat more subtle, and is like the mirror-image in the first poem: Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are in some indefinable way one, and what happens to one happens to the other. Yet, if there is to be a true love-relationship, the two cannot really be one. "Only our bodies are apart": for a dynamic coming together, for a restitution of the relationship of true love, there must be two parts. The poet says that those parts are not at the same time a whole.

The third poem, structurally a very simple one, adds a new dimension. It seems to be spoken by Rādhā, and again describes her longing in *viraha*:

Let the earth of my body be mixed with the earth  
my beloved walks on.  
Let the fire of my body be the brightness  
in the mirror that reflects his face.  
Let the water of my body join the waters  
of the lotus pool he bathes in.  
Let the breath of my body be air  
lapping his tired limbs.  
Let me be sky, and moving through me  
that cloud-dark Shyama, my beloved.

Govindadāsa says, O golden one,  
Could he of the emerald body let you go?<sup>273</sup>

The images are conventional. The elements which are spoken of are the five elements of material nature, and on this level, which is borne out by the signature line, it seems that Rādhā, in her pain, either longs for dissolution or feels herself in the penultimate state in a case of true love, about to die. Another level is purely erotic, and the force of the last four lines is inescapable. But the poem says deeper things. The images are extremely intimate: water washing the body, or the body and its breath; but these relationships, intimate as they are, do not signify union. It is again the relationship of the fire to the flame. Govindadāsa is also saying that Rādhā is the material creature, and Kṛṣṇa the immaterial. The implication is that the immaterial needs the material to contain it and make it real and potent. As Kṛṣṇa needs Rādhā, God needs man. It also means that Kṛṣṇa can be known through the material being, that there is a direct link between the physical world,

<sup>273</sup> Ibid., 58.

including the body, to the deity, and that therefore the physical world, including the body, is real.

Such poems as these are probably not conscious statements of all this. They are reactions to what the *bhaktas* felt, due to the immediacy of their belief and intuition about the nature of Kṛṣṇa and their relationship to him. And in so stating their love ecstatically, they posed the problem which the Gosvāmins and Kṛṣṇadāsa had to face: how to translate this into a system, to state in theological terms what to the poet-*bhaktas* of Bengal was a real, but undefined set of perceptions.

### 8. The Theology

Kṛṣṇadāsa had at his disposal in Vṛndāvana several of the best scholastic minds of his time, especially those in the persons of Rūpa and Jīva Gosvāmin, as well as their writings; Jīva's *Ṣaṭ-sandarbhā*<sup>274</sup> is a monument of theological craftsmanship and the most complete analysis of the system developed to explain the implications of emotionalistic *bhakti*. This work has been summarized by S. K. De,<sup>275</sup> and those interested in this theology can easily turn to that text. Nevertheless, a précis of the theology as Kṛṣṇadāsa understood it might smooth the reader's way into the CC text.<sup>276</sup>

#### Aspects of Godhead

There are three aspects of the ultimate reality, which are progressive in the following manner: A is A alone; B includes A, but has an additional quality of its own; and C includes both A and B, but also has an additional quality of its own. These three aspects are called respectively *brahman*, the lowest, *paramātmā*, the middle, and *bhagavat*, the highest and complete. *Brahman* is the unqualified, undifferentiated absolute of *advaita* philosophy. It is included in the *bhagavat*, but is not the full *bhagavat*; it is that aspect of the *bhagavat* which provides lustre, grandeur, and

<sup>274</sup> Two good editions are *Ṣaṭ- or Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* of Jīva Gosvāmin, edited by Purīdāsa Mahāśaya, 6 bks. in 2 vols. (Vṛndāvana: Haridāsa Śarmma, 1357 BS); and that edited by Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī (Calcutta: by the editor, 1322 BS). The individual *sandarbhās* of this set (*viz. tattva, bhagavat, paramātmā, kṛṣṇa, bhakti, and prīti*) have been frequently printed independently (see bibliography).

<sup>275</sup> De, *VFM*, 254-421.

<sup>276</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa addresses these points primarily in CC 2.20.



splendor to the *bhagavat*'s body. Those who seek identity with it, as the followers of the *jñāna mārga*, for example, are prone to do, are deluded; they can know this identity by following the *jñāna mārga* modified by an element of *bhakti*, but in doing so they know only a partial reality. They seek to know only a part, when they could know the whole.

*Paramātmān* mediates between the *brahman* and the *bhagavat*; it is known by the *yoga mārga*, discipline modified by *bhakti*. But again, those who follow this path, while gaining more than *brahman*, also do not know the whole. The *bhagavat*, the highest reality, personified as *bhagavān*, is divinity in full manifestation. While *brahman* is unqualified and undifferentiated, and *paramātmān* is partially qualified and partially differentiated, *bhagavān*'s attributes are innumerable and perfect.

This ultimate reality, in its three gradations, is totally transcendent and thus inoperative. But the infinite qualifications and differentiations of the *bhagavat* include infinite *śaktis*, energies which make the godhead active; and these *śaktis* are essential or intrinsic to the *bhagavat*'s nature. Kṛṣṇadāsa says: "As a beam of light is a part of the sun, or a flame a part of the fire, so the three *śaktis* are of Kṛṣṇa's nature" (CC 2.20.102). The *śaktis* are infinite, but are again of three main sorts: *svatūpa-śakti*, *jīva-śakti*, and *māyā-śakti*. To explain their interrelationship, Kṛṣṇadāsa carries further his image of the sun: the *svatūpa-śakti*, the *śakti* of "his own form" is the sun itself; the rays of the sun are among its essential properties, but do not make up the sun itself, and this is *jīva-śakti*; but the rays of the sun carry the light of the sun to the mirror, and are thus intermediaries between the sun and its reflection. This reflection of the sun is *māyā-śakti*; the reflection is an aspect of the sun, and does not exist without the sun, but it is not connected to the essential sun. *Māyā-śakti* is thus considered related to the *bhagavat*, but extrinsic (*bahiraṅga*) to it.

The rays of the sun carry the sun's light and warmth to the earth, and its reflection is the sun on earth. *Māyā-śakti* is thus the aspect of divinity which relates to the earth; it is the principle of creation, and it controls men and all material nature. Thus the world is related to the *bhagavat*, but is not of its essential nature. It cannot be said that the world is not real, for the *māyā-śakti* is a function of the ultimate reality, and is therefore itself real. The world is related to the *bhagavat*, the full reality, also through the sun's rays, the *jīva-śakti*. The *jīva-śakti*, as its name suggests, has as its domain, that part of the individual creature such as man which is separate from but imbedded in material nature. *Jīva-śakti*, like the *paramātmān*, is an intermediary; being neither fully intrinsic nor fully extrinsic to the *bhagavat*, it provides the means by which the *jīva*, when released from the control of *māyā-śakti*, relates to the *bhagavat*'s *svatūpa-śakti*. For when this release comes, by means

of *bhakti*, the *jīva* is beyond both *māyā* and *jīva-śaktis*, and is fully related to the *svatūpa-śakti*, the highest *śakti* of the *bhagavat*, *bhagavān* the full divinity.

### Nature of the Jīva

The *jīva* is not the body, for the body is mortal and takes different forms in different births; it is not even the subtle body which is gained after death, for that too is material, being destroyed in the great destruction at the end of the world. But it is said that after a man or animal is dead: the *jīva*, life, consciousness, was in that body, and is so no longer. The *jīva* therefore is related to consciousness which, in its infinite form, is one of the qualities of *bhagavat*. The *jīva* is the smallest indivisible part of the *bhagavat*; and as a part it participates in the *bhagavat*, but, unlike the *bhagavat*, is limited. The *jīva* is also discrete; while it relates, as consciousness, to the *bhagavat*, it is not identical with the *bhagavat*, and remains eternally distinct both from the *bhagavat* and from other *jīvas*. The *jīva* is under the control of *māyā* as long as it is deluded into identifying itself with the organic body. Through *bhakti* a perfected body (*siddhadeha*) is gained, and as part of the *bhagavat* the *jīva* is released from *māyā*.

While participating in the *bhagavat*, the *jīva* is discrete from it, and this can be shown by the fact that the *jīva* has a separate existence and because it is before release embedded in a material body liable to the control of *māyā*; for *māyā*, as an extrinsic *śakti*, has no effect on the *bhagavat* itself. This is the *bhedabheda* principle noticed before: the relationship between the *jīva* and the *bhagavat* is both the sameness and difference. The relationship is also *acintya*, not subject to human cognition to the point of being fundamentally incomprehensible.

While under the control of *māyā*, the *jīva* is in a state of separation from the *bhagavat*. But the fact that there is a sameness means that the *jīva*, when released, can approach the *bhagavat* and remain near the *bhagavat* for all eternity. The fact that there is a difference means that this nearness can never be identity. This nearness is the ultimate that the *jīva* can achieve; it is "dwelling near" or "having a form like" the *bhagavat*. It is never "being one with" it.

### Form of the Bhagavat

The question of the form of the *bhagavat* then must be faced. For energy, *śakti*, must have a container to be meaningful, to be other than random. The *bhagavat* is infinitely qualified, and one of these qualities must be form or person. This form however is in no sense like the gross physical form of the human being, for the gross



physical human form is under the control of *māyā*. It is made up of qualities, but these are not the material qualities, the *guṇas*; they are the qualities *sat*, "truth" or "existence," *cit*, "consciousness," and *ānanda*, "pure and absolute bliss." These constitute the essence of the *bhagavat*; and his essence is also his form. But this does not define the actual shape which they take. The *BhP* and the *BhG* suggest that the true form of the *bhagavat* is in shape like, but not identical with, the human form. Unlike the human form, the divine form is not subject to change. And these texts suggest that that true form is the two-armed, *śyāma*-colored Kṛṣṇa.

The *bhagavat* has had many appearances (*avatāra*) upon the earth, and he showed his true form (*svarūpa*) as the Kṛṣṇa of the *BhP*. But his choice of form is infinite, and all forms are essential to him. It is here that many of the biographers of Caitanya found their way, for Caitanya was perceived early to be an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa. When Kṛṣṇa chooses to show his true form, that like the human body, it must be remembered that that form is in no way subject to the limitations of the human body. He is all forms, and the assumption of one in no way limits his true form, his *svarūpa*, his eternal existence, nor does it in any way imply a change in his nature. Any *avatāra* is real and eternal, a function of the *svarūpa*, and as the *svarūpa* totally untouched by the phenomenal world. In this same way, Kṛṣṇa the *bhagavat* can assume any number of forms simultaneously, the *svarūpa* remaining unchanged; Kṛṣṇa appears between each two *gopīs* at the *rāsa*-dance, and each Kṛṣṇa is fully real (*BhP* 10.29). The possibilities of manifestation are endless, but the Gosvāmins and Kṛṣṇadāsa sought to systematize them, to establish the full range of possible forms in a coherent structure, including in it all previous Vaiṣṇava conceptions of *avatāra* (see Figure 1).

Kṛṣṇa is identified with the *bhagavat* because of such texts as *BhP* 1.3.28, in which the phrase "*kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam*" appears: Kṛṣṇa is himself the ultimate truth, the *bhagavat*, the full godhead, *bhagavān*. Kṛṣṇadāsa takes this up: "Kṛṣṇa is *svayam bhagavān*; his other name is Govinda. He is full of all divine qualities, and his eternal dwelling place is Goloka" (*CC* 2.20.133). "From whose god-quality derives the god-quality of others, is the meaning of the word *svayam bhagavān*" (1.2.74); he possesses the six qualities which define his full divinity: infinite knowledge, infinite power, infinite strength, infinite splendor, infinite energy, and infinite magnificence. He possesses none of the lower material qualities. As Kṛṣṇa is himself *svayam bhagavān*, he can be called an *avatāra* only of himself; Kṛṣṇa is in fact the container of all *avatāras*, and those who call him an *avatāra* of Nārāyaṇa, for example, are mistaken (1.2.58-89). As himself the full divinity, the supreme principle, he contains *brahman* the radiance and *paramātmān* who is the

soul of souls, who indwells in all things, but is beyond them. And only by *bhakti* can Kṛṣṇa himself be gained. Says Kṛṣṇadāsa (2.24.60-65):

60 The unqualified *brahma* is revealed by the *jñāna marga*, and the indwelling *svarūpa* by the *yoga marga*. 61 . . . By *rāga bhakti* [the path of love] *svayam bhagavān* in Vraja is gained. . . . 65 Apart from *bhakti*, no *sādhana* [ritual approach] can produce results; but *bhakti* by itself can give all results.

Kṛṣṇa's form is *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. Of these, *ānanda*, pure bliss, is most important. Associated with it is a *śakti*, the *hlādinī-śakti*, which empowers Kṛṣṇa to give and to receive bliss. Kṛṣṇadāsa states (1.4.53): "*Hlādinī* causes Kṛṣṇa to taste bliss [*ānanda*]. By *hlādinī* he nourishes his *bhaktas*." This *hlādinī-śakti* is Rādhā; and thus she is an inseparable part of the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa. The *svarūpa*, in its *ānanda* aspect, consists of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in an eternal relationship of love (1.4.59-60):

59 The essence of *hlādinī* is *prema*; the essence of *prema* is *bhava*, the highest state of *bhava* is called *mahābhava*. 60 The true form [*svarūpa*] of *mahābhava* is Rādhā Ṭhakuraṇī, the treasure-house of all qualities, the crest-jewel among all the lovers of Kṛṣṇa.

Not only is Rādhā a part of him, but all the other *gopīs*, the cowherd boys, the cows, the river, his mother and father—all these make up Kṛṣṇa's *dhāma*, and his *dhāma* is also inseparable from him. And all these give him pleasure. It is here that the popular traditions regarding Caitanya's immediate companions—especially the four chief followers who round out the elements of the *pañca tattva* noted previously in the biographies of Caitanya—find theological support; everyone and everything surrounding Caitanya appeared as part of his *dhāma*. It is into one of these privileged positions that the successful *bhakta* is transformed in *bhava*. In the transformed state, thus, the *bhakta* is both part of Kṛṣṇa and not part of Kṛṣṇa. As he is part of Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa gives him delight; and as he is not part of Kṛṣṇa, he worships, giving Kṛṣṇa delight. The *ānanda* of Kṛṣṇa and of the *bhakta* thus increase one another: the more that is given, the more longing for it grows, and so on to infinity in a process which must be first initiated by Kṛṣṇa.



*Kṛpā and the Nature of the Guru*

As has been suggested, there is an element of grace (*kṛpā*) in the thought of the Vaiṣṇavas: God does not have to hold the lamp which illuminates the truth, nor does he have to take the tiller of the foundering boat. "No one can know the truth of God [Īśvara]," says Kṛṣṇadāsa, "except by his grace" (2.6.81). Yet there is a question of logic here. For the *jīva*, before his release, is under the control of *māyā*, and *māyā*, while real, in no way affects the *svarūpa*, Kṛṣṇa himself. Kṛṣṇa is totally transcendent, entirely removed from the world. How then does he extend his grace?

There are on the earth saintly men, *bhaktas* who have gained release from the bondage of *māyā*, who have reached the other shore while still alive. These men, though themselves in perfected bodies which can no longer feel the effects of *māyā*, remember what the bondage is like. Like the Buddhist *bodhisattvas*, they have compassion on those still struggling for release. They have themselves gained the *svarūpa*; they know the way. They live on both levels, and they are the channels of Kṛṣṇa's grace. They are proper *gurus*; they lead the *jīva* upward. And they bring Kṛṣṇa down. It is said in *BhG* 4.7-8 that when he is needed, Kṛṣṇa will descend as an *avatāra* for the sake of the world. The transcendent Kṛṣṇa knows when he is needed through these intermediaries. Thus he was called down as Caitanya (CC 1.13.65-69):

65 But seeing all the people with faces averted from Kṛṣṇa, seeing people immersed in worldly affairs, [Advaitācārya] was very sorrowful. 66 He reflected on a source of salvation for the people, how all these people could be saved. 67 "If Kṛṣṇa himself descends and propagates *bhakti*, then the people will be saved." 68 So the Ācārya prayed that Kṛṣṇa descend; he performed Kṛṣṇa-*pūjā* with *tulasī* and Gaṅgā water. 69 He summoned Kṛṣṇa with a loud outcry, and Vrajendrakumāra was attracted by the shout.

The *guru* is thus to be revered as a part of Kṛṣṇa himself, as Kṛṣṇa's agent on the earth. To demonstrate for the weary and sinful people of earth, Caitanya includes in himself the function of *guru* and model devotee when he appears; he is Kṛṣṇa, and the *guru*, in the person of Advaitācārya, is part of his *dhama*. But, as Kṛṣṇa, Caitanya is far more than that.

Kṛṣṇa is both indivisible and infinitely divisible. In the Vraja *līlā*, as that *līlā* is described in the *BhP*, his *hladinī-śakti* Rādhā was separately embodied from him while, as a *śakti*, remaining a part of him. By this separate embodiment, it is said, Kṛṣṇa knew both internally and externally the full experience of bliss (*ananda*), the *rasa* of *prema*. But, it is also said, even this was not fully satisfying, for the longing

for the taste of *rasa* always grows; and as the reflector and amplifier of Kṛṣṇa's *prema*, Rādhā must be the recipient of the most joyous experience of this *rasa*. Thus, when Kṛṣṇa came to earth as Caitanya, he came as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa separately, but in one body, to know the doubled pleasure of Rādhā, the taste of himself through the joy of two in one—subject and object constantly joined, yet ever separate. He was Rādhā in the color of his body and in his constant longing and grief in separation; he was fully Kṛṣṇa, in his power and radiance and majesty. This is the doctrine of Caitanya's dual-incarnation first propounded by Rāmānanda Rāya.<sup>277</sup> At the end of that famous meeting (CC 2.8.233):

233 Then, smiling, Prabhu showed to him his true form [*svarūpa*]—Rasarāja [i.e., Kṛṣṇa] and Mahabhāva [i.e., Rādhā], the two in one form [*rūpa*].

And it is somewhat of a departure of Kṛṣṇadāsa from the writings of his *gurus*. He might be recording what he learned from them; but in their writings—save the short, eulogistic *stava* and *stotra* literature—the Gosvāmins seem more concerned with Kṛṣṇa of the *BhP* than with the Kṛṣṇa they had known. But Kṛṣṇadāsa was writing for Bengal, where Caitanya's memory was green, and where parts of his manifest *dhama* still remained.

We have come full circle, back to our starting point of the biographical image of Caitanya. To describe Kṛṣṇadāsa's theology in greater detail would be to paraphrase his own statement of it, and he should be allowed to speak for himself. Besides, as Kṛṣṇadāsa says, "the book grows too long." The western reader will not in some places find the CC an easy book to understand. He will, we think, find his effort rewarded.

<sup>277</sup> Vide Sect. VI.2 above; Dimock, *PHM*, 54. The encounter between Caitanya and Rāmānanda Rāya is recounted in CC 2.8. For a detailed analysis of this position, see Stewart, *BIK*, ch. 5, 383-99.



Figure 1  
The Avatāra System

Source: Stewart, *BIK*, 372-74. This chart summarizes the avatāra system, compiled and completed by Kṛṣṇadāsa and found primarily in CC 2.20, with one subsection (*puruṣa avatāra*) developed from CC 1.5. Kṛṣṇadāsa clearly based his speculation on Sanātana Gosvāmī's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta*, Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, and Jīva Gosvāmī's *Ṣaṭ- or Bhāgavata-sandarbhā*. The framework seeks to systematize all avatāra theories that were current among the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal, going back to early Pañcarātra speculation. The reader will recognize many purāṇic and other theories, such as the *līlā avatāras* (which include the well-known *daśāvatāras*), *yuga avatāras*, the *manvantara avatāras*, etc., and of course the earlier Pañcarātra *caturvyūha*, which includes in it the cycles of time as well. For the meanings of these technical categories, the reader is referred directly to Kṛṣṇadāsa's text.

Much of this information can also be gleaned in English from an article written by S. K. De entitled "The Doctrine of Avatāra (Incarnation) in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism" in *S. Kuppaswami Sāstri Commemoration Volume* (Madras: by the committee, 1936), 25-37. The article was later reprinted in a collection of essays by De, titled *Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature and Studies in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism* (New Delhi: Today and Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, 1974), 125-35. De's outline contains minor variations due to his reliance on the Sanskrit sources, but the overall classification scheme remains essentially the same as that proposed by Kṛṣṇadāsa.

Since the chart was constructed, we have discovered a similar chart drawn by Bhaktikusuma Śramaṇa Mahārāja in his *Caitanyopadeśaratnāmālā*, 2d ed. (Māyāpura, WB: Śrī Caitanya Maṭha, 490 GA), inserted between pp. 36-37. Compare also the chart by Bemandas Majumdar appended to the introduction of *Lord Sree Gouranga's Teachings to Rupa Goswami on Bhaktirasa (or Sweet Sentiments of Devotion)*; vide Sect. V.4, n. 151 above.

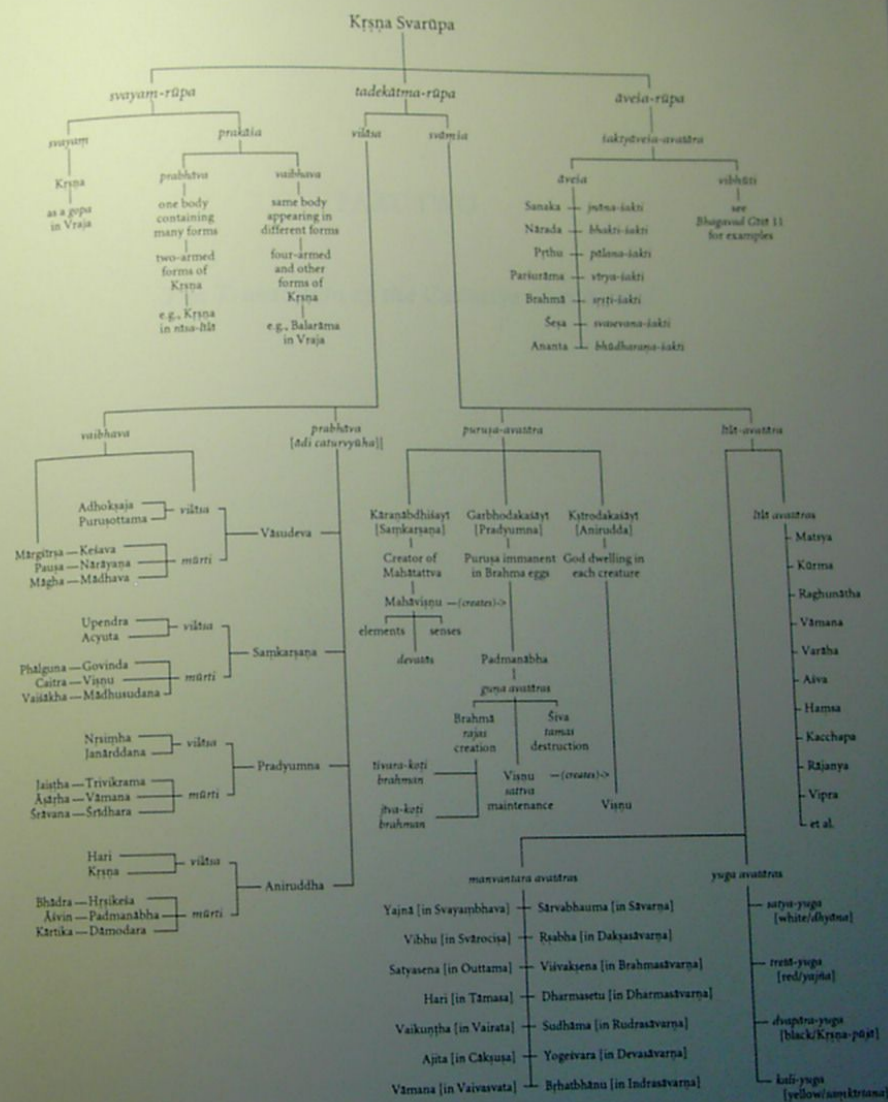
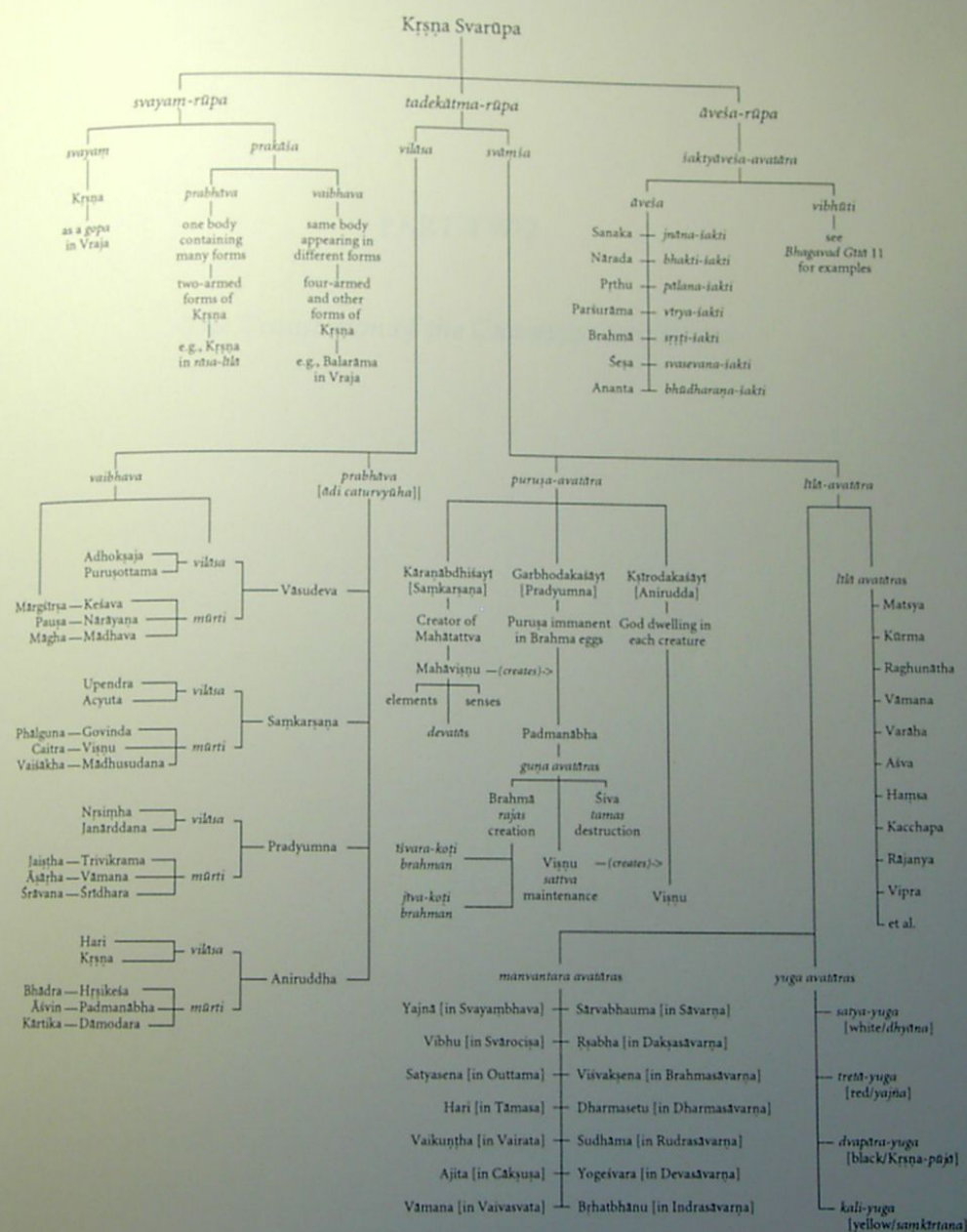




Figure 1  
The Avatāra System

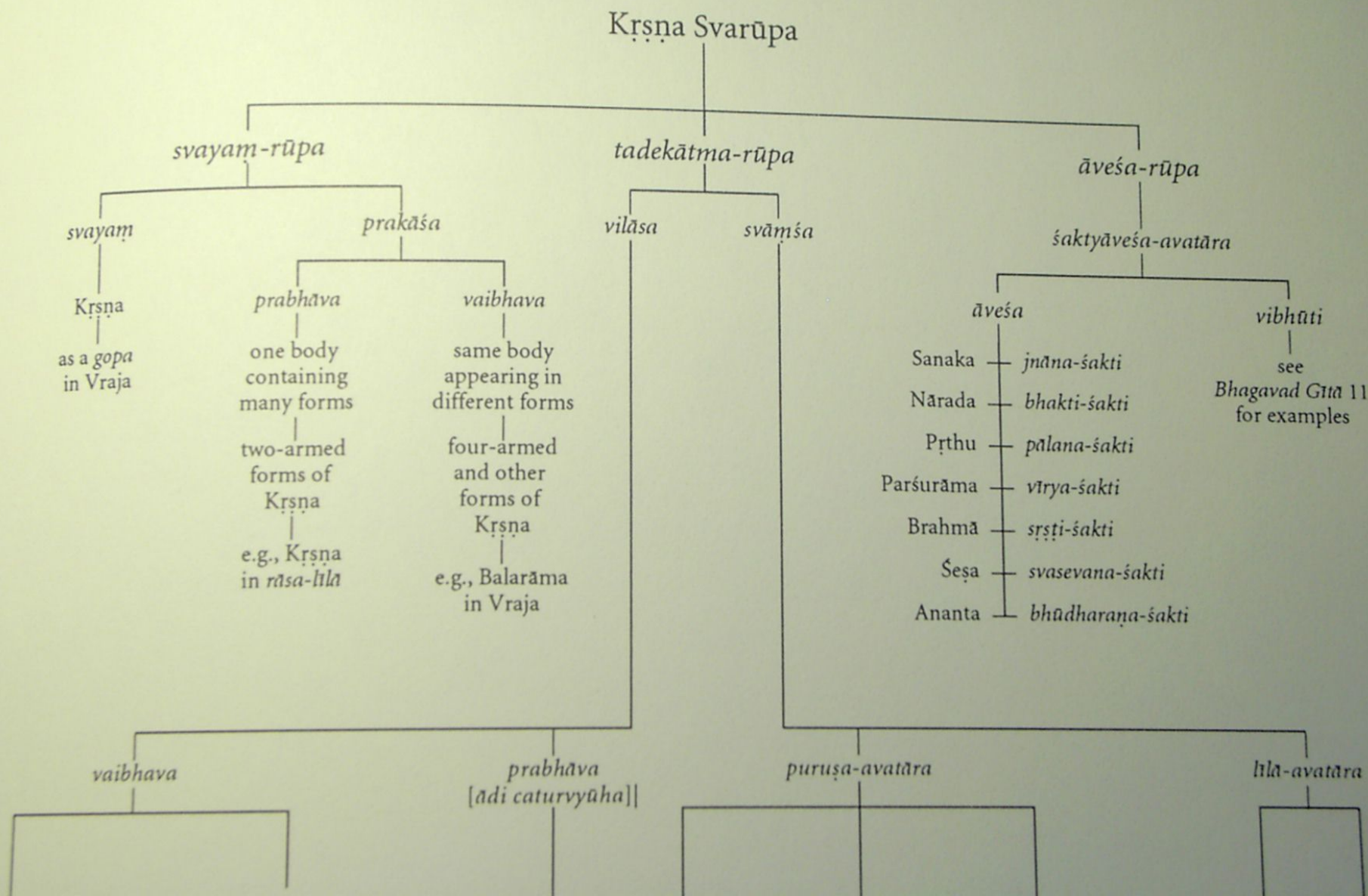


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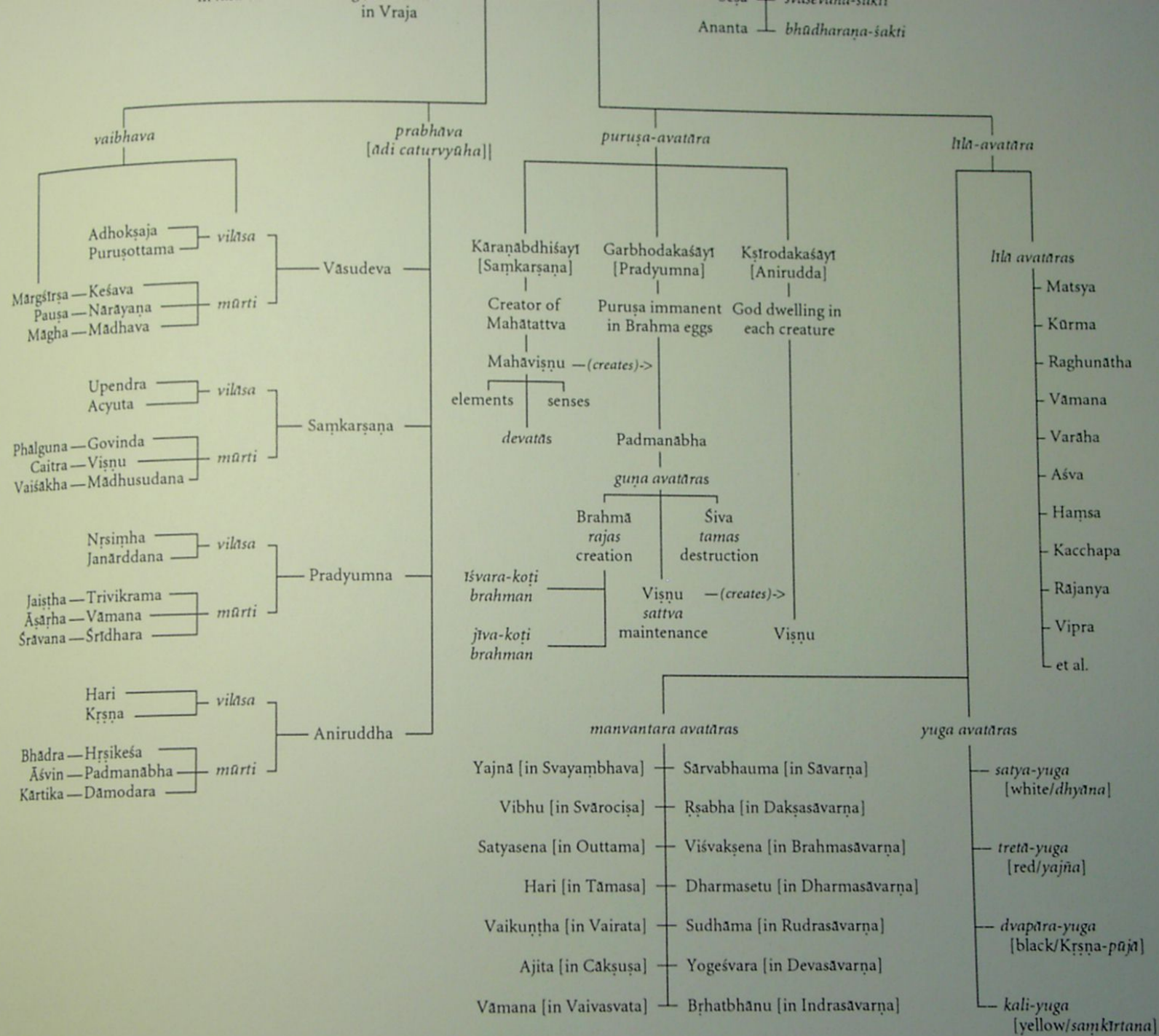
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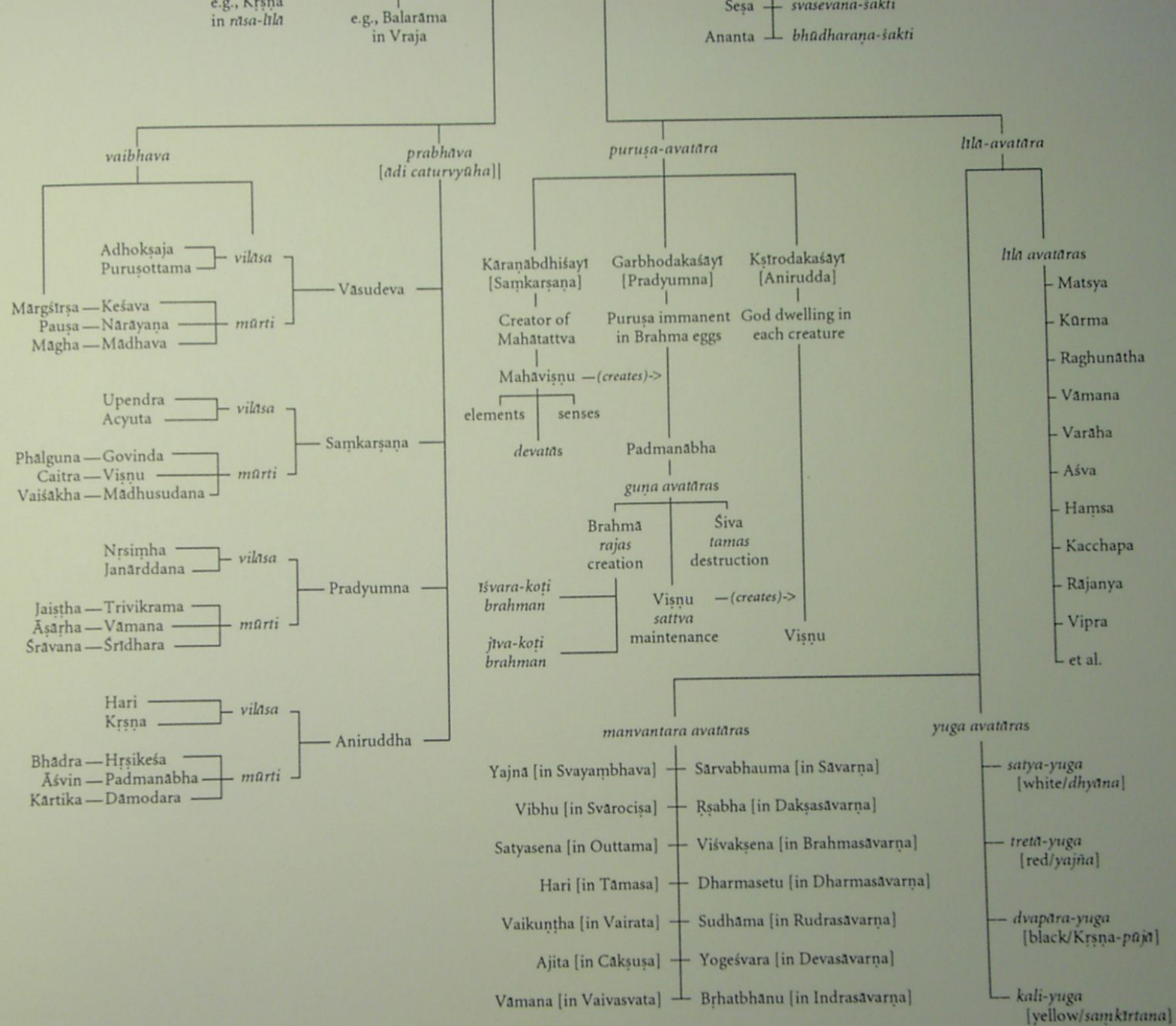














PART TWO

*The Translation of the Caitanya Caritāmṛta*



*Ādi Līlā*



Ādi Līlā  
Chapter 1

Śloka 1.

To my *gurus*, to the *bhaktas* of the Lord, to the *avatāras* of the Lord, to his manifestations, and his *śaktis*, to the Lord whose name is Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, I make obeisance.

Śloka 2.

I make obeisance to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and to Nityānanda, the sun and the moon most wonderful, who destroy the darkness and bestow their blessings, flowering as they rise together over the horizon of Gauḍa.

Śloka 1. Śloka 1 is expounded in 1.1.17-44a. For a discussion of the *gurus* of Kṛṣṇadāsa, see Introduction, Sect. III. The *pañca tattva* is the subject of 1.7.2b-22; see also 1.1.śl.14 and commentary. The first documented explicit explanation of this popular theory is found in Kavikarṇapūra's *Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā* (GGUD), reference to which will appear from time to time in this commentary. These five—*guru*, *bhakta* (devotee), *avatāra* (descent or incarnation), *prakāśa* (manifestation), and *śakti* (power)—are considered to be the *pañca-tattva*, or five essential principles of the sect, and in relationship to Caitanya they are personified: *guru* is Caitanya himself, *bhakta* is Śrīvāsa, *avatāra* is Advaitācārya, *prakāśa* is Nityānanda, and *śakti* is Gadādhara Paṇḍita. *Gurus* are of two kinds: *mantra-guru* or the *guru* who gives initiation, and *śikṣā guru*, who teaches; see 1.1.17.

These introductory ślokas are called the '*maṅgalācāraṇa*' (cf. 1.1.5 below), eulogistic or dedicatory ślokas. The six factors which they praise set the pattern for the whole *ādi līlā* of Kṛṣṇadāsa's work, for as will be seen the whole book is an extensive commentary on these first several verses.

Śloka 2. The image is a common one in Vaiṣṇavism, as will be seen throughout the book; the darkness is of course the darkness of ignorance, especially the ignorance propagated by philosophical discussion. The image from this point of view has a nice irony, for Nāṭya (Gauḍa) was the center of the great school of logic, the *navya-nyāya*. Śloka 2 (=1.1.śl.36 and 2.1.śl.2) is expounded in 1.1.44b-61.



## Śloka 3.

That which in the Upaniṣads is [called] the non-dual *brahma*, that [*brahma*] is the radiance of his body; that which is [called] *puruṣa*, the indwelling *ātman*, is the manifestation of a particle of him; that which is [called] here *pārṇa bhagavān*, endowed with the six divine attributes, is [Caitanya] himself. In this world there is no supreme principle superior to Kṛṣṇa as Caitanya, who is the highest truth.

## Śloka 4.

In order to bestow the wealth of *bhakti* for himself, which for a long time had gone unbestowed, a *bhakti* of elevated and radiant essentiality, Hari has descended in the Kali age out of compassion, with the beautiful sheen of gold and blazing like a *kadamba* [flower]; and Śaṅkara must forever sparkle in the hollow of your heart.

Śloka 3. Śloka 3 (=1.2.3.13) is expounded as the subject of the entire chapter 1.2. The reference of the śloka is to the three paths of *sādhana* put forward in the *BhG* and in other texts: the *jñāna mārga*, the path of knowledge, the *paratattva* or highest principle of which is, according to the Vaiṣṇava interpretation at least, called *brahma*; the *yoga mārga* or path of discipline, the *paratattva* of which is the *paramātmā*; and the *bhakti mārga*, the path of devotion, which is of course the path propagated by the Vaiṣṇavas, the *paratattva* of which is the full godhead, the *pārṇa bhagavān*. *Bhakti* is of two kinds, essentially: *aśvāryātmika*, that which has as its essence divine majesty, and *mādhuryātmika*, or that which has as its essence the "sweetness" aspect of the godhead—the pleasure which Kṛṣṇa gives and which he experiences. The deity representing the *aśvāryātmika bhakti* is Nārāyaṇa, and that representing the *mādhuryātmika* is of course Kṛṣṇa. It should be stressed from the beginning that in this form of Vaiṣṇavism Kṛṣṇa is not considered to be an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, but as the full god himself; and Caitanya is, as the śloka points out, identical with Kṛṣṇa. These are concepts vital to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism, and Kṛṣṇadāsa will go into great detail on them in the fourth chapter of the *ādi līlā* of his work.

Śloka 4. Śloka 4 (=1.3.3.12 and 3.1.3.16) is expounded as the subject of the entire chapter 1.3. The text quoted is the drama (*nāṭaka*) *Vidagdhamādhava* (1.2) by Rūpa Gosvāmī. It was Rūpa who was so concerned with the relationship between the religious and the esthetic experiences, and in fact a large part of his *UNM* explains *bhakti* as a *rasa*, or the ultimate esthetic experience (see Introduction, Sect. VII.6). Kṛṣṇa is of course the container of *rasa*, allowing his *bhaktas* to experience that state, and is at the same time the ultimate *rasika*, himself experiencing that state. The śloka is based on the concept that in his previous *avatāra*, namely as the two-armed cowherd Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa had divided his previously undivided self into two, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, in order to experience fully the love relationship. For obviously unless there can be a dynamic coming together, as well as separation, there can be no experience of love, and this implies two units, each containing the other. But it was said that even then Kṛṣṇa did not have the experience to the full, for while he was Rādhā, she was separate from him, and he did not experience fully what she was experiencing. Thus, in the Kali age, Kṛṣṇa comes as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, still separate but now in a single body, that of Caitanya. In this way he knows to the full both his own love and that of Rādhā. "Out of compassion" refers to the famous verses in *BhG* 4.7-8, in which Kṛṣṇa comes "in age after

## Śloka 5.

Rādhā is the manifested form of pure love for Kṛṣṇa; she is his *hlādinī-śakti*. Because of this they had previously assumed different bodies on earth, although really one, but now they have become manifest under the name of Caitanya in order to attain to non-duality and oneness: I praise the true form of Kṛṣṇa enveloped in the radiance of the *bhāva* of Rādhā.

## Śloka 6.

How great is the greatness of the love of Śrī Rādhā, which can be savored only by herself, how great the marvelous sweetness of mine in consequence? And how great is this happiness of hers which results from experiencing me?—Out of desire to discover this, Hari the Moon, rich in *bhāva* for her, was born in the river of the womb of Śaṅkara.

## Śloka 7.

May Nityānanda Rāma be my refuge, of whom Saṁkarāṇa, Kāraṇatoyaśāyī the dweller in the causal ocean [the first *puruṣa*], Garbhodaśāyī the dweller in the primeval womb [the second *puruṣa*], Payobdhiśāyī the dweller in the ocean of milk [the third *puruṣa*], and Śeṣa are but parts.

age," to uphold *dharma* and to conquer evil-doers. It represents however what seems to be a contradiction in Vaiṣṇava thought, for it is also said that the true and ultimate form (*svarūpa*) of Kṛṣṇa is totally beyond *māyā*, which controls the world and all material nature.

Caitanya's complexion, like that of Rādhā, is golden, thus lending itself to frequent comparisons with *kadamba* flowers. The *kadamba* tree also blossoms suddenly, appearing "like a sudden porcupine of light," a halo. Śaṅkara means "son of Śaṅkara," Śaṅkara being the name of his mother. Again, he is spoken of as identical with Kṛṣṇa, bearing the name "Hari." Rādhāgovinda Nātha, in his Bengali commentary on the śloka, suggests that the etymology of the name is either "lion" or "stealer," i.e., Kṛṣṇa steals the minds of the women of Vraja and of his worshipers, and steals away the inauspiciousness from the world; the lion lives in mountain caves, Hari in the hollow of the heart (*hṛdaya-kandare*).

Śloka 5. See commentary on śloka 4 above. Śloka 5 (=1.4.3.18) is expounded in 1.4.1-87.

Śloka 6. See commentary on śloka 4 above. Śloka 6 (=1.4.3.14) is expounded in 1.4.88-227.

Śloka 7. Śloka 7 (=1.5.3.12) is expounded in 1.5.2-6. Śloka 8-11 amplify and explain śloka 7.

As was pointed out in the Introduction, there is some justification for biographers suggesting that Nityānanda was Caitanya's brother, though not in the literal sense; for when his blood brother took *saṁnyāsa*, it seems that Nityānanda almost took his place in the family. The fact that he is frequently called Caitanya's brother in any case accounts for the fact that in the doctrinal system he is Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa. And by further extension, he is identified with all five forms of Balarāma.

Saṁkarāṇa is the second *vyūha* of Nārāyaṇa, lord of Paravyoma. Kāraṇatoyaśāyī is Mahāviṣṇu, the first *puruṣa-avatāra*, the cause of creation of the material world. Garbhodaśāyī is the second *puruṣa-avatāra*, thousand-headed and indwelling in the creation. Payobdhiśāyī is Viṣṇu, the third



Sloka 8.

I take refuge with that Nityānanda Rāma, whose form named Saṁkarṣaṇa, which pervades the Vaikuṇṭha-world, which is beyond *māyā* and, filled with sovereignty, shines forth amidst the four *vyūhas*.

Sloka 9.

In that Nityānanda Rāma of whom *ādideva śrīpūmān*, whose body is the refuge of all Brahman-eggs, the manifest lord of *māyā*, who lies in the ocean of creation, the *ādī puruṣa*, is but a part, do I take refuge.

Sloka 10.

I take refuge in him, the lotus of whose navel has for stalk all fourteen worlds, and is the birthplace of Brahman the creator; in him of whom Garbhodāśayī is but a part of a part—in that Nityānanda Rāma do I take refuge.

Sloka 11.

I take refuge in him of whom Viṣṇu, the nourisher of all things, Dugdhābhiśayī, appears as the *parātmā*, but as part of a part of a part, of whom Ananta, the holder of the worlds, is a part—in that Nityānanda Rāma do I take refuge.

Sloka 12.

That Mahāviṣṇu, who by *māyā* has created this world, the maker of creation, his *avatāra* is the Śvara Advaitācārya.

*puruṣa-avatāra*, lying on the sea of milk. And Śeṣa is the thousand-headed serpent, representing eternity and forming the couch and canopy of Viṣṇu in the intervals between creations.

Sloka 8. Sloka 8 (=1.5.13) is expounded in 1.5.10-42a. Vasudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha are the four manifestations (*vyūha*) of Puruṣottama or Viṣṇu. There is a slight ambiguity in the verse: whether Saṁkarṣaṇa is all-pervasive in Vaikuṇṭha, or whether he is in all-pervading Vaikuṇṭha depends upon whether one takes *vyāpi* with *rāpam* (improbable) or in compound with Vaikuṇṭha.

Sloka 9. Sloka 9 (=1.5.14) is expounded in 1.5.42b-77a. *Māyābhartā* = Brahman; *māyābhartā-jāraṇḍa* = brahman-born-egg, i.e., a world. *Ādideva śrīpūmān* is the initial cause of creation, the *ādī puruṣa*.

Sloka 10. Sloka 10 (=1.5.15) is expounded in 1.5.77b-92a. The reference here is to Mahāviṣṇu.

Sloka 11. Sloka 11 (=1.5.16) is expounded in 1.5.92b-135. Dugdhābhiśayī is the Viṣṇu lying in the sea of milk; after the creation the *puruṣa* entered into all *jīvas*, and is indwelling in them all; thus he is *parātmā*, within all things.

Sloka 12. Sloka 12 (=1.6.12) and sloka 13 (=1.6.13) are expounded as the subject of the entire chapter 1.6. Mahāviṣṇu, having infused *māyā* with his *śakti*, thus created the world with the help of *māyā*.

Sloka 13.

Because he is nondifferent from Hari, he is called Advaita; as he is a teacher of *bhakti*, he is called Ācārya. I take refuge in that Advaita Ācārya Śvara, the *bhakta-avatāra*.

Sloka 14.

I bow to Kṛṣṇa himself of these five natures: *bhakta rūpa*, *bhakta svarūpa*, *bhakta avatāra*, the form called *bhakta*, and him whose *śakti* is the *bhakta*.

\* \* \*

Sloka 15.

Though I am slow-witted and crippled, let those who are my refuge, whose lotus-feet are possessions to me, let them, Rādhā and Madanamohana, in their love-play, be glorified.

Sloka 13. There is, as was suggested in the Introduction, some doubt about whether or not this was the reason he was called Advaita; a more likely explanation is that he was formerly a teacher of monistic doctrine.

Sloka 14. See 1.7.12. *Bhakta-rūpa* is Caitanya, *bhakta-svarūpa* is Nityānanda, *bhakta-avatāra* is Advaita, the form called *bhakta* is Śrīvāsa, and *bhakta-śakti* is Gadādhara. The verse is expounded in 1.7.2b-22. Rādhāgovinda Nātha in his Bengali commentary, basing himself on Kavikarṇapūra's GGUD 11, explains it in this way: Apart from his own form (*rūpa*), Śrī Kṛṣṇa, full Bhagavān, revealed himself in four other forms, because of the power of his own desire—*vilāsa*, *avatāra*, *bhakta*, and *śakti*. Even though commonly these four forms are felt to be separate from Śrī Kṛṣṇa in *līlā*, in true form (*svarūpa*) they are not separate from Kṛṣṇa. In four forms they are four *tattvas*, but in his true form (*svayam-rūpa*) they are one *tattva*. . . In the Navadvīpa-*līlā* the true form, Śrī Kṛṣṇa the son of Nanda, was incarnated as Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; and as he accepted the *bhāva* of a *bhakta*, he himself had the form of a *bhakta*; this was the basic principle in Navadvīpa—that because of the power of his own desire, he revealed himself in the form of four other *tattvas*: the form of *svarūpa*, which was the form of the *vilāsa* of the Kṛṣṇa-*avatāra*. . . the *bhakta-avatāra* Śrī Advaita, who in the former *līlā* was Śrī Sadaśiva . . . the *bhakta-ākhyā* (*bhakta*-name) Śrīvāsa and others . . . and the *bhakta-śakti* Śrī Gadādhara.

Sloka 15. Madanamohana: "he who enchants Madana (i.e., Kāmadeva the god of love)," i.e., Kṛṣṇa. The previous fourteen ślokas constitute the *maṅgalācāraṇa*, and state the matter with which the author will deal in the next several chapters. He uses the personal note here to mark the transition to the more general material of the next three ślokas. It is usual to get right into the matter of the book after the *maṅgalācāraṇa*, and the addition of these three ślokas marks something of a departure from tradition. As Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests in his commentary, *Gaurakṛpātarangī* *ṭīka*, there are several explanations possible; the most reasonable is that the Gosvāmins themselves, the gurus of Kṛṣṇadāsa, frequently did it this way. And he goes on to make the interesting suggestion that in the three ślokas Kṛṣṇa is described successively as Madanamohana, Govindadeva, and Gopinātha. These were the names of the three images served by the Bengali community of devotees in Vṛndāvana. The *bhaktas* in Bengal might well not have known of these; so in a sense



*Sloka 16.*

I meditate upon Rādhā and Govindadeva, as they sit on a throne in the beautiful jeweled chamber, beneath the wishing tree in the forest of the heavenly Vṛndāvana, served by most beloved female friends.

*Sloka 17.*

May that blessed Gopīnātha, the sound of whose flute attracted the *gopīs* to him, as he sat at the foot of the banyan tree, beginning the *rāsa-rasa*, be the source of blessings unto us.

\* \* \* \* \*

1 Glory be to Śrī Caitanya, and to Nityānanda; glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas. 2 These three lords have made Bengalis their own; I

Kṛṣṇadāsa is establishing his own deities at the very beginning of his text. [An equally plausible explanation, however, is that *śloka*s 15-17 themselves function as a formulaic or secondary *maṅgalācāraṇa*, which by their repetition mark the beginning of each major section of the text (1.1.15-17 = 2.1.13-5; 3.1.13-5). This formal structural marker would suggest that the first fourteen *śloka*s of *ādi līlā* are in effect a general table of contents or preface to the book as a whole. TKS] In this *śloka* also is the interesting suggestion that Kṛṣṇadāsa, being "crippled" and "slow of wit," is expressing his hope that the lotus feet of his deities will be the ones to carry him through his book; as will be seen, at the very end of his work, which must have taken him several years of his very old age, he also stresses his infirmity, and a kind of relief that he has been able to finish before his death.

*Sloka 16.* The content of this verse is expanded in 1.5.194-97. See also commentary on *śloka* 15.

*Sloka 17.* The *rāsa* is that circular dance in which Kṛṣṇa appeared in the center of the ring of *gopīs*, and also between each two *gopīs*. See *BhP* 10.29. This episode had great significance for the Vaiṣṇavas, and will be discussed at length in the appropriate place. See also commentary on *śloka* 15.

1. This couplet (*payāra*) recurs at the beginning of each of the Bengali sections of each of the chapters through the book, with only slight variation in certain chapters in the *madhya* and *antya* *līlās*. It has almost the effect of a *mantra*, in its repetitive, hypnotic quality, and perhaps also in the focus it gives to the fact that this is a text of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava school. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that in some MSS it does not occur in this place at all, that in fact the "three lords" referred to in v. 2 mean the three forms of Kṛṣṇa in *śloka*s 15, 16, and 17, deities in Vṛndāvana served by the Bengalis there, and not Caitanya, Nityānanda, and Advaita at all; more likely it refers to both sets.

2. I.e., Madanamohana, Govindadeva, and Gopīnātha, the three forms of Kṛṣṇa, have accepted the service of people of Bengal living in Vṛndāvana. Traditionally, Madanamohana was served by Sanātana Gosvāmin, Govindadeva by Rūpa Gosvāmin, and Gopīnātha by Madhu Paṇḍita, all three of them, at least loosely, Bengalis. There is a curious episode, attested by Hindi texts of the Vallabha school, which says that the leader of the Vallabha *sampradāya* of the time, Gopīnāthji by name, assigned these deities to the Bengalis, and that there was a problem with certain jealousies stemming from allegations of temple mismanagement, etc. (see Richard Barz, *The Bhakti Sect of Vallabhacārya* [Faridabad: Thomson Press (India), Ltd., 1976], 215-22). The couplet is ambiguous, due to the inclusion of couplet 1, and it could be that Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying that Caitanya and the others have conquered Bengal, which of course meant East and West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, and

make obeisance to their feet. They are my lords. 3 Here at the beginning of my book, I make my reverent salutation to these three: *guru*, Vaiṣṇava, and Bhagavān. 4 From remembrance of these three comes the destruction of all obstacles and the effortless fulfillment of one's own desires. 5 These *maṅgalācāraṇas* are of three kinds: first, for determination of principle, second, for blessing, and third, for obeisance. 6 In the first two *śloka*s is obeisance to the *iṣṭa-deva* in both general and specific ways. 7 In the third *śloka* I have stated the subject matter, from which our inquiry into the highest truth will begin. 8 In the fourth *śloka* I have given a blessing to the world, and prayed for the grace of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. 9 In that *śloka* also I have stated the external cause of the *avatāra*. In the fifth and sixth I have stated the basic or root purpose [of it]. 10 In these six *śloka*s, then, I have stated the basic truths of Caitanya; in the next five *śloka*s the greatness of Nityānanda, 11 and in the following two *śloka*s I have described the nature of Advaita, and in the following one have given a description of the five principles. 12 In these fourteen *śloka*s I have made *maṅgalācāraṇa*, and in them have described the whole subject matter [of the book]. 13 To all those listening Vaiṣṇavas I make salutation; of all these *śloka*s I shall now explain the meaning. 14 Listen attentively, all you Vaiṣṇavas, to the definition of Caitanya Kṛṣṇa, according to the *śāstras*. 15 As Kṛṣṇa, *guru*, *bhakta*, *śakti*, *avatāra*, and *prakaśa*—in these six forms does Kṛṣṇa perform *līlā*. 16 I make obeisance at the feet of these six principles; and at first I make a general *maṅgalācāraṇa*.

Orissa. The phrase is *gauḍīyake kariyachen ātmasātha*; *gauḍīya* seems to refer to all Bengal, not that small section in the west later known as Gauḍa. The three may also refer to the three in the following verse.

3. *Maṅgalācāraṇa*, reverent salutation, is both to clear the path of obstacles and bring auspiciousness to the undertaking, and to focus attention.

4. "Remembrance" is rather a simplified translation of the Bengali *smaraṇa*, which means remembering with such intensity and absorption that a recreation of a former event, or a transformation, actually takes place.

6. I.e., in the first *śloka* was the general obeisance to the five *tattvas* of the author's *iṣṭa-deva*, or personal deity, and in the second *śloka* the particular or special obeisance to Caitanya and Nityānanda.

9. I.e., the external (*bāhya*) cause was that stated in the *BhG*: the establishment of *dharma* and the destruction of evil. The basic purpose, however, was for Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā to be able to taste the *rāsa* of pure love in the single body of Caitanya.

10. I.e., 1.1.15-16 in praise of Caitanya; 1.1.17-11 in praise of Nityānanda.

11. I.e., 1.1.12-13, and 1.1.14.

15. See the commentary on verse v. 1 and v. 22 of this chapter.

16. After this verse Rādhāgovinda Nātha inserts the opening *śloka* (1.1.1) which is unnumbered and not part of the text. Kṛṣṇadāsa explains this *śloka* in 1.1.17-44a.



17 I bow myself down at the feet of my *mantra-guru* and to my many *śikṣa-gurus*. 18 Śrī Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Śrī Jīva, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and Raghunātha Dāsa— 19 these six *gurus* are my *śikṣa-gurus*. To their lotus-feet I make a crore of bows. 20 And to the lotus feet of all the *bhaktas* of Bhagavān, among whom Śrīvāsa is foremost, to them also, a thousand obeisances. 21 And a crore of times do I bow to the lotus-feet of Advaita Ācārya, the *aṁśa-avatāra* of the Lord. 22 And Nityānanda Rāya, the manifestation of the true form of the Lord—I am bound tightly to his lotus feet, and am his slave. 23 And at the lotus feet of Gadādhara Paṇḍita and the rest, the *śaktis* of the true self of the Lord, I make obeisance a thousand times. 24 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, the Lord, is *svayaṁ bhagavān*; to his lotus feet let there be infinite obeisances.

25 Having thus made salutation to Prabhu [the Lord Caitanya] and his companions, I shall explain how these six are [Prabhu] himself. 26 Even though my *guru* is the servant of Caitanya, I know that he is the manifestation

17. *Mantra-guru* is *dīkṣa-guru*, who at initiation gives the personal *mantra*, the *iṣṭa-mantra*, into the ear of the initiate. He is of course one, while *śikṣa-gurus*, who instruct in doctrine, can be many.

21. I.e., Advaita is a part (*aṁśa*) of Mahāviṣṇu; Mahāviṣṇu is a part of Kṛṣṇa; thus Advaita is an *aṁśa-avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa or of Caitanya.

22. *Svarūpa prakāśa*: manifestation of the true form; the reference is to the third of the *pañca tattva*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says, "If one *svarūpa* shows itself in many *mūrtis*, and if among these many *mūrtis* there is no difference in color and other characteristics, then all those forms are called *prakāśa-rūpa*. But if there are differences among them, the forms are called *vilāsa-rūpa*; thus Balarāma was a *vilāsa* of Kṛṣṇa, for Balarāma was light in color, and Kṛṣṇa dark. Thus in color there was a difference, but in *svarūpa* or true essential form, no difference, and this is *vilāsa*."

23. Of the infinite *śaktis* of Kṛṣṇa, three are chief: *cit-śakti*, which is intrinsic, *jīva-śakti*, which is neither intrinsic nor extrinsic; and *māyā-śakti*, which is extrinsic. *Cit-śakti* also has three chief kinds: *hlāḍī*, *sandhī*, and *saṁvit*; see Introduction, Sect. VII.8. Thus Gadādhara and the rest are *svarūpa-śakti*, *cit-śakti*, which is the *śakti* of the true form. In refinements of the system, these *śaktis* were identified with the *gopis*, Rādhā's companions or *sakhs* (for Kṛṣṇa could not have had illicit relations with women if the women were really extensions of himself); thus in texts such as Kavikarnapūra's *GGUD* there is the suggestion that Gadādhara was in the *Vṛndāvana-līla* Rādhā herself; in this and other texts he is also sometimes Lakṣmī, or Lalita, one of the foremost among Rādhā's *sakhs*.

24. [The term '*svayaṁ bhagavān*' is theologically significant in that it refers to the complete or full lord, not a simple part or manifestation. The concept of '*svayaṁ*' is usually implied when Caitanya is called by the shortened epithet 'Bhagavān,' which occurs frequently. That Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṁ bhagavān*, see 1.2.passim. TKS]

25. Prabhu: the Master or Lord, i.e., Caitanya. [The six, noted in v. 15, are Kṛṣṇa, *guru*, *bhakta*, *śakti*, *avatāra*, and *prakāśa*. TKS]

26. In the same way that Kṛṣṇa or Caitanya can be both worshiper and worshiped, both the object of *bhakti* and a *bhakta*. These couplets and the following *śloka* 19 refer to the *dīkṣa-guru*. *Sloka* 20-21 will treat the *śikṣa-guru*.

of him. 27 The *guru* is a form of Kṛṣṇa, according to the *śāstras*. In the form of *guru*, Kṛṣṇa spreads his mercy to all his *bhaktas*.

*Śloka* 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.17.27:

Know the *ācārya* to be myself; never dishonor him, nor demur against him by considering him as a [mere] man. For the *guru* consists of all the *devas*.

28 I know, too, that the *śikṣa-guru* is the true form of Kṛṣṇa, indwelling [in the heart]; [he is also] the best of *bhaktas*—these are his two forms.

*Śloka* 19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.29.6:

Lord, not in a lifetime as long as Brahmā's do the poets diminish in their ample joy as they dwell upon your feats. You are embodied in the *ācārya* or temple, internal and external; you drive off and make distant inauspicious things of the embodied, and make manifest your own cause.

*Śloka* 20. *Bhāgavad Gītā* 10.10:

O Arjuna! I give to those who, always disciplined, worship me in love, the means of wisdom by which they gain me.

*Sloka* 21-26. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.9.30-35:

As Bhagavān, after having himself taught Brahmā, experienced: 21 Accept from me the supremely mysterious wisdom, accompanied by lower knowledge, complete with mystery and auxiliaries, which I have declared. 22 By my grace, may you have knowledge of the truth of my deeds and qualities and form, and the experience of that and the magnitude of it. 23 Knowledge such as of how much I am, what I am like, and of what form, virtue, and acts are mine; such knowledge of truth must be yours by my favor. I was in the beginning, and there was nothing else, whether existent, non-existent, or beyond both; afterwards I

*Śloka* 18. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets *ācārya*, more usually meaning "teacher," as *dīkṣa-guru*.

28. The term *antaryāmi*, "indwelling," would suggest the Kṣīrodaśayī Nārāyaṇa mentioned in *śloka* 11, where the interpretation is *paramātmā*, indwelling in all *jīvas*.

*Śloka* 19. See 2.22.śl.18.

*Śloka* 20. See 2.24.śl.59; 2.24.śl.70.

*Śloka* 21. See 2.25.śl.18.

*Śloka* 22. See 2.25.śl.19.

*Śloka* 23. See 2.24.śl.23; 2.25.śl.20.



am that which there is; I am the one who will remain. 24 That which is understood apart from content, but which within itself is not understood—know that as my *māyā*; how it is light and how darkness. 25 Just as the prime elements pervade the higher and lower creatures but are not themselves pervaded, so I am within those humble people who bow down to me. 26 That much is the object of knowledge of him who wishes to know the nature of the self, what exists in any place, in any time, according to positive and negative considerations.

Sloka 27. Līlāsuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta* 1.1:

Glory be to Somagiri, the jewel of the mind, my *guru*. [Glory be] to Bhagavān, my *śikṣā-guru*, in whose hair are peacock feathers, and at whose feet, those blossom tips of the wishing-tree, Jayaśrī revels in the divine pleasure of the play of choosing the groom.

29 He does not simply appear in the *jīva*, but as the *guru*, in the form of *caitanya*, the indwelling guidance; Kṛṣṇa as the *śikṣā-guru* appears in the true form of *mahāntas*, noble devotees.

Sloka 28. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.26.26:

For that reason a wise man abandons evil company and becomes attached to true men; pure and holy men by their words will rend this particular addiction of [evilness of] mind.

Sloka 24. See 2.25.śl.21. This *śloka* has also been translated by Sheldon Pollock as: "When something is cognized in itself without objectively existing, and while existing objectively, is not cognized." See Dimock, "On *Māyā*," *Journal of Religion* 71, no. 4 (Oct. 1991):524.

Sloka 25. See 2.25.śl.23.

Sloka 26. See 2.25.śl.22.

Sloka 27. The speaker is Bilvamaṅgala, whose *dikṣā-guru* was named Somagiri. The *śikṣā-guru* is of course Kṛṣṇa, "ornamented with peacock feathers" being a usual epithet used to describe him. Jayaśrī, however, is somewhat more difficult. 'Jaya' is simply a word of praise or celebration, and 'śrī' is beauty or auspiciousness. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that in many places throughout the doctrinal books, Lakṣmī, whose name is also Śrī, is spoken of as a part (*aṁśa*) of Rādhā, Rādhā thus becoming the container of beauty and auspiciousness. He feels therefore that the term Jayaśrī here refers to Rādhā herself; and it does fit the context. "Choosing the groom" is *svayamvara*.

29. *Caitanya*: indwelling in the mind (*citta*); *mahānta*, "the great-hearted one," "the best of *bhaktas*," is ascribed these attributes in *BhP* 5.5.2-3: "Who looks upon all creatures alike, in whose mind there is no guile, whose intelligence is firmly fixed on *bhagavān*, who is sympathetic to all and devoid of anger, who follows the holy path, who considers love toward *bhagavān* as his end in life, and considers nothing else as his end, who earns a livelihood only to satisfy his *sādhana* and keep himself alive, who rejects all things which are for the gratification of the flesh, and who has no

Sloka 29. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.25.24:

Such tales, full of the knowledge of my greatness, are heard from the exalted company of holy men, and are potions to my heart and ear. By cultivating such discourse, *śraddhā*, *rati*, and *prema-bhakti* will quickly proceed on the way to highest bliss.

30 The *bhakta* is the site of the true form of *Īśvara*; in the heart of the *bhakta* Kṛṣṇa eternally has refuge.

Sloka 30. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.4.68:

Holy men are my heart, and I am the hearts of holy men. They know no other except me, and I know nothing at all apart from them.

Sloka 31. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.13.10:

*Bhāgavatas* like you are themselves the true forms of pilgrimage places; they make pilgrimage to all the pilgrimage places by means of Gadādhara who is situated in their own hearts.

31 Those *bhaktas* are manifested in two kinds: one is the community of the devout, the other is seeker.

love for those who are concerned with material things, and who has no fondness for women or sons or wealth, and who if he gets wealth uses it for religious purposes."

Sloka 29. See 2.22.śl.38; 2.23.śl.7. *Śraddhā*: "devotion"; this can also be translated as "faith," and seems to have almost the Christian connotation of that term. *Prema bhakti* is devotion in pure and unselfish love. *Rati*: "love"; this is an unusual usage, and needs some comment. It usually means passionate or sexual love, but in the Vaiṣṇava context it signifies the raw material, a basic attraction similar to sexual attraction, which by careful nurture is transformed into *prema*. See PHM 161-164.

30. For the intents and purposes of the Vaiṣṇavas, *Īśvara* means Bhagavān, Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 31. See 2.10.śl.2; 2.20.śl.2. Gadādhara: "Holder of the club," an epithet of Kṛṣṇa.

31. *Pañcāda*: "attendant community of the devout," those *bhaktas* who remain always in the retinue of Bhagavān, part of his *dhāman*. These again are able to be divided into two kinds: *nitya siddha*, or "eternally perfect," those who have been in the retinue of Bhagavān from eternity, assisting in *līlā*, and who do not enter the rounds of rebirth; some are parts of the true self, such as Saṁkarṣaṇa, and some are *vīṭas* of the *śakti* of the Bhagavān, like the *gopīs* of Vraja; and *sādhana siddha*, or those who are caught in *māyā* and suffer the rounds of rebirth, and afterwards, because of worship and the grace of the deity gain perfection, and enter the retinue of Kṛṣṇa. *Sādhana bhaktas* are those who remain in the world and perform *sādhana bhakti* through the body. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments that the progression of the attainment of *prema* through *bhakti sādhana* is the following: faith (*śraddhā*), then association with holy men, then attraction to worship, then passion (*rati*) toward Kṛṣṇa, and finally *prema*. He comments further that the *guru* must of necessity be of



32 The *avatāras* of *Īśvara* are of these three kinds: *aṁśa-avatāra* [incarnation of a part], *guṇa-avatāra* [incarnation of qualities], 33 and the third is *śaktyāveśa-avatāra* [incarnation of powers]. The *aṁśa-avatāras* are the *puruṣas*, the Fish, and the rest. 34 *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva*—these three are *guṇa-avatāras*. And the *śaktyāveśas* are the *Sanakas*, *Prthu*, and *Vyāsa Muni*. 35 The manifestations of *Bhagavān* are of two forms: the first is *prakāśa* [manifestation], the other *vilāsa* [appearance]. 36 When one divine nature has many forms, among the forms there is no division, for there is only one true form: 37 as [it was] when, at the wedding of the *mahiṣṭs*, and when he performed the *rāsa-līlā*; this is called the chief *prakāśa* of *Kṛṣṇa*.

Sloka 32. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.69.2:

It is indeed a wonderful thing how he, alone, with a single body, in different houses simultaneously and separately married sixteen thousand women.

the *sādhaka bhakta* group, since *pāriṣada bhaktas* are totally cut off from material nature, and are already in the retinue of *Kṛṣṇa*.

At this point, *Kṛṣṇadāsa*, having disposed of the matter of the *guru*, moves on to discuss the doctrine of *avatāra*. [The *avatāra* theory is expanded in 2.20; also see the Introduction, pp. 142-43 for a summary chart of this *avatāra* theory. TKS]

32. *Aṁśa avatāra*: a part of the true self of *Kṛṣṇa*; the *Kāraṇārṇavaśāyī*, *Garbhodaśāyī*, and *Kṣīrodaśāyī puruṣas*, and the fish, tortoise, and other incarnations are *aṁśa avatāras*. *Guṇa-avatāra* is explained in this way by *Rādhāgovinda Nātha*: from the second *puruṣa*, *Garbhodaśāyī*, to control the *sattva* and *tamas guṇas*, and to mediate the creation, preservation, and destruction of the world, *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu*, and *Śiva* appeared; because they control the *guṇas*, they are called *guṇa-avatāras*: *Brahmā* the *rajas guṇa*, *Viṣṇu* the *sattva guṇa*, and *Śiva* the *tamas guṇa*.

33. He who absorbs or is gripped by (*aveśa*) the power of the *bhagavat*, is like a man possessed by madness. *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* gives two types of examples of this possession: those like *Nārada*, *Sanaka*, and others, who absorb power and consider themselves independent of *Bhagavān*; and those *ṛṣis* and seers who have absorbed such great power that they consider themselves as *Bhagavān*. Thus *śaktyāveśa* is one who has absorbed and is controlled by and controls divine power. For *puruṣa*: see *sloka 7* and commentary.

35. *Prakāśa* is of three kinds, appearance (*āvīrbhāva*), blossoming or unfolding (*vikāśa*), and revealing (*prakṛtya*). See commentary on v. 22.

37. In the *Dvāraka-līlā*, *Kṛṣṇa* married sixteen thousand women and was with them all simultaneously, and among the sixteen thousand *mūrtis* of *Kṛṣṇa* there were no differences in form, color, etc.; they were all the one *svarūpa*, and thus all his queens had the full *Kṛṣṇa* and not a replica. So it was too in the story of the *rāsa-līlā* as told in the *BhP*: *Kṛṣṇa* was in the center of the circle and beside each of the *gopīs* at the same time.

Sloka 32. See 2.20.śl.25.

Sloka 33. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.33.3:

The *rāsa* celebration, adorned by a circle of *gopīs*, was begun by *Yogeśvara Kṛṣṇa*, between each pair of women who were embraced by him as he approached them, while each woman thought him to be her own.

Sloka 34. *Rūpa Gosvāmin's Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, pārva khaṇḍa* 1.21:

The manifestness of one single body in many places at one time, identical in all characteristics with the basic form, that is called *prakāśa*.

38 When, then, there is one *vīgraha*, but different manifestations of different shapes, *vilāsa* is its name.

Sloka 35. *Rūpa Gosvāmin's Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, pārva khaṇḍa* 1.15:

That [one] true form of him which for the sake of *līlā* is in another separate shape, generally identical to the self, is called *vilāsa*.

39 So *Baladeva*, *Paravyoma*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Vāsudeva*, *Pradyumna*, and the rest up to *Samkarṣaṇa* [are *vilāsas*].

40 The [highest] *śaktis* of *Īśvara* are of three kinds. One is [like] the *lakṣmīs*, the second the *mahiṣṭs* in *Pura*, 41 and, foremost among them all, the third, the *gopīs* in *Vraja*. To them *Vrajendranandana* is himself the full god, *svayaṁ bhagavān*. 42 The *kāyavyūhas* are true forms of *Kṛṣṇa*, equal to him. His retinue is among his *bhaktas*. 43 Therefore I make obeisance to everyone, the *bhaktas* and the rest, omitting none. Such obeisances are the cause of all blessings.

Sloka 33. *Yogeśvara*: "lord of yogins," the great magician.

38. *Vīgraha*: image, form, shape.

40. *Īśvara* contains three *śaktis*: *cit-śakti*, *jīva-śakti*, and *māya-śakti*. And *cit-śakti*, which is intrinsic, is also of three kinds: *hlāḍint*, *sandhint*, and *saṁvit*. By *hlāḍint*, *Kṛṣṇa* experiences bliss (*ānanda*), and causes his *bhaktas* to experience it; by *sandhint* he preserves the being of all creatures; and by *saṁvit* he knows himself and causes all creatures to know. The *vilāsas* of the *hlāḍint-śakti* are also of three kinds: the *gopīs* who love *Kṛṣṇa* in *Vraja*, the queens of *Kṛṣṇa* in *Dvāraka*, and the *lakṣmīs* in *Vaikuṇṭha* to which this verse and the next refer. *Pura*: *Dvāraka*.

42. The first part of the couplet explains in what way the *gopīs* are superior to the other two classes of *śakti*: they are *kāyavyūha*; *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* interprets this to mean all (*vyūha*) the bodies (*kāya*) of the true self of *Kṛṣṇa*, and interprets it in the *svakiya* sense: as there is no division between the own body (*svadeha*) of *Kṛṣṇa* and the *kāyavyūhas*, so there is no difference between *Kṛṣṇa* and the *gopīs*; the *gopīs* are the *svarūpa-śakti* of *Kṛṣṇa*, and as there is no difference between *śakti* and the possessor of *śakti* (*śaktimān*), so there is no difference between *Kṛṣṇa* and the *gopīs* (see Dimock, "Līlā," *History of Religions* 29, no. 2 (November, 1989): 159-73. *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* also defines retinue as both *nitya-siddha* and *sādhana-siddha bhaktas*. (See commentary on v. 31.)



44 In the first *śloka*, then, I have made a general obeisance. In the second *śloka* my obeisance is special:

*Śloka 36.*

I make obeisance to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and to Nityānanda, the sun and moon most wonderful, who destroy the darkness and bestow their blessings, flowering as they rise together over the horizon of Gauḍa.

45 Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in former times played and sported in Vraja, their splendor greater than that of crores of suns and moons. 46 Those two, in great mercy toward the world, have appeared rising over the eastern mountains in the land of Gauḍa as 47 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and the Lord Nityānanda, in whose appearance is the joy of all the worlds. 48 And as the sun and moon drive away all darkness, so they, being manifested, promulgate *dharma*. 49 Like [the sun and moon], the two brothers dispel the ignorance of all living creatures, conquering the darkness and giving the gift of the light of true knowledge. 50 The darkness of ignorance is called by the name *kaitava*, desire for selfish ends, all deceit, of which *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa* are primary.

*Śloka 37. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.1.2:*

In the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*, composed by the hermit, there is found the

*Śloka 36.* This *śloka* (=1.1.31.2 and 2.1.31.2) is explained in 1.1.44b-61.

45. The second half of the couplet is literally: "the *dhama* of the selves of both of them conquering a crore of suns and moons." The term *dhama/dhaman* usually refers to the total environment of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana—the cows and *gopīs* and Yamunā and the rest. Here, however, it seems to be merely "radiance" or "splendor," but also suggests that their followers, i.e., the inhabitants of their *dhama*, are more numerous than crores of suns and moons.

50. I.e., the four values or goals of man as usually stated. *Kaitava* is literally fraud or deceit, and it is among the positions of the Vaiṣṇavas that men are deluded by other systems, such as the Vedānta. Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines *dharma* here as *varṇāśramadharmā*, belief in the traditional system of *varṇas* and stages, by which one may gain heaven and again return in the rounds of *saṁsāra*; *bhakti* of course brings one entirely out of this system. By *dharma*, in other words, is not meant the ends of morality, or perhaps even the caste system as such; for as will be clear, Vaiṣṇavism is somewhat ambiguous on this point. *Artha* is the gaining of wealth and power. *Kāma* is defined as the search for the satisfaction of the self. And *mokṣa* is defined as blending with the unqualified *brahma*; this is abhorrent to the dualistic Vaiṣṇavas, as worship is to them the end of man, and by definition one cannot worship what is essentially one's self. The line could also be read: "*Dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and desire for *mokṣa*—all these are *kaitavas*, and the desire for *mokṣa* is chief."

*Śloka 37.* See 2.24.31.31; 2.25.31.40. The "three griefs" are usually defined as *adhyatmika*, "spiritual or metaphysical," *adhibhautika*, "proceeding from material causes," and *adhidaivika*, "arising from divine agency"—these are three forms of ignorance (*avidyā*).

supreme *dharma*, free from any falsity, of good people who are devoid of jealousy; the very object to be known is its substance, auspicious and destroying the three kinds of grief; what use are other books? The Lord is instantly and at once caught in their hearts by students who have done their tasks.

51 Among the [*kaitavas*] the desire for *mokṣa* is the primary *kaitava*, and because of it Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* disappears.

*Śloka 38. Śrīdhara Svāmī's Bhāvarthadīpikā commentary on Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.1.2:*

By the very proclamation of the syllable 'pra,' the desire for release is lost.

52 *Karma*, both good and bad, is also an obstacle to Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. That *karma* is the *dharma* which is the darkness of ignorance of the solitary *jīva*. 53 He by whose grace that darkness is destroyed, in destroying darkness reveals truth. 54 The highest truths are Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, *prema*, and *nāma-saṁkīrtana*—all these are the true forms of *ānanda*. 55 The sun and moon destroy the external darkness. They reveal [only] external material objects, [like] the earthen pot and clothing. 56 But the two brothers wash away all the darkness of the heart; they bring about a meeting with the two *bhāgavatas*. 57 One is the great *Bhāgavata*—the *Bhāgavata śāstra*. The other is the *bhakta*, the receptacle of

*Śloka 38.* Śrīdhara Svāmī is the name of the primary commentator on the *BhP*, whose commentary is accepted by the Vaiṣṇavas as well as by others as being definitive. The reference is to the previous *śloka* of the *BhP*, where the term '*projjhita-kaitava dharma*' (*pra-ujjhita*) is defined as "the *dharma* which is the abandonment [of desire for the satisfaction of the self]."

52. I.e., deeds done for the sake of *punya*, merit, by which one will gain heaven, essentially selfish, and evil deeds. Another translation might be "that, [*karma*], is the result of the darkness of ignorance."

54. *Tattva*: truths; *nāma-saṁkīrtana*: the singing of the names of Kṛṣṇa; there are five devotional acts which are above all others efficacious (see 3.4.65-66) and of these *nāma-saṁkīrtana* is best. As will be seen, the taking of the name of Kṛṣṇa is by itself an act which leads to salvation. "True forms of *ānanda*" is a difficult phrase. The Bengali is *ānanda svarūpa*, and it might also be interpreted as "the true form (of Kṛṣṇa), which is *ānanda* (bliss)"; it is true that Kṛṣṇa is the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa, not any of his other forms; it is also true that *bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa, and *prema*, put the devotee into direct relationship to that *svarūpa*, and that the devotee then becomes part of the *dhama* of Kṛṣṇa and in a way a part of the *svarūpa*. That the *nāma-saṁkīrtana* is also the *svarūpa* is an interesting statement, for it implies the identity of word and object: that by the uttering of the name, that which is named is gained. This is a position common in the Tantras also.

56. The two *bhāgavatas* are the *BhP* and the devotee, the *bhakta*. The text is of course the cornerstone of the whole system, and association with true *bhaktas* is one means by which the ultimate experience of Kṛṣṇa is gained.



*bhakti-rasa*. 58 These two *bhāgavatas* prompt *bhakti-rasa* and their hearts are controlled by *prema* to them. 59 One wonder is the simultaneous manifestation of both. The other wonder is that they destroy the darkness of the cavern of the heart. 60 These two, the sun and moon, have the greatest mercy. It is to the great good fortune of the world that they have appeared in Gauḍa. 61 I make obeisance, therefore, to the feet of those two lords, by whom all impediments are destroyed, and in whom all desires are fulfilled.

62 In these two *śloka*s, then, I have made auspicious obeisance. Hear now, all people, the meaning of the third *śloka*; 63 but in fear of superfluity of words, in fear of expanding too greatly this book, I shall not describe it at length, but shall state the whole meaning in a few syllables:

*Śloka* 39. [Anonymous]:

And it has been said by the ancients who were adept at beginningless usage of words: succinctness and pithiness of expression is eloquence.

64 If one listens, he will have great *prema* toward Kṛṣṇa, he will gain satisfaction and contentment, and the faults, of ignorance and the rest, of his mind will be dispelled. 65 Of Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda, and of Advaita—of their magnificence, and of the truth of *rasa*, *prema*, *nāma*, *bhakti*, and the *bhakta*, 66 I have written separately. I have explained that he who hears these things will know the whole and final truth.

67 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

58. The Bengali is somewhat ambiguous. Interpreting "them" and "their" as Caitanya and Nityānanda would seem to be in accordance with the following lines, but frequently there is no distinction of number, and the reference might well be to Kṛṣṇa. [Theologically, of course, they are the same, so it is perhaps a moot point. For control of the godhead, see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, 1.17.15; and 2.23.26. TKS]

61. Impediments, that is, to the gaining of *prema*.

64. According to the commentary of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, "ignorance and the rest," *ajñānādi*, means "non-revelation of the *svatāpa*," *viparyāsa* or "opposition," the consideration of the self, the body, etc.; *bheda*, "division," desire for enjoyment; *bhaya*, "fear," fear of interruption of the desire for enjoyment; and *śoka*, "grief," because of things and possessions lost or destroyed. Rūpa's *BhRS* (1.130), has the *doṣas* (faults) as eighteen in number: *moha*, enchantment; *tandra*, dullness or lassitude; *bhrama*, delusion or error; *ruṣasasata*, sternness or cruelty; *ulvaṇakāma*, desire for anything too much; *lolaṭa*, unsteadiness; *mada*, drunkenness; *mātsaryya*, envy; *hiṃsā*, malice or injury; *kheda*, vexation; *pariśrama*, exhaustion; *asatya*, untruth; *krodha*, anger; *akāṅkṣa*, expectation of things; *aśaṅka*, fear; *viśvavibhrama*, error about the world; *vaiśaṇya*, inequality; and *parāpekṣa*, reliance on others.

## Ādi Līla Chapter 2

*Śloka* 1.

I bow down to Caitanya Prabhu, in whose mercy even a child crosses over the sea of doctrine, which is filled with the alligators of various opinions.

*Śloka* 2.

O sea of compassion Śrī Caitanya, may the flood of the nectar of your frolicking *līla*, bedecked by the lotuses of the arts of praising, singing, and dancing about Kṛṣṇa, the playground of the flocks of wild geese and *cakravāka* birds and swarms of bees in the form of the hosts of good *bhaktas*, and melodiously gladdening the ears, flow on the desert of my tongue.

1 Glory be to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 I shall now explain the meaning of the third *śloka*, the *maṅgalācāraṇa* in the form of the determination of the matter [of the text].

*Śloka* 3.

That which in the Upaniṣad is [called] the non-dual *brahma*, that [brahma] is the radiance of his body; that which is [called] *puruṣa*, the indwelling *ātman*, is the manifestation of a particle of him; that which is [called] here *pūrṇa bhagavān*, endowed with the six divine attributes, is [Caitanya] himself. In this world there is no supreme principle superior to Kṛṣṇa as Caitanya, who is the highest truth.

*Śloka* 1. *Siddhanta-sāgaram*: "sea of doctrine."

*Śloka* 3. See 1.1.1.3. This entire chapter is devoted to an explanation of this *śloka*.



3 *Brahma, atmā, bhagavān*—these three are known. The luster of the body, the part, and true form—these three are the marks of the predicate. 4 Let me state the known and afterwards establish the predicate. I shall state the meaning—hear the explanation of the *śāstras*. 5 *Kṛṣṇa is svayaṁ bhagavān*—*Kṛṣṇa* is the highest truth—with full knowledge, with full *ānanda*, the highest great truth. 6 He who is called Nandasuta in the *Bhāgavata*, that very *Kṛṣṇa* has appeared as Caitanya Gosvāmī. 7 In each particular manifestation he holds three names—*brahma*, *paramātmā*, and *pārṇa bhagavān*.

*Sloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.2.11:*

The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is non-dual knowledge. It is called *brahma*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

3. *Kṛṣṇadāsa* in 1.2.62 himself defines *anuvāda* as “that which is known” (*jñāta*) and *vidheya* as “that which is not known,” the predicate of a proposition. *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* comments on this: Various *sampradāyas* have various forms of worship. Some worship *brahma*, some worship the *paramātmā* who is indwelling in *jīvas*, and again some worship *Bhagavān*. All know of these three divisions of worshipers; but not all know what the real meaning of this is . . . and in the *śloka* the real meaning is stated. For the *svatūpa* of *brahma* is the luster of the body of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya*, the *atmā* is a part of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya*, and *Bhagavān* is the undivided *svatūpa* of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya*.

4. For, as *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* points out, only after that which is known has been established, is it possible to discuss what is unknown. He goes on to say: In the proposition ‘That *brahma* which is mentioned in the *Upaniṣads*, is the luster of his body,’ the word ‘*brahma*’ is mentioned first, and afterwards ‘luster of the body.’ In this way in the second quarter of the verse, the word ‘*atmā*’ is *anuvāda*, and the word ‘*aṁśa*’ is *vidheya*, and in the third quarter the word ‘*Bhagavān*’ is *anuvāda*, and the word ‘*saraiśvarya pārṇa*’ [full of divine qualities] is *vidheya* . . . Thus, ‘luster of the body, *aṁśa*, and *svatūpa*,’ constitute the unknown matter . . . Thus, ‘That is *brahma* which is the luster of the body of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya*,’ is the meaning congenial to the *śāstras*; but ‘that which is the luster of the body of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya*, is *brahma*’ is not correct.

6. Nandasuta: the son of Nanda, *Kṛṣṇa*.

7. *Prakāśa*: “manifestation.”

*Sloka 4. Jñānamadvayam*: “undivided knowledge.” Division or separation is of three kinds: division among things belonging to the same species, division among things belonging to different species, and divisions within a unit. Men differ from one another, but have a commonality—this is *sajātīya-bheda*. There is distinction between men and trees, or between the physical and the mental, and this is *vi-jātīya-bheda*. And *svagata-bheda*, or that which is within the self, is in a sense indivisible: for although the ears function to hear, the eyes to see, etc., and these functions are divisible from one another, there is never conflict among them. The *śloka* then says that knowledge (*jñāna*) is by its nature devoid of *svagata-bheda*; and if knowledge is self-evident or self-contained, it is devoid of *sajātīya-bheda* also; and if it is a class by itself it is devoid of *vi-jātīya-bheda*. Thus it can be called *advaya*. This pure, undivided knowledge is called by three names, according to its appearances: *jala*, *bārī*, and *salila*, all three terms meaning water, indicate the same substance. But ice, water, and steam are not the same, and have differing properties. So with the names *brahma*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*; distinction is because of their special properties, not by their common one. See 1.2.śl.12; 2.20.śl.21; 2.24.śl.22; 2.24.śl.25; 2.25.śl.27.

8 On his body is a pure halo of light; the *Upaniṣads* call this stainless *brahma*. 9 As with the naked eye, the sun is seen as undifferentiated [light], so one is not able to see the differentiation of *Kṛṣṇa* by the path of knowledge.

*Sloka 5. Brahma Saṁhitā 5.40:*

That *brahma* whose magnificence is manifest in crores and crores of *Brahmā*-worlds, that *brahma*, differentiated in all the manifestations of all the elements of earth, etc., endless, undivided, and total—I worship that Govinda as the *ādi-puruṣa*.

10 That magnificence of *brahma* in crores and crores of worlds, that *brahma* is the splendor of the body of Govinda. 11 I worship that Govinda—he is my Lord. Through his grace is my power of creation.

*Sloka 6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.6.47:*

*Samnyāsins*, constantly involved in meditation, wind-clad, painstaking [toward the highest things], self-restrained and controlled, free of desire and passion, pure of heart, they gain your *dhāma* called *brahma*.

8. This text, and others of the sect, have the habit of terming all *śrutis* which are used by the *advaitavādins* as “*Upaniṣads*.” *Sumirmala* is defined by *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* as “untouched by *māyā*, beyond *māyā*.” The distinction is between that which has form and that which does not have form, or between that which is qualified and that which is not qualified. It is usually considered that the sun has form, while its radiance is formless. *Kṛṣṇa* is the sun, and *brahma* is the sun-beams, the halo of light, without form. This is given also in *Rūpa Gosvāmī’s BhRS [pārva-vibhaga, sādhanabhakti-laharī]* 1.2.278.

9. *Kṛṣṇa* is infinitely differentiated, but those deluded by seeking the truth on the path of knowledge (*jñāna-mārga*) will not see him so, and will consider that the radiance of the sun is the sun itself.

*Sloka 5.* The problem is of course that the god *Brahmā* is commonly accepted as the creator of the world, and has here been equated with the non-dual *brahma* as the radiance of the body of *Kṛṣṇa*; the radiance of *Kṛṣṇa’s* body has thus become the creator of the world, or the cause of the creation. By its infinite divinity the glory of *Kṛṣṇa’s* body has divided itself into infinite forms. The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (2.6) says that the source of creation was the desire of the creator to become many, and names Govinda as the cause of creation; the *Brahma Saṁhitā* suggests the same. *Jīva Gosvāmī*, as quoted by *Rādhāgovinda Nātha*, explains *Brahmā’s* claim as creator in this way: it is the radiance (*prabhā*) of Govinda which is the effective doer; for the purpose of manifesting this, *brahma*, as his radiance, is called the cause of the creation. *Brahmā*-world is literally *Brahmā*-egg (*brahmāṇḍa*). See 2.20.śl.22.

10-11. “My” refers to Lord *Brahmā*, who speaks these two couplets, and who is of course associated with creation.

*Sloka 6.* *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* interprets *dhāma* as “radiance” (*teja*), and says that the *śloka* means that those ascetics who, following the way of mortification in order to gain union with *brahma*,



12 He who is called "indwelling in the soul" in the *yoga śāstras*—he is but the majesty-part of Govinda. 13 As one sun appears like an infinite number of crystals, so the *aṁśa* of Govinda appears manifested in living beings.

Śloka 7. *Bhagavad Gītā* 10.42:

O Arjuna! What is the point of your knowing much about all such matters? I, by one single part, support this whole universe!

Śloka 8. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.9.42:

I have come to know this unborn One, who resides in the hearts of all embodied creatures which are imagined to be selves like the one sun appearing in many ways; and my delusion of duality is gone.

14 And that very Govinda is manifest as Caitanya Gosvāmī. There is none other, so gracious and merciful, to save *jīvas*. 15 In [the heaven called] Paravyoma sits he whose name is Nārāyaṇa—he is full of the six divine qualities, the husband of Lakṣmī, Bhagavān. 16 In the Vedas, *Bhāgavata*, *upaniṣads*, and *āgamas*, he is called "the full truth"—there is none equal to him. 17 Through *bhakti-yoga* the *bhaktas* perceive him just as the *devas* see the sun in its real form. 18 All those who worship by the *jñāna-* or *yoga-mārgas*, experience him as [in the form] of *brahma* and *ātmā*.

19 In various kinds of worship, the greatness of Īśvara is known and this is why

are indeed united with *brahma*, which is however "your radiance," the *dhāma*. The *śloka* is spoken by Uddhava to Kṛṣṇa.

12. *Ātmāntaryāmi*, *paramātmā*: "indwelling in the soul." *Aṁśa-vibhakti*: "majesty-part," majesty or divinity as a part.

Śloka 7. See 2.20.śl.24; 2.20.śl.62.

14. *Nistārīte*: "to save," literally meaning "to bring safely across" the river of life or the rounds of rebirth.

15. There are other forms of Bhagavān than Kṛṣṇa, and of each of them there is an eternal spiritual abode; the name of all these abodes collectively is Paravyoma, "above the sky." The lord of Paravyoma is Nārāyaṇa, and his consort there is Lakṣmī.

17. The *devas*, living in the place of the sun (*sūryaloka*), see the sun itself, not merely its diffused radiance; likewise the *bhaktas*, unlike the follower of the *jñāna-mārga*, penetrates the effulgence of Paravyoma and beholds Nārāyaṇa. *Vigraha*: image or form.

18. *Jñāna-mārga* leads to knowledge of the divinity as *brahma* or radiance; and *yoga-mārga* leads to knowledge of the divinity as the *paramātmā* or the indwelling principle in all *jīvas*.

19. Worshipers know one or another aspect of Bhagavān according to the type of worship which they follow.

the comparison of him with the sun is given. 20 He is Nārāyaṇa—of undivided true form with Kṛṣṇa—only one true image, but various shapes. 21 This [Kṛṣṇa] has two arms and that [Nārāyaṇa] has four hands; this one holds the flute, and that the discus, etc.

Śloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.14:

Are you not Nārāyaṇa? You are the soul of all embodied creatures, O Lord! You are the overseer of all the world. Because you dwell in the water and in the hearts of *jīvas*, you are Nārāyaṇa. He who is Nārāyaṇa is your body; this alone is truth, not your *māyā*.

22 [The meaning of this *śloka* is that] when Brahṁa made offence and stole the boys and calves, he begged forgiveness for his fault. 23 "My birth arose from the lotus of your navel. You are father and mother. I am your son. 24 Father and mother do not take offence at the faults of their son. Forgive my offence—be gracious to me." 25 Kṛṣṇa said, "O Brahṁa, your father is Nārāyaṇa. I am a cowherd boy. How can you be my son?" 26 Brahṁa said, "Are you not Nārāyaṇa? You are Nārāyaṇa. Hear the reasons for this: 27 In creation material and immaterial, however many forms of *jīvas* [there are], you are the basic *svatūpa*, the *ātmā* of them [all]. 28 As the earth is the source and the cause of all earthen pots, you are the cause of *jīvas*—you are the refuge of all. 29 In the word 'nāra' is the totality of all *jīvas*; in the word 'ayana' is their refuge. 30 Thus you are the root Nārāyaṇa. This is one argument; hear now of the second reason: 31 Īśvara of *jīvas*,

20. Or, Nārāyaṇa is a *vilāsa-mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa; see ante, 1.1.38; see also v. 47 of this chapter. *Ākāra*: shape; *vigraha*: form, image.

21. In his four hands, Nārāyaṇa holds conch-shell, discus, club, and lotus.

Śloka 9. The context of the *śloka* is an episode in the *BhP* in which Brahṁa one day steals away all the cowherd boys, except for Kṛṣṇa, and all the calves which they were tending; afterwards, understanding his offence, Brahṁa begs forgiveness at the feet of Kṛṣṇa. See 1.3.śl.13; 1.6.śl.4.

27. *Ātmā* is here the pervading principle, the *paramātmā*.

28. Causes (*kāraṇa*) are of two kinds: material cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*), as earth is the material cause of earthen pots, and the effective cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*), as the potter is the effective cause of earthen pots. The commentator considers that "cause of *jīvas*" (*jīvera nidāna*) refers to both types of cause.

29. The verse is a comment on the meaning of the name Nārāyaṇa. The word 'nāra' means all *jīvas*; the word 'ayana' means refuge or support. And in the following couplets Kṛṣṇadāsa attempts to show that Kṛṣṇa/Nārāyaṇa is a support for all *jīvas*.

31. [The first *puruṣa* is Kāraṇārṇavaśāyī, the second *puruṣa* Garbhodaśāyī, and the third *puruṣa* Kṣīrodaśāyī. Other *avatāras*, such as *līla-avatāras*, *manvantara-avatāras*, *guṇa-avatāras*, etc., are implied in the expression "ādi," i.e., "the rest." TKS]



[you are] the *puruṣa*, and other *avatāras*; your divinity is greater than theirs. 32 Thus you are the great Lord, the father of all. It is because of your power that they are the guardians of the world, 33 by which reason you preserve the refuge of man. Thus you are the root *Nārāyaṇa*. 34 Now, Śrī Bhagavān, hear the third reason—in the infinite *Brahmā*-worlds and *Vaikuṇṭha* and the rest— 35 You see as many *jīvas* as there are, and their *karma* of the three times. You are witness. You know every hidden meaning. 36 By your *darśana* is the world of existence established. If they do not see you, can there be unmoving or moving things? 37 You give *darśana* as the support of beings, and in that you are the root *Nārāyaṇa*. 38 Kṛṣṇa replied, “*Brahmā*, I do not understand your words. He who rests on the water and in the hearts of creatures is *Nārāyaṇa*.” 39 *Brahmā* said, “That *Nārāyaṇa* who is in creatures and on the water, these are all parts of you—this is truth. 40 The *Kāraṇābhīṣayī*, the *Kṣīrodhaśayī*, and the *Garbhodakaśayī*: [these three *puruṣas*] were created by means of *māyā*—therefore, they are all *māyā*. 41 These three water-lying ones are indwelling in all things. He who is called *Puruṣa* is the soul of all the *Brahmā*-worlds. 42 Of the *Hiranyagarbha* the soul is *Garbhodakaśayī*. The indweller in individual souls is *Kṣīrodakaśayī*. 43 Because of the glance of all these there is a relationship with *māyā*. But of the Supreme Kṛṣṇa there is no relationship to *māyā*.

35. Three times: past, present, and future.

36. The verse seems to be simple eulogy, and no commentator sees fit to interpret it. “Establishment” or “existence” (*sthiti*) can also suggest steadfastness, and it is a tenet that steadfastness of mind is both a cause and an effect of *bhakti*. *Darśana*, “witnessing,” is an important concept in *Vaiṣṇavism* as in other forms of Hinduism: to see an image, a great man, or a ceremony, by itself has efficacy.

38. The other etymology, though according to Monier Williams tenuous, is “he who lies upon the waters.” See the commentary on v. 40 below.

40. The three *puruṣas* created with the help of *māyā*, and therefore are in relationship to *māyā*, which is an external *śakti* of *Bhagavān*. *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* points out: there are two kinds of *māyā*, *guṇa-māyā* and *nimitta-māyā*. *Guṇa-māyā* is the effective secondary cause of the *Brahmā*-worlds (lit., “eggs”), the infinite universes which are *māyika*. The *Kāraṇābhīṣayī puruṣa*, with a glance, agitated material nature, which has as its essence the three *guṇas* or qualities, and pervaded it with power (*śakti*), and from that the infinite *Brahmā*-worlds were created. The second *puruṣa* was lying in the womb-water of each *Brahmā*-world, and from his lotus-navel was born *Brahmā* the creator of *jīvas*. The third *puruṣa* was indwelling in the heart of each *jīva*.

42. *Hiranyagarbha*: *Brahmā*. The *Garbhodakaśayī-puruṣa* indwells in *Brahmā*, and *Kṣīrodakaśayī* dwells in the individual souls of the *jīvas*.

43. Kṛṣṇa in his ultimate (*tūrtya*) form is beyond *māyā*, which is extraneous to him, while it remains one of his *śaktis*. *Gandha*: relationship, lit., perfume, odor, or smell, which permeates, leading to “connection.”

Sloka 10. Śrīdhara Svāmī's *Bhāvarthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.15.16: *Virāṭ*, *hiranyagarbha*, and *kāraṇa*—these are three separate properties of *Īśvara*. But that which is devoid of these three is called *tūrtya*.

44. Though activity [of creation] of the three is through *māyā*, even then there is no touch of it—all are apart from the touch of *māyā*.

Sloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.11.39:

This is the divinity of *Īśvara*: even situated in the material, by the qualities of it [he is] never [touched], just as intellect, fixed on the *Bhagavat*, [is not touched] by the properties of the self.

45. You are the highest refuge of those three. You are the root *Nārāyaṇa*. Is there any doubt of this? 46. The container of parts of these three is the *Paravyoma-indwelling Nārāyaṇa*. He is your *vilāsa*; you are the root *Nārāyaṇa*.

47. Thus in the words of *Brahmā*, the *Paravyoma-Nārāyaṇa* is the *vilāsa* of Kṛṣṇa. This is the explanation of the truth. 48. This *śloka* is the essence of the *Bhāgavata*, [defining] the characteristics of the truth. This is primary, everywhere, as a technical term. 49. *Brahmā*, [*param*] *ātma*, *bhagavān*—these are the special manifestations of Kṛṣṇa. Not knowing this meaning, fools give another meaning [to it]. 50 [saying] “Container of *avatāras* is *Nārāyaṇa*; Kṛṣṇa is an *avatāra*. That one is four-armed, this one has the form of a man”; 51 like this in many ways they make arguments. But the verses of the *Bhāgavata* are able to defeat them.

Sloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.2.11:

The truth-knowing wise men call the ultimate truth that which is non-dual knowledge. It is called *brahma*, *paramātmā*, and *bhagavān*.

Sloka 10. *Virāṭ*: that substantial world, which is visible to the human eye. *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* interprets *hiranyagarbha* here as meaning the subtle condition of the world before substantial creation, and *kāraṇa* as being the primal condition of matter. Three separate properties: *upādhi*, ways in which God appears, his definitions.

44. Having defined the three *puruṣas* as related to *māyā*, Kṛṣṇadāsa is now obliged to show that they are more than ordinary *jīvas*, which are controlled by *māyā* and subject to it. He makes the distinction, then, between the glance of the *puruṣa*, which affects *māyā*, and the actual touch of *māyā*, which is the relationship of the *jīva* with it. Such is the power of *darśana*.

Sloka 11. See 1.5.śl.14.

Sloka 12. See 1.2.śl.4; 2.20.śl.21; 2.24.śl.22; 2.24.śl.25; 2.25.śl.27.



52 Hear, O brothers. Reflect upon this *śloka*: There is one primary truth and three explanations of it. 53 The highest truth is non-dual knowledge—this is the *svatūpa* of Kṛṣṇa. [So] *brahma*, [*param*] *ātma*, *bhagavān*—those are his three forms. 54 About the meaning of this *śloka* you have been rendered speechless. Hear then another word of the *Bhāgavata*.

*Śloka 13. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.3.28:*

All these are but parts and fractions of parts of the *puruṣa*; but Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṁ bhagavān*. They incarnate themselves in every age to protect the people persecuted by Indra's enemies.

55 Giving the customary signs of all *avatāras*, among them was numbered Kṛṣṇacandra. 56 But Sūta Gosvāmī's mind was filled with fear, [so] he determined which signs [belonged to] whom. 57 All the *avatāras* were the parts, or parts of parts of the *puruṣa*. [But] Kṛṣṇa, *svayaṁ bhagavān*, was the ornament of them all. 58 But the antagonist says, "Yours is a fine explanation. Paravyoma-Nārāyaṇa is *svayaṁ bhagavān*. 59 He has come and made *avatāra* in the form of Kṛṣṇa. I see this meaning in the *śloka*. What is the point of more debate?" 60 But to him [the answer is], "Why do you draw the inference based on bad logic? It is contrary to the meaning of the *śāstras* and is no proof at all."

*Śloka 14. Mammāṭa's Kāvya-prakāśa:*

He who articulates the predicate first, without having mentioned the subject, support for his words is nowhere established.

61 I do not articulate the predicate without having [first] declared the subject. I discuss the subject before, the predicate afterwards. 62 [The term] '*vidheya*' means the matter which is not known. [The term] '*anuvāda*' means the matter which is known. 63 So I say, "This *brāhmaṇa* is a great *paṇḍita*." The *brāhmaṇa* is the subject, and [his] learning the predication. 64 His *brahmanhood* is a known, but

53. See ante, commentary on *śloka 4*.

54. Kṛṣṇadāsa is addressing the Vedāntins, saying that the *ślokas* of the *BhP* are irrefutable by them, thus they have been rendered speechless. It should be noted that the *BhP* is considered to be a commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*; Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 10.283.

*Śloka 13*. I.e., the three *puruṣas* are but parts, and parts of parts; the second term for 'part' is '*kāla*,' a minute portion. See 1.5.śl.11; 2.9.śl.12; 2.20.śl.20; 2.25.śl.29.

56. The *śloka* is one spoken by Sūkadēva in the *BhP*. His fear, according to the *ṭīkā*, was because in giving Kṛṣṇa's name among other *avatāras*, he was doing an injustice to Kṛṣṇa.

*Śloka 14*. See 1.16.śl.4.

his learning is not known. Thus first the *brahmaṇa*, afterwards his learning. 65 So these *avatāras* are all known things: But *avatāras* of whom? This matter is not known. 66 In the word '*ete*' is the known matter of the *avatāras*, coming first; and afterwards '*puruṣera aṁśa*' is a communication [about] the predicate. 67 So among the *avatāras*, Kṛṣṇa is known. But particular knowledge of him is unknown. 68 Thus the word '*Kṛṣṇa*' comes first as the subject; his true divine nature comes after, as the predicate. 69 '*Kṛṣṇera svayaṁ bhagavattva*' became what was to be known, and '*svayaṁ bhagavānera kṛṣṇatva*' is incorrect. 70 If Kṛṣṇa were a part and Nārāyaṇa the possessor of parts, then the words of Sūta would have been reversed. 71 "That very Nārāyaṇa is possessor of parts, *svayaṁ bhagavān*, and he is Kṛṣṇa"—he would have made the explanation thus. 72 Error, bewilderment, contrariness, and confusion of the senses—none of these faults are present in the speech of ṛṣīs and wise men. 73 You articulate a contrary meaning, and while saying it, you get angry. In your interpretation the fault is the misplacing of the predicate-part. 74 From whose god-quality derives the god-quality of others, is the meaning of the word *svayaṁ bhagavān*. 75 As from a lamp many lamps are lit—that one lamp is counted as the original or root lamp. 76 So Kṛṣṇa is the cause of all *avatāras*. Hear another *śloka* tearing asunder your wrong explanation.

*Śloka 15. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.10.1-2:*

In this [book], *sarga*, *visarga*, *sthāna*, *poṣaṇa*, *ūṭayaḥ*, *manvantara*, *īśānukathāḥ*, *nīrodha*, *mukti*, and *āśraya* [are discussed]. In this *purāṇa* the *mahātmās*, because of desire for the true pure meaning of the tenth [category], easily describe the definition of the nine with the known sense.

66. *Ete*: the first word of *śloka 13*.

69. Kṛṣṇa is the known, and the fact that he is himself Bhagavān the unknown; *svayaṁ bhagavān* is not the known, and Kṛṣṇa-hood of *svayaṁ bhagavān* the unknown.

74. *Bhagavattva*: god-quality.

*Śloka 15*. The logical progression of this series is not entirely clear. Rādhāgovinda Natha interprets: *sarga*: a kind of general creation, characterized by evolution of the *guṇas*; *visarga*: creation by Brahmā of living things; *sthāna*: the firm *Vaikunṭha*; *poṣaṇa*: the protection of *bhaktas* by God; *ātī*: the *vāsanās* remaining from *karma*; *manvantara*: usually the "period of a Manu," here the conduct of *sādhus*; *īśānukathā*: discourse of *sādhus* following God, and all *bhāgavatas*; *nīrodha*: the merging of *jīvas* at the final destruction; *mukti*: gaining purified form; *āśraya*: refuge in God. The Vaiṣṇavas frequently argue a type of progression in which the last item of a series contains all the other items of that series. Thus, of the five types of *bhakti*, the second in the series, *sākhya*, contains the qualities of the first, the third contains the second and third, and the fifth, *śṛṅgāra*, contains not only its own qualities but those of the previous four. Here *āśraya* (refuge) contains the previous nine (v. 77).



77 So to know this category 'āśraya,' I give the [other] nine meanings. From the source of these nine is the meaning of *āśraya*, [the tenth]. 78 Kṛṣṇa is the one refuge of all [beings]. Kṛṣṇa is the place of all. In the body of Kṛṣṇa is the abode of all the universe.

*Sloka 16.* Śrīdhara Svāmī's *Bhāvarthadīpikā* commentary on *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.1.1: In the tenth [book of *Bhāgavata*] the object to be defined, the tenth principle, the incarnation of the shelter of those seeking shelter, called Kṛṣṇa, the highest place, the refuge of the universe—to him I bow down.

79 Who has knowledge of the true form of Kṛṣṇa and his *śaktis* is not ignorant of Kṛṣṇa. 80 In the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa are the six-fold *vilāsa*s. In the forms of grandeur and majesty *prābhava* and *vaibhava* are two kinds of manifestations. 81 There are two kinds of *avatāras*—in the forms of *aṁśa* and *śaktyāveśa*; and there are two kinds of *dharma*s, *bālyā* and *paugandā*. 82 Of Kṛṣṇa the true form is *kīśora*—*svayaṁ avatārī*, the innate container of all *avatāras*. He plays in these six forms throughout the universe. 83 In these six forms are infinite divisions; and in these myriad forms there is but one form [*rūpa*], not divided at all. 84 *Cit-śakti* is *svarūpa-śakti*, and its name is *antaraṅga*. The realms of its infinity of majesty are *Vaikuṇṭha* and the rest. 85 *Māyā-śakti* is *bahiraṅga*, the cause of the world. Its infinity of majesty is the multiple *Brahma*-eggs. 86 *Jīva-śakti* is called *taṭasthā*, and it has no limit. These three *śaktis* are chief, and their divisions are innumerable. 87 Like this are the qualities of *svarūpa* and the three *śaktis*. Kṛṣṇa is the refuge of all [of them]; all are situated in Kṛṣṇa. 88 Even though the *puruṣa*s are the refuge of the *Brahma*-worlds, Kṛṣṇa is the basic refuge of all, the *puruṣa*s and the rest. 89 "Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṁ bhagavān*"—Kṛṣṇa is the refuge of all. "Kṛṣṇa's is *parama īśvara*"—so all the *śāstras* say.

*Sloka 16.* See 2.20.śl.18.

80. Apart from the *svarūpa* itself, says Kṛṣṇadāsa, Kṛṣṇa has *vilāsa* in six forms, and he lists these in couplets 80-83: *prābhava* (primacy or lordship) and *vaibhava* (glory or divinity) *prakāśa*s; *aṁśa* and *śaktyāveśa* (see commentary on 1.1.33) *avatāras*; *bālyā* (boyhood) and *paugandā* (youth), these two *dharma*s. The latter two are *dharma*s in the sense of what is appropriate for the body at a particular time. These will be treated in detail in 2.20.140-160.

82. *Kīśora*: youth. I.e., the six are apart from the *svarūpa*, the eternal youth Kṛṣṇa himself.

83. *Ananta-rūpe*: "in infinite form," Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets it as *ananta-svarūpa* or as *svarūpa*, which is just about the only way the couplet makes sense.

84. *Antaraṅga*: intrinsic.

85. *Bahiraṅga*: extrinsic.

86. *Taṭasthā*: situated between (intrinsic and extrinsic).

*Sloka 17.* *Brahma Samhitā* 5.1:

Kṛṣṇa is the highest *īśvara*, the embodiment of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, beginningless, yet the beginning of all things, Govinda, the cause of all causes.

90 All these conclusions you know well, but you argue to drive me on.

91 That Kṛṣṇa, Vrajendrakumāra, is the container of *avatāras*. And he himself descended in the form of Caitanya. 92 Therefore, Caitanya Gosvāmī is the ultimate in the highest truth. If I call him Kṣīrodaśayī, where then is his greatness? 93 These are all the words of *bhaktas*—not of those who go astray; all is possible to him who is the container of *avatāras*. 94 In the body of the container of *avatāras* is the place of all *avatāras*. People refer [to him] in different ways, according to their opinions. 95 Some call Kṛṣṇa Nara-Narāyaṇa. Some say that Kṛṣṇa is the *Vāmana* incarnation. 96 Some say Kṛṣṇa is the Kṣīrodaśayī-*avatāra*. It is not impossible that everyone's words are true. 97 Some say he is Paravyoma Nārāyaṇa. All is possible to Kṛṣṇa, in whom are all *avatāras*.

98 I bow to the feet of all listeners. Hear now attentively to draw these conclusions I have drawn. 99 Do not be lazy in mind regarding the stated conclusions; from these the mind grows fixed on Kṛṣṇa. 100 I recognize the greatness of Caitanya in all these conclusions. From the realization of [his] greatness, the mind becomes firmly fixed. 101 To speak of the greatness of Caitanya Prabhu, I have spoken of the greatness of Kṛṣṇa and have expanded upon it. 102 The investigation of this truth of Caitanya Gosvāmī proves that he is *svayaṁ bhagavān* Kṛṣṇa Vrajendranandana.

103 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

*Sloka 17.* See 2.8.śl.29; 2.20.śl.19; 2.21.śl.8.

92. *Paratattva-sīmā*: the outer limit or boundary (thus containing everything), i.e., the ultimate, in the highest truth. *Mahimā*: greatness. "Where then . . .," i.e., the term Kṣīrodaśayī does not describe his greatness.

95. Nara-Nārāyaṇa: Nārāyaṇa born as a man; see *BhP* 1.3.9. *Vāmana*: the dwarf-*avatāra*, see *BhP* 1.3.19.

96. Kṛṣṇa is all these things, for he is the container of all *avatāras*.



## Ādi Līlā Chapter 3

Sloka 1.

I bow down to Caitanya Prabhu; by the power of taking refuge at whose feet [even] an ignorant man from the many mines of the *śāstras* gathers fine jewels of truth.

1 Glory be to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 The meaning of the third *śloka* I have explained. Now hear the meaning of the fourth, O *bhaktas*.

Sloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Vidagdhamādhava* 1.2:

In order to bestow the wealth of *bhakti* for himself, which for a long time had gone unbestowed, a *bhakti* of elevated and radiant essentiality, Hari has descended in the Kali age out of compassion, with the beautiful sheen of gold and blazing like a [blooming] *kadamba* [flower]; and Śacīnandana must forever sparkle in the hollow of your heart.

3 *Pārṇa bhagavān* is Kṛṣṇa Vrajendrakumāra. His is an eternal pleasure with [his

Sloka 2. See 1.1.śloka 4. This *śloka* is the subject of this entire chapter (1.3). See 3.1.śl.16.

3. The two armed, dark-colored cowherd boy Kṛṣṇa is himself the *svārūpa*, *pārṇa bhagavān*. The hierarchy of heavens in the system is complex; Rādhāgovinda Nātha, in his commentary, describes it this way: Above Paravyoma is a place (*dhāma*), having the form of a thousand-petalled lotus; the name of this is Gokula, and here Kṛṣṇa lives eternally with Rādhā and the *gopīs*, and with his foster-father and foster-mother Nanda and Yaśoda . . . On the outer part of this lotus-shaped Gokula there is a four-cornered place, the name of which is Śvetadvīpa. (See *Brahma Saṁhitā* 5.2, 4, 5, and Jīva's *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbhā* 106). The whole of the four-cornered place is not called Śvetadvīpa, but only the outer fringe, which is also called Goloka; and the inner circle is called Vṛndāvana. Goloka is also called Vraja.

companions] in Vraja in Goloka. 4 Only once in a day of Brahmā, he, having descended, makes manifest *vihāra*. 5 The Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara, Kali—I know these four ages and that these four ages are one *divya yuga*. 6 Seventy-one of each of the four ages are one *manvantara* and there are fourteen *manvantaras* in one day of Brahmā. 7 This is the seventh *manvantara*, named Vaivasvata. Twenty-seven four-age periods are within it. 8 Twenty-eight four-age periods ago, at the end of the Dvāpara [age], Kṛṣṇa appeared within his companions in Vraja.

9 *Dāsyā, sakhyā, vātsalyā, śṛṅgārā*—these are the four *rasas*; how much do the *bhaktas* of these four *bhāvas* win over Kṛṣṇa. 10 With servant, friend, father and mother, or lover, Kṛṣṇa played in Vraja, absorbed in *prema*. 11 Having played as he wished, Kṛṣṇa disappeared and having disappeared he thought to himself—12 “For a long time I have not given the gift of *prema-bhakti*. Without *bhakti* the world has no stability. 13 In all the world they have *vidhi-bhakti* for me. [But] in *vidhi-bhakti* there is no power to gain the *bhāva* of Vraja. 14 All the world is involved in knowledge of my divinity. But my desire is for *prema*, not for this inert divinity. 15 They who worship in *vidhi*, through knowledge of my divinity, go to

4. See commentary on v. 5 and v. 6 below. There are two types of *vihāra* or *līlā*: *prakāṣa*, manifest or apparent (on the earth), and *aprakāṣa*, unmanifest or unapparent. Kṛṣṇa, in the eternal Vṛndāvana, is carrying on *aprakāṣa-līlā* eternally, and once in every day of Brahmā this *līlā* is manifested in finite form in the material world, without however affecting the pure divinity of the *līlā*, which is *svārūpa* and therefore beyond all touch of *māyā*. The last *prakāṣa-līlā* was that related in the *BhP*.

5. The four ages together (*catur-yuga*) are one *divya-yuga*; seventy-one of each of the four ages makes a *manvantara*, and fourteen *manvantaras* make a day of Brahmā; thus in a day of Brahmā are 994 of each of the four ages. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.3.14, has a thousand of each of the ages making up a day of Brahmā. In this way, one day of Brahmā is 4,294,080,000 human years, or, according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 4,320,000,000 human years.

7. In each day of Brahmā there are fourteen Manus: Svāyambhuva, Svārociṣa, Uttama, Tāmasa, Rāivata, Cakṣuṣa, Vaivasvata, Sāvarṇi, Dakṣasāvarṇi, Brahmasāvarṇi, Dharmasāvarṇi, Rudrasāvarṇi, Devasāvarṇi, and Indrasāvarṇi. We are in the seventh of these, Vaivasvata.

9. See 2.19.157-59 and 2.23.26-44 and their commentaries; for the associated *bhāvas*, see the index.

11. This thought extends from v. 12 to v. 21.

13. *Vidhi-bhakti* refers to the injunctions of the *śāstras* and other rituals. See *PHM*, 186-192. It is only by *rāgānuga-bhakti*, absolute love and devotion, lit., a devotion which follows passion, that one can gain Kṛṣṇa in Vraja.

14. Kṛṣṇa's preference here is for passionate worship directed toward his *mādhurya* (sweet) nature, not for the awe and reverence, directed toward his *aīśvarya* (lordly or splendid) nature, with which the divine is usually approached.

15. Rūpa's *BhRS* 1.4.8, 10; Sanātana's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* 2.4.132. *Vaikunṭha* here means a place in Paravyoma. The four kinds of *mukti*, release, are detailed in v. 16. This is obviously a lesser end than direct relationship with Kṛṣṇa in Vraja.



Vaikuṇṭha, having gained the four kinds of *mukti*: 16 *sārṣṭi*, *sārāpya*, *sāṁpya*, and *śalokya*; *bhaktas* do not look for *śayujya*, in which is unity with *brahma*. 17 I shall establish *nāma-saṁkīrtana* as the *yuga-dharma*, and by *bhakti* of the four *bhāvas* I shall cause the earth to dance. 18 I myself shall accept the *bhāva* of a *bhakta*; I myself shall practice *bhakti* and shall teach it to others [by that means]. 19 If I do not do it myself the *dharma* will not be established. This conclusion is sung in the *Bhagavad Gītā*:

Sloka 2a. *Bhagavad Gītā* 4.8:

For the protection of the saints, destruction of evil-doers, and the establishment of *dharma*, I am incarnated from age to age.

Sloka 3. *Bhagavad Gītā* 3.24:

If I did not act, this whole world would be ruined. And I would cause class-confusion and destroy my people.

Sloka 4. *Bhagavad Gītā* 3.21:

Whatever better men do, others try to do. That which he does is standard authority for other people to follow.

16. *Sārṣṭi*: taking on the divine characteristics of the retinue of the *svatāpa*; *sārāpya*: taking on a form like that of the *svatāpa*, i.e., if one is a worshiper of Nārāyaṇa, having four arms, as does Nārāyaṇa; *sāṁpya*: situated nearby the *svatāpa*; *śalokya*: living in the same place with the *svatāpa*. *Śayujya* or unity with the impersonal *brahma* is to be shunned, and left as an end to lesser men such as the *jñāna-mārgis*. As the Śākta Rāmaprasād Sen said, "I like the taste of sugar, but I have no desire to become sugar." In other words, giving Kṛṣṇa joy through worship, and gaining joy from Kṛṣṇa's joy, is the end of man; this is impossible, if one is identical with the object of worship. The term *mukti* implies here that these four states, while lesser, are permanent states of release. See also 1.4.śl.36-37; 2.6.239, śl. 23; 2.9.śl.24; 2.19.śl.24; 3.3.śl.12.

17. The chanting of the name of Kṛṣṇa in pure *prema* is the way which is effective in the Kali age. It seems paradoxical, but according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and other texts, the more degenerate the age the easier to attain is release. The four *bhāvas* are of course *dāsyā*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *śṛṅgāra* or *mādhurya*. The fifth, *śānta*, is not considered a *bhāva*, and is more appropriate to *vidhi-bhakta* than to the efficacious *rāgānuga*.

18. I.e., he will become Caitanya, who is thus the *bhakta*, Rādhā, and fully Kṛṣṇa, all three. [This is a significant feature of Caitanya's divinity in that he provides for the devotee not only the model of devotion and the object of that devotion, but the means for attaining it, i.e., *nāma-saṁkīrtana*. TKS]

Sloka 2a. Rādhāgovinda Nātha has misnumbered the *ślokas*, so this *śloka* is designated 2a to facilitate cross-referencing the remaining *ślokas*.

Sloka 4. See 2.17.śl.10.

20 The *yuga-dharma* cannot be established through [my] *aṁśa*; except for me no others are able to give the *prema* of Vraja.

Sloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pārva khaṇḍa* 5.37:

Of the lotus-navel one, there are many *avatāras* in many ways grace-bestowing. But apart from Kṛṣṇa is anyone else the giver of the gift of *prema* even to creepers?

21 So I myself, together with my *bhaktas*, shall make *avatāra* in many playful ways on the earth."

22 So thinking, in the first part of one evening during the Kali age, he was incarnated, Kṛṣṇa himself, in Nadiya. 23 His *avatāra* was Caitanya the Lion in Navadvīpa, with the neck of a lion, the power and courage of a lion, the roar of a lion. 24 May that lion live in caves of the hearts of [all] creatures and his roar drive away the elephant of sin. 25 In the first *līlā* his name was "Viśvambhara." He filled the people of the earth with *bhakti-rasa*, and captured them. 26 The meaning of the root "*bhr*" is "supporting, protecting" and so he supported and protected the three worlds by *prema*. 27 In the final *līlā* he held the name Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and in causing all the world to know Śrī Kṛṣṇa he blessed it. 28 The sage Garga knew his *yuga-avatāra*, and demonstrated this at the name-giving ceremony of Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.8.13:

From age to age, there are three colors of him who embodies himself: white, red, and yellow. Now he has become black.

20. [*Aṁśa* is only a part of Kṛṣṇa, and incapable of inaugurating a new *yuga-dharma*. Only Kṛṣṇa himself (i.e., *svayaṁ bhagavān*) can take on this charge, here to introduce the *yuga-dharma* of *nāma-saṁkīrtana* mentioned above. TKS].

Sloka 5. See 3.7.śl.3.

26. The name Viśvambhara is *viśva* and the root "*bhr*." *Viśva* meaning the world or universe, and according to Rādhāgovinda Nātha, the root "*bhr*" meaning to fill, also to protect and comfort; thus Viśvambhara is one who protects the world.

28. Garga-mahāśaya was the name of the family *purohita* of Vasudeva; learned in astrology, he came to Gokula at the wish of Vasudeva and performed the naming ceremony of Śrī Kṛṣṇa; Kṛṣṇadāsa is interpreting the *śloka* which follows, the one Garga used at the ceremony, as foretelling the coming of the golden-colored Kṛṣṇa, i.e. Caitanya.

Sloka 6. Kṛṣṇa: "black." See also 2.6.śl.3; 2.20.śl.48.



29 White, red, and yellow colors—these three lusters the lord holds in the Satya, Treta and Kali ages. 30 At that time, in Dvāpara, he was dark-colored. This is the inner-meaning of all the śāstras, āgamas and purāṇas.

Śloka 7. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.5.27:

In the Dvāpara [age], Bhagavān, of dark color, wears yellow clothing and bears his own weapons, characterized by signs like the śrīvatsa curl, and by certain marks of his body.

31 The yuga-dharma of the Kali age is propagation of the name. For that [has come] the yellow colored Caitanya-avatāra. 32 With a luster like molten gold, a colossal body—the depth of the sound of his voice conquers that of the new cloud. 33 By the measure of his own arms, he is four arms high; he is famous as a mahāpuruṣa. 34 His name is Nyagrodhāparimaṇḍala; having a body the girth of a banyan tree is Caitanya, the receptacle of qualities. 35 His arms hang down to his knees, his eyes are like lotuses, his nose conquers the flower of the sesame, his face is like the moon. 36 He is of peaceful mind, having conquered his senses, of devoted steadiness in Kṛṣṇa-bhakti, full of love toward his bhaktas, of good character, gentle, and treating all creatures alike. 37 He wears sandalwood armlets and bracelets, and ornaments of sandal—he wears these things at the time of dancing [during] Kṛṣṇa saṅkīrtana.

29. The lord: śrīpati: the beautiful (śrī) lord (pati), or the lord (pati) of Lakṣmī (śrī).

30. The Vaiṣṇavas often discover the inner meaning (marma) of the śāstras; the implication is of course that all texts have two levels of meaning, the external, which is there for all to gather, and the true or inner meaning, revealed only by the Vaiṣṇava commentators.

Śloka 7. Śrīvatsa: a pattern of hair on the chest, usually a curly lock. See 2.20.śl.51.

32. [The 'new cloud' (navamegha) signifies the freshly formed thundercloud, its darkness invoking Kṛṣṇa's color, and the monsoon the season for lovers. TKS]

33. I.e., he measured, by the measure of his own arms, four arms or hands (hatha) tall; Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that one hand is from the tip of the middle finger of one hand to the tip of the middle finger of the other when the arms are outstretched, but that is clearly impossible. More likely the measure is from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow, an average of eighteen inches. Caitanya, then, was perhaps taller than 6'2", extremely tall for a Bengali of the period. Such great height is one of the marks of a great man, a mahāpuruṣa, for so Kṛṣṇa himself is called in BhP 10.40.4 and in many other places.

34. Nyagrodhāparimaṇḍala: with the girth of a banyan tree. [The banyan, ficus benghalensis, is well-known for its broad trunk and its many roots that drop from branches, thereby anchoring the tree to extend further. This metaphor will be taken up in 1.9-12 when Kṛṣṇadāsa describes the tree of bhakti. TKS] Caitanya's body was said to be two hands—three feet—around.

35. Arms reaching to the knees are also marks of auspiciousness and power. [Tila: sesame; the sesamum indicum has solitary axillary flowers of yellow or pink which are delicately tapered. TKS]

38 Taking all these qualities Vaiṣampāyana Muni counted his names in sahasranāma. 39 There are two līlas of Caitanya—ādi and śeṣa. There are four special names [for him] in each of the two līlas.

Śloka 8. Mahābhārata, anuśāsana-parvan [dānadharma] 127.75 [Viṣṇu-sahasranāma-stotra]:

Of a golden body and golden color, of the best of bodies, wearing an armlet of sandalwood, he who will take saṁnyāsa is tranquil, equal-minded, devoted to peace, and firmly fixed on God.

40 In the Bhāgavata this is expressed again. The dharma of the Kali age is in essence nāma-saṅkīrtana.

Śloka 9-10. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.5.31-32:

9 O king of the earth! In the Dvāpara age [all people] thus praise the Īśvara of the world. Now hear how in the Kali age by [following] the precepts of the various Tantras [they worship in that way]: 10 good and wise people indeed worship [him] by sacrifice, [namely] chiefly saṅkīrtana, together with his followers and weapons of aṅga and upaṅga, black-colored yet light-colored in his glory.

41 Hear, O brothers! These are all the greatneses of Caitanya. In this śloka the limit of his greatness is spoken. 42 He, in whose mouth the two syllables "Kṛṣṇa" always are, describes Kṛṣṇa to his own joy. 43 These two meanings are shown in the word "Kṛṣṇa-varṇa"—except for "Kṛṣṇa" no other [word] comes from his mouth. 44 If anyone calls him "Kṛṣṇa-colored" [or says] the syllables "Kṛṣṇa," by

38. The reference is to an episode in the Mahābhārata in which Vaiṣampāyana Muni recites the thousand names of Viṣṇu; Kṛṣṇadāsa's contention is that he was reciting the qualities of Caitanya. Sahasranāma: thousand names.

39. Among the thousand names, eight were special; four of these apply to the ādi līlā, i.e., the first half of his life, and four to the śeṣa līlā, i.e., the second half. The eight are given in the following śloka.

Śloka 8. See 2.6.śl.5; 2.10.śl.5.

Śloka 10. See also 2.6.śl.4; 2.11.śl.10; 2.20.śl.53; 3.20.śl.2.

42. The couplet is a comment on the phrase Kṛṣṇa-varṇa in the previous śloka; varṇa means both "color" and "syllable," and Kṛṣṇadāsa takes advantage of the pun.

44. The meaning of the line is based on the Sanskrit of the śloka: the phrase is tvīṣakṛṣṇa, and since the final vowel of tvīṣa is long, the following word is ambiguous: it can be read either kṛṣṇa, "dark colored" or akṛṣṇa, "not dark colored," thus meaning either Kṛṣṇa himself or Caitanya, whose complexion was golden.



the next adjective he refutes that. 45 For in the luster of his body he is non-Kṛṣṇa colored. And by "akṛṣṇavarṇa" is meant "light colored."

Sloka 11. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Stavamālā*, *caitanyaṣṭaka* 2.1:

May that God in the form of Caitanya have the greatest mercy for you whom the wise in the Kali age clearly worship as Kṛṣṇa although his body is not black because of his complexion's high translucency, and who is to be worshiped by those who observe the complete fourth stage of life, with sacrifices consisting of *saṁkīrtana*.

46 In him is manifest the beauty of molten gold, the radiance of which destroys the profound darkness of ignorance. 47 For destroying sin-laden darkness of creatures, he holds many weapons, called *aṅga* and *upāṅga*. 48 That which opposes *bhakti* is action—*karma*, whether it be good or bad. These have the same name: "kalmaṣa"—very great darkness. 49 Raising his arms and saying "Hari" he looks with glance full of *prema*. Thus does he conquer *kalmaṣa*, floating in [a sea of] *prema*.

Sloka 12. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Stavamālā*, *caitanyaṣṭaka* 2.8:

Whose bright smile takes away universally the misery of all the people of the world, whose words blossom into blessings, touching whose feet there is no man who fails to gain the sea of *prema*—may that Caitanyadeva spread his mercy lavishly to us all.

45. [Light-colored is *a-kṛṣṇa-varṇa*, but literally "not-dark/black colored"; the text gives *piṭa* (yellow/saffron color) as the synonym of *akṛṣṇavarṇa*, which appears to be a theological statement about Caitanya's color matching Rādhā's. TKS]

Sloka 11. The four *āśramas* or stages are *brahmacarya*: "student"; *gṛhasthya*: "householder"; *vānaprastha*: "forest-dweller"; and *saṁnyāsa*: "mendicant." Caitanya is frequently called "crest-jewel of *saṁnyāsins*."

47. Or "*aṅga*, *upāṅga*, and the name (of Kṛṣṇa)." The word translated as "sin" is *kalmaṣa*, which the commentator defines as "that which is offensive to *bhaktas*." Still commenting on *śloka* 9, Kṛṣṇadāsa says that Caitanya is like Nārāyaṇa, who holds the four weapons, discus, club, lotus, and conch in his hands; hands and feet are often called *aṅga*, and fingers and toes *upāṅga*. Quoting the *Krama-sandarbhā* of Jīva Gosvāmī, Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that as ornaments lend luster to the limbs, so the charming fingers and toes lend luster to the limbs of Mahāprabhu.

48. Or "that which is opposed to *bhakti* is *karma*, *dharma*, and *adharmā*." The point however is the same: *karma* which follows *dharma*, leads to release, and that is not the purpose of *bhakti*; *karma*, if it is *adharmā*, it leads neither to *mukti* nor to *prema*, and that also is not the point of *bhakti*. See Rūpa's *BhRS* [*parva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.22.

49. He: Caitanya.

50 His sin is destroyed and he gains the wealth of *prema*, who sees his beautiful face and body. 51 In other *avatāras* [he came] with enemies and armies, but the army of Caitanya Kṛṣṇa is his *aṅga* and *upāṅga*. 52 With his weapons of *aṅga* and *upāṅga* he performs his own work.

53 Now hear carefully the meaning of the word "*aṅga*." 54 The *śāstras* say that the word "*aṅga*" means "*aṁśa*." And the constituent parts of the "*aṅga*" are explained as "*upāṅga*."

Sloka 13. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.14:

Are you not Nārāyaṇa? You are the soul of all embodied creatures, O Lord! You are the overseer of all the world. Because you dwell in the water and in the hearts of *jīvas*, you are Nārāyaṇa. He who is Nārāyaṇa is your body; this alone is truth, not your *māya*.

55 The meaning of this *śloka* is this: That Nārāyaṇa who is indwelling, and who lies upon the waters, he is your "*aṁśa*"—you are the root Nārāyaṇa. 56 The word "*aṅga*" means "*aṁśa*"—that is true. He is not a product of *māya*—but is all full of *cit* and *ānanda*. 57 Advaita and Nityānanda—these are two *aṅgas* of Caitanya; and the parts of the *aṅgas* are called "*upāṅga*." 58 *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, those sharp weapons are with Prabhu, and all those weapons are to conquer evil men. 59 Nityānanda Gosvāmī is the manifest Haladhara, and Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī is the manifest Īśvara. 60 Bringing along an army composed of Śrīvāsa and the rest of his companions, the two generals of the army wander about making *kīrtana*. 61 Slaugh-

51. I.e., with the attractiveness of his body and the *prema* of his heart he conquers, not with the weapons of Nārāyaṇa.

Sloka 13. See 1.2.śl9; 1.6.śl4.

56. Nārāyaṇa is called an *aṁśa* of Kṛṣṇa; he lies on the waters and dwells in the hearts of *jīvas*, but still he is not bodily (*aṅga*), not materially, touched by *māya*.

57. Kṛṣṇadāsa now extends the proposition to include the followers and the whole *dhāma*: Advaita and Nityānanda are parts of Caitanya, as indeed are extensions of them, but as Caitanya is Kṛṣṇa, untouched by *māya*, so are they.

59. Haladhara, "holder of the plough," is Kṛṣṇa's brother Baladeva; Īśvara here refers to Mahāviṣṇu, of whom Advaita is the *avatāra*.

61. The Bengali is *paṣaṇḍa dalanabāna*; *bāna* is a dialectal form in West Bengal and some East Bengal dialects, meaning "do," *kara*; *dalana* can mean to "kill, drive away"; *paṣaṇḍa*, says the *Sabdakalpādruma*, refers to those who are anti-Vedic, specifically Buddhist monks. Here, clearly, the reference is not to these, but to anti-Vaiṣṇavas. Rādhāgovinda Nātha has another interpretation of the second part of the verse: "at the war-cry of Advaita, the sin of sinners (*pāpi*), and opposition to the *śāstras* by the *paṣaṇḍis* are driven away."



tering evil ones is Nityānanda Raya. At the war-cry of Ācārya the evil and sinful people flee.

62 The spreader of *saṅkīrtana* is Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and he is blessed who worships [him] with the sacrifice of *saṅkīrtana*. 63 That one is wise. Other worldly concerns are foolish. Of all sacrifices, the sacrifice of the Kṛṣṇa-name is the best. 64 A crore of horse-sacrifices is equal to but one Kṛṣṇa-name: He who says this is an evil one, and Yama punishes him. 65 In the *maṅgalācāraṇa* of the *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā*, Jīva Gosvāmī explains this śloka.

Śloka 14. Jīva Gosvāmī's *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* 1.2:

In the Kali age, in him who is Kṛṣṇa within and Gaura without, Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, whose magnificence is manifested by his *aṅgas*, etc., we take refuge by *saṅkīrtana* and the rest.

66 In the *upapurāṇas* we hear the words of Kṛṣṇa [himself]; merciful toward Vyāsa, he speaks to him:

Śloka 15. [unidentified] *Upapurāṇa*:

O Brahman! Somewhere in the Kali age I myself, having undertaken the *saṁnyāsa-aśrama*, cause men lost in sin to embrace Hari-*bhakti*.

67 In the *Bhāgavata*, the *Bhārata-śāstra*, *āgamas*, and *purāṇas*, the appearance of the Caitanya Kṛṣṇa *avatāra* is proven. 68 You see manifest his authority, his non-human deeds, his unworldly majesty. 69 Non-*bhaktas* look but do not see [this]—as owls cannot see because of the sunshine.

Śloka 16. Yāmūnācārya's *Stotraratna* 17:

Even by the most excellent actions and forms and habits, by being perfected with goodness, by powerful *śāstras*, by [the examination] of the opinions of most famous *paṇḍitas* who proclaim divinity—even by all these, people are not able to know you, being of *asura* nature.

62. *Kīrtana* is the sacrifice (*yajña*) of the Kali age; the verse is a little ambiguous; it could also mean "that blessed one (i.e., Caitanya) worships him (i.e., Kṛṣṇa) with the sacrifice of *saṅkīrtana*."

63. Or "others are caught in *saṁsāra*."

64. I.e., one name of Kṛṣṇa is worth far more.

65. "This śloka" still refers to śloka 10, *kṛṣṇavarṇam tviṣakṛṣṇam*.

Śloka 14. Gaura: golden-colored, the color of Rādhā.

Śloka 15. "Lost in sin" (*pāpātān*) can also be "destroying their sin."

70 Prabhu attempts in many ways to hide himself from his *bhaktas*. But still his *bhaktas* know him.

Śloka 17. Yāmūnācārya's *Stotraratna* 18:

The possibility of being superior or equal to the three limitations is hidden by your *māyā*; but certain ones, single-mindedly devoted to you, remain gazing on the true form of your divinity.

71 One of *asura*-nature never recognizes Kṛṣṇa, but Kṛṣṇa is not able to hide himself from *bhaktas*.

Śloka 18. *Padma Purāṇa*:

In this world there are two kinds of created creatures—*daiva* and *asura*. The *daiva* is known as Viṣṇu-*bhakta* and the opposite is the *asura*.

72 Ācārya Gosvāmī is the *bhakta-avatāra* of Prabhu; his call was the cause of Kṛṣṇa's *avatāra*. 73 When Kṛṣṇa makes *avatāra* upon the earth, he first sends his group of elders. 74 Father, mother, *guru*, and the rest—all those to be honored, he causes first to be born upon the earth: 75 Mādhava and Īśvara Purī, Śaṅkha, Jagannātha—and Advaita Ācārya was incarnated with them. 76 Being manifested, the Ācārya looked at all the world, [and saw] only matters of worldly concern, devoid of any hint of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 77 Some in sin, some in virtue enjoyed the things of the world—but there was no hint of *bhakti* by which the ills of the world are driven away. 78 Seeing the ways of the people, the Ācārya, with compassion in his heart, thought this, "How can these people be delivered? 79 [Only] if Kṛṣṇa himself would descend as *avatāra*, and through his own actions spread *bhakti*. 80 For without the Name there is no other chance in the Kali age. [But] how then will an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa come in the Kali age? 81 In humility I shall worship him

Śloka 17. The three conditions or limitations are space, time, and measure. See 3.3.śl.8.

71. *Asura-svabhāva* is defined by Rādhāgovinda Nātha simply as "devoid of *bhakti*." The text on which the statement is based is *BhP* 11.14.21.

72. I.e., Advaita was incarnated first, and it was his prayer that brought about the Caitanya-*avatāra*; it is only the true *bhakta* who can communicate the necessity of an *avatāra*, due to the ills of the world (*BhG* 4.8), since the *svatūpa* is by definition beyond *māyā* and therefore unaffected by it. See Introduction, sect. VII.8.

73. *Guruvarga*: elders.

75. Mādhava Purī was the *dikṣā-guru* of Īśvara Purī, who was the *dikṣā-guru* of Caitanya. More will be seen of them later. Śaṅkha was Caitanya's mother, and Jagannātha Mīśra his father.



unceasingly and every day I shall pray him [to appear]. 82 To bring him, I shall spread the *kīrtana* of Kṛṣṇa, then my name 'Advaita' will be fulfilled. 83 But what [type] of prayer will Kṛṣṇa heed?" Thus thinking, a *śloka* came to his mind.

*Śloka 19.* Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 11.110 [quoting *Gautamya Tantra*]:

For a mere single *tulasī* leaf, a handful of water, he who is loving toward his *bhaktas* sells to his *bhaktas* his very self.

84 The meaning of this *śloka* the Ācārya then pondered—one gives Kṛṣṇa *tulasī* [and] water; 85 and to pay back his debt to him Kṛṣṇa thinks, "There is no wealth in my house like water and *tulasī*." 86 So I sell myself to pay my debt." So thinking, the Ācārya began to worship. 87 Incessantly he offered Gaṅgā water and sprouts of *tulasī*, meditating on the lotus feet of Kṛṣṇa. 88 He loudly called a summons to Kṛṣṇa, and in this way caused the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa. 89 This then is the immediate cause of the Caitanya-*avatāra*. Because of the desire of his *bhakta* came the bridge of *dharma* in his *avatāra*.

*Śloka 20.* *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.9.11:

You whose ways are seen in scripture dwell in the heart-lotus which is perfected by *bhakti-yoga*, O protector of men. As a favor to the good you display whatever form they meditate upon in their minds.

90 I shall give in brief the essence of the meaning of this *śloka*—all the *avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa exist [through] the desire of his *bhaktas*. 91 The meaning of the fourth *śloka* has thus been clarified: Gaura was incarnated to manifest *prema*.

92 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

82. See 1.1.31.13 and commentary.

85. I.e., "I have no wealth equal in value to *tulasī* and water . . ."

89. "Bridge of *dharma*" is defined by Rādhāgovinda Nātha in this way: *setu* is defined in the *Sabdakalpādruma* as the ridge (*ali*) between rice fields, to keep the water contained; *ali* is therefore *rakṣaka*, "one who keeps or protects"; *dharma-setu* is thus "the protector of *dharma*," once having established that *dharma* within the *jīva*. Also plausibly, a bridge is that by which one crosses over, and Caitanya is known as "he who takes across" the misery of the world the *bhakta*.

## Ādi Līlā Chapter 4

*Śloka 1.*

By the grace of Śrī Caitanya, even a boy can understand the truth about him by examination of the *śāstra* of Kṛṣṇa in his *Vraja-vilāsa*.

1 Glory be to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 The meaning of the fourth *śloka* has now been explained; hear now, O *bhaktas*, the meaning of the fifth. 3 To begin the explanation of the meaning of this root-*śloka*, it is necessary first to have an introduction. 4 The meaning of the fourth *śloka* has this as its essence: this [present] *avatāra* is to expound the Name and *prema* throughout the world. 5 This is a true cause of the *avatāra*, but it is also an external cause; hear now of the other, the internal cause. 6 In former times, when the burden of the earth became oppressive, Kṛṣṇa became incarnated—this is all told in the *śāstras*. 7 It is not for *svayaṃ bhagavān* to act to relieve the world of its burden, for Viṣṇu, the Preserver, gives protection to the world. 8 But when it was time for the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa, it was also the time for the relieving of the burden. 9 For when the *svayaṃ bhagavān* descends, all *avatāras* come, latent within him. 10 Thus Nārāyaṇa, the four *vyūhas*, the fish, and all other *avatāras*, the *yuga* and *manvantara* *avatāras*, 11 all came and descended in the body of Kṛṣṇa. In this way

7. I.e., the *svatūpa* of Kṛṣṇa is beyond *māyā*; Viṣṇu, however, the *dugdābdhīśaṅ* Nārāyaṇa, is involved with *māyā*, and therefore knows when protection is necessary.

8. When it was time for Viṣṇu to take an *avatāra*, in order to relieve the world of its burden, Kṛṣṇa also incarnated; and when Kṛṣṇa descended, all other *avatāras* came, because Kṛṣṇa is container of *avatāras* (v. 9).

10-11. Nārāyaṇa: the lord of Paravyoma; the *caturvyūha*: Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha.



did Kṛṣṇa, *svayaṁ bhagavān*, descend. 12 Therefore Viṣṇu was at that time in the body of Kṛṣṇa, and it was Kṛṣṇa by means of Viṣṇu, who conquered the *asuras*. 13 But this killing of demons was a secondary work; I will now tell you what the real purpose of this *avatāra* was.

14 The purpose of this *avatāra* was to taste the sweetness of the juice of *prema-rasa*, and to propagate among people the *bhakti* of the *rāga-mārga*. 15 Kṛṣṇa, the crest-jewel of *rasikas*, the epitome of mercy and grace, [descended] in the desire to be the source of these two things. 16 "All the world is caught up in [the desire] to know my majesty; but I am not satisfied with *prema* toward my lifeless majesty. 17 When one considers me as *Īśvara* and himself as insignificant, I am not subject to control by his *prema*. 18 For in whatever *bhāva* a *bhakta* worships me, I reciprocate to him in that same *bhāva*—for this is my nature.

Sloka 2. *Bhagavad Gītā* 4.11:

In whatever way one worships me, I honor him in that same way, for in all their various ways men do follow my path, Partha.

19 [Saying] 'My son, my friend, the lord of my heart'—he who has pure *bhakti* toward me in these *bhāvas*, 20 who feels himself superior, equal, or inferior to me, I am dependent upon those in all these *bhāvas*.

12. The slaying of these *asuras* or demonic figures, such as Kṛṣṇa's killing of Kāṁsa and Putana, is a primary function of many of the *avatāras* who strive to reestablish dharmic order on earth.

14. I.e., as a *bhakta* (Caitanya), to taste the delight which the worshiper receives from Kṛṣṇa because of his worship, as Rādhā (Caitanya) and as Kṛṣṇa (Caitanya), to taste the delight of love, and to preach the way of pure love (*rāga-mārga*).

16. *Aiśvarya*: majesty. [The distinction between the *svayaṁ bhagavān*'s two alternate and complementary natures of *aiśvarya* (majesty) and *mādhurya* (sweetness) is of great concern to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava theologians generally and Kṛṣṇadāsa specifically, who discusses its ramifications in the following verses. The distinction is the differentiating factor between the two fundamental styles of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava worship: respectively, *vaidhī-bhakti*, a somewhat mechanical and often elementary form of devotional practice (*sādhana*), based on Vedic injunction, and *rāganuga-bhakti* (here the *rāga-mārga*), a spontaneous and passionate love for Kṛṣṇa the paramour of Vraja, a practice which eventually evolved into a sophisticated and esoteric yogic style *sādhana*. The latter is of course the preferred form of Kṛṣṇadāsa. TKS]

17. I.e., "if one considers me as the high god, there can be no love, but only awe and reverence; this is not satisfying, for only if the worshiper considers himself worthy is a love relationship possible."

Sloka 2. The Vaiṣṇava interpretation of this is that people are of different natures, and therefore worship differently; what must however be common to all worshipers is love, be it friend for friend, parent for child, or lover for lover. The other interpretation possible, of course, also not offensive to the Vaiṣṇavas, is that the *jñāna-mārgin* is rewarded with gaining of *brahma*, the *yogin* with *paramātmā*, etc. See 1.4.128; 2.8.121.

Sloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.82.44:

*Bhakti* alone to me leads to immortality for all beings. It is most fortunate that love toward me has been born in you, gaining my self.

21 Those who bind themselves to me as mothers, as if I were their son, and in knowledge of my dependency bring me up with care and protect me, 22 or as friends in pure friendship raise me up onto their shoulders and say, 'You are no great one. You are the same as I,' 23 or as lovers, though they reproach and blame me, steal my mind away from those who sing the praise of the Vedas; 24 it is for the sake of these pure *bhaktas* that I have descended, and it is for their sake that I shall perform all kinds of wonderful activities. 25 Those kinds of *līlā* which are not known even in *Vaiṣṇava* I shall perform, and in these will be my wonder. 26 In relation to myself, I shall be in the *bhāva* of the lover of the *gopīs*, and *yoga-māyā* will cause this by her own power. 27 But I will not know that it is [only] *yoga-māyā*, nor will the *gopīs* know; the forms and qualities of each of us will steal eternally the minds of the others. 28 Abandoning *dharma*, each will unite with the other

Sloka 3. See 2.8.120; 2.13.18.

23. Or "from following vedic custom." *Vedastuti*: Singing the praise of the Vedas. This would appear to refer to those who follow the *vaidhī-bhakti* (see commentary v. 16) in praise of Kṛṣṇa in his *aiśvarya* dimension; or perhaps to those who follow the Vedic customs, i.e., accepted social propriety. This latter position, although it requires an interpretation a bit unusual for the structure of the Bengali, implies that Kṛṣṇa steals the minds and hearts of the *gopīs* away from accepted behavior, the reason of course being that while one is acting from prescription and proscription, there is no room for profound love to exist. Therefore custom must be broken.

24. There is a real question here; Jīva Gosvāmin (*Kṛṣṇa-sādarbha*, 174-180) clearly says that the *bhaktas* who were involved in the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa in its non-manifest form in the eternal *Vṛndāvana* also accompany Kṛṣṇa on earth, in his manifest *līlā*. What then is the purpose of the *avatāra*? Kṛṣṇa and his retinue are already experiencing, in eternal form, all that could be experienced in the love-relationship. The answer, though weak, is in the next verse: to have various kinds of wonderful *līlā*, presumably not possible in the unmanifest form. Because there is no satisfactory solution, the question has been the keystone of a great deal of controversy, including the vexed *svakṛtya-parakṛtya* argument (see PHM, 210-221).

26. *Upapatti*: "lover," a man who is an illicit lover of a woman (see Rūpa's UNM [*nāyaka-bheda-prakarana*] 1.17. The woman can be either married or unmarried, though of course the illicit quality of the union is greater if she has a husband. The couplet seems to imply that the *gopīs* will consider Kṛṣṇa as *upapatti*, but that this will be his power of *māyā*; this would indeed be different from the situation in the heavenly *Vṛndāvana*, where, according to the orthodox interpretation at least, the *gopīs* are considered extensions of Kṛṣṇa himself, his *dharma*, and therefore by definition his own (*svakṛtya*).

27. I.e., if they were aware that it was the *māyā*-power of Kṛṣṇa which was causing the situation, the experience itself would be valueless. It is possible, in this unique theology, to consider that Kṛṣṇa does not know what his *māyā* is doing, for *māyā-śakti* is extraneous to the *svatāpa*.

28. *Dharma* of course refers to what is proper for the *gopīs* as women, as married women, as



in a passion of love; we shall be always in union, but never in union: this is the miracle of divinity. 29 I shall taste the essence of all *rasa*, and through this I shall confer my grace upon all my *bhaktas*. 30 And learning of the stainless *rāga* of Vraja, all *bhaktas* will worship in the *rāga-mārga*, abandoning *dharma* and *karma*."

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.33.36:

In his mercy to his *bhaktas*, he has assumed a human body; and when they hear of such *līlās*, they should become devoted to him.

31 The verb "*bhavet*" is an optative of injunction, and has this meaning: that this is certainly a duty, and that doing otherwise would be contrary to regulation.

32 This desire, then, is the cause of the manifestation of Kṛṣṇa; the accompanying cause is the defeat of the *asuras*. 33 And in this way is Caitanya Kṛṣṇa the *pārṇa bhagavān*—the establishment of the *yuga-dharma* is not his task. 34 [Kṛṣṇa] had *avatāra* first in his mind; the time appropriate for the establishment of the *yuga-dharma* was coincidental with this. 35 There were two reasons why he descended with his *bhaktas*—to taste *prema* within himself, and [to promulgate] *nāma-saṁkīrtana*. 36 He carried the *saṁkīrtana* even to the *caṇḍālas*, and in this way wove and threaded a garland of *nāma* and *prema* to be worn throughout the world. 37 "For this reason I myself take on a *bhakta-bhāva*, and preach and practice *bhakti*."

38 *Dāsyā*, *sakhya*, *vātsalya*, and *śṛṅgāra*—there are four *bhāvas*, receptacles of the four types of *bhaktas*, 39 and each [*bhakta*] considers that his own *bhāva* is the best of all; in his own *bhāva* he tastes the happiness of Kṛṣṇa. 40 But when, being impartial, one judges the *bhāvas*, he finds that in *śṛṅgāra* lies the greatest sweetness of all *rasas*.

daughters, etc. They give up everything in order to unite with Kṛṣṇa. The second part of the verse can have two interpretations: (a) that the *gopīs* in the unmanifest *līlā* are *svakṛtā*, belonging to Kṛṣṇa, so that there can never be union in the *parakṛtā-bhāva*; or more likely, (b) that since each moment of the eternal *līlā* is also eternal, both union and separation, both moments of the *līlā* as it is described, are also eternal.

31. If a verb indicates necessity or prescription, then the optative suffix is used; "*bhavet*," Kṛṣṇadāsa says, means "has to be done," "have to become devoted."

36. *Caṇḍāla*: a low caste or outcaste people. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says in his commentary that *saṁkīrtana* was spread up to (but not including, presumably) the *caṇḍālas*; but the text is clear.

37. The speaker is Kṛṣṇa.

38. *Ādhāra*: receptacle, container.

39. The term "taste" (*āsvādāna*) will be recurring throughout the text. It actually does mean "taste" or "savor." *Rasa*, the highest religious and esthetic experience, also means "juice."

40. *Taṭasthā haiya*: "being impartial," "being off to one side."

Śloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*daṁṣṭra-vibhāga, sthāyibhāva-laharī*] 2.5.38:

Gradually there appears as a residue a certain sweet love for something which consists in the expansion of a special *rasa*.

41 Thus I call its name *madhura-rasa*; of this *rasa* there are two kinds, the *svakṛtā* and *parakṛtā bhāvas*.

42 The greatest joy of *rasa* is that of the *parakṛtā-bhāva*, but there can be no occurrence of this anywhere except in Vraja. 43 This *bhāva* of the women of Vraja is boundless, and among these women the epitome of this *bhāva* is in Śrī Rādhā. 44 This mature, stainless *bhāva* is the best of all *prema*, and the source of tasting the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa. 45 [For this reason] Śrī Hari as Gaurāṅga has taken that *bhāva* unto himself, that in it he might fulfill his own desires.

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā, caitanyaṣṭaka* 1.2:

The inaccessible fortress of the sovereign gods, the single great focus of the Upaniṣads, the ultimate sweetness of the crowds prostrated at his feet, and treasure of all the *munis*, the fulfillment of the love of all the lotus-eyed *gopīs*—he is Caitanya. Will he come again across the path of my eyes?

Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā, caitanyaṣṭaka* 2.3:

May God in the form of Caitanya lavish his mercy on us, he who, curious to enjoy a certain shoreless sweetness of some group of loving men, after having praised the *rasa*, concealed his own luster while manifesting the other's splendor.

46 To take upon himself that *bhāva* and to establish that *dharma*, is the basic cause, as I have described by the preceding śloka.

47 Now hear the description of the assumption of that *bhāva*. Regarding it I shall explain the fifth śloka. 48 I have properly introduced the fifth śloka; now I shall tell the meaning of the verse.

Śloka 5. See 2.8.119.

41. See commentary above on vv. 24, 26, 28.

42. Vraja here means the manifest Vraja; in the eternal Vraja, the relationship is *svakṛtā*, as the *gopīs* are intrinsic to Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 6. Upaniṣad seems here to refer to the Vaiṣṇava śāstras.

Śloka 7. "In the form of Caitanya"—the form of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa united in Caitanya, who is Rādhā externally, with the full divinity of Kṛṣṇa. See 1.4.147.



Sloka 8. Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaṇḍāḥ*:

Radhā is the manifested form of pure love for Kṛṣṇa; she is his *hlādinī-śakti*. Because of this they had previously assumed different bodies on earth, although really one, but now they have become manifest under the name of Caitanya in order to attain to non-duality and oneness: I praise the true form of Kṛṣṇa enveloped in the radiance of the *bhāva* of Radhā.

49 Thus, Radhā and Kṛṣṇa were one soul, but contained in two bodies; in their play with one another, they taste *rasa*. 50 These two become one—Caitanya Gosvāmī. In order to taste *rasa* [more fully], the two became one. 51 I have described all this before; from it, the greatness of Gaura is known.

52 Radhā is the highest development of love for Kṛṣṇa; she is his *svārūpa-śakti*, called *hlādinī*. 53 *Hlādinī* causes Kṛṣṇa to taste bliss. By *hlādinī* he nourishes his *bhaktas*. 54 The *svārūpa* of Kṛṣṇa is made of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*; his one *cit-śakti* also has three forms: 55 the *ānanda*-part is *hlādinī*, the *sat*-part is *sandhinī*, and the *cit*-part is *saṁvit*, which is known as *jñāna*.

Sloka 9. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 1.12.69:

*Hlādinī*, *sandhinī*, and *saṁvit* all exist as one in you, who are the foundation of all; but gladness or pain do not exist mixed in you, for you are devoid of all material qualities.

Sloka 8. This *śloka* is the same as 1.1.5. [The attribution to Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaṇḍāḥ* is open to question for several reasons: first, the text appears no longer to exist; second, the attributions of *ślokas* in the MSS of the CC routinely indicate the author and/or title of the work, but in this case, none of the MSS examined included such an attribution. Compare this with 1.4.5.44 and commentary and especially with the commentary on 1.7.5.2. (See Introduction, Sect. VI.1.) TKS]

49-50. *Ātmā*: soul, self; technically the *ātman* is not "soul" in the Western sense of that word, because it is uncreated as part of the universal *brahma*, and here is Kṛṣṇa himself. The translation is literal: *rādhakṛṣṇa eka ātmā dui deha dhari / anyonye vilāse rasa āśvādāna kari // sei dui eka eve caitanya gosānī / rasa āśvādite dōhe haila eka ṭhāi //*

53. I.e., *hlādinī-śakti* works both ways: it is the power by which Kṛṣṇa experiences *ānanda*, and it is the power by which Kṛṣṇa causes the *bhaktas* to experience *ānanda*. For when by worship the *bhakta* causes Kṛṣṇa pleasure, he receives pleasure in return, thereby causing Kṛṣṇa to receive more pleasure, etc.

Sloka 9. The problem posed by the *śloka* is in the phrase *tvayokā sarvasvasamsthita*: all exist as one in you. The three *svārūpa-śaktis* exist only in *bhagavān*, and, according to Śrīdhara Svāmī, do not exist in *jīvas*; but there are in the material *jīva* three *śaktis*, *sattvikī*, *tāmasikī*, and *rājasikī*, activating the three *guṇas*. It is clear that the *māyika* joy which the *jīva* gets in the material world is a product of *māyika śakti*, and not of the *hlādinī-śakti* of the *bhagavān*, and so forth. The problem is: if the *sattvikī* and other *śaktis* are not in *bhagavān*, how can they be declared to "exist" (*saṁsthita*) in *bhagavān*? The answer is that although he does reside in the *sattvikī* and the other *śaktis*, they are not, like *hlādinī* and the others, his *svārūpa-śaktis*, they, like *māyā*, are external to him.

56 An *aṁśa* of the essence of *sandhinī* is called pure *sattva*, and the reality of *Bhagavān* has his refuge in this; 57 and his place, bed, home, father and mother—all these are aspects of pure *sattva*.

Sloka 10. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 4.3.23:

In as much as pure *sattva* is called Vasudeva, the person revealed in this *sattva* is *Bhagavān* Vasudeva. I obey *Adhokṣaja* in my thoughts.

58 Knowledge of the godhead of Kṛṣṇa is the essence of *saṁvit*; knowledge of *brahma*, etc., all are dependent upon it. 59 The essence of *hlādinī* is *prema*; the essence of *prema* is *bhāva*; the highest state of *bhāva* is called *mahābhāva*. 60 The true form of *mahābhāva* is Radhā *Ṭhakuraṇī*, the treasure-house of all qualities, the crest-jewel among all the lovers of Kṛṣṇa.

Radhāgovinda Nātha goes on: the pure (*śuddha*) *jīva* is a particle of the *cit* of *bhagavān*, while *bhagavān* himself is all-pervading *cit*. *Jīva*, in his *Paramātmā-sandarbhā* 31, has written that the *jīva* is a part of Kṛṣṇa, through his *jīva-śakti*, but not a part of the pure (*śuddha*) Kṛṣṇa, joined to the *svārūpa-śakti*; *jīva-śakti* is *taṭasthā*, neither internal nor external. See 2.6.5.11; 2.8.5.37.

56. Thus, "pure" *sattva* is not the *sattva* of the material quality (*guṇa*), but is a function of the *svārūpa-śakti*, entirely apart from both *māyā* and *jīva*. Radhāgovinda Nātha says: the name of the ultimate development of the essence-part of *sandhinī* is *śuddha-sattva*. But in the commentary on v. 55, it was shown by an example from the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā* that *hlādinī*, *sandhinī*, and *saṁvit* are called *śuddha-sattva*; when manifestation of *sandhinī-śakti* in this *śuddha-sattva* is primary, then it is called *adhāra-śakti*, and from *adhāra-śakti* the *dhāma* of *bhagavān* and the rest are manifested, and in that *dhāma*, *Bhagavān* has his refuge or is established. So the proper interpretation of this verse is: that *śuddha-sattva* in which the being of *Bhagavān* has his refuge is the *aṁśa*-essence of *sandhinī*; or, in that *śuddha-sattva* is the manifestation of *sandhinī-śakti* primary.

57. Mother, father, and the rest are all developments of the *adhāra-śakti* of *Bhagavān*; they are receptacles (*adhāra*) of him.

Sloka 10. Radhāgovinda Nātha interprets the *śloka* as meaning: *vasu*: "in which is manifested"; *deva*: "full of light"; *vasudeva*: a dwelling-place full of light, for, as has been said, *śuddha-sattva* is beyond *māyā*, beyond the material, and thus not differentiable by the senses.

58. If one is able to know Kṛṣṇa as *svayam bhagavān*, knowledge of *brahma* and *paramātmā* follow naturally upon it.

59. Based on *Jīva Gosvāmī*'s *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbhā* 188. Radhāgovinda Nātha comments on *prema* in this way: it is desire for the satisfaction of the senses of Kṛṣṇa, but it is a matter of the mind, the *śuddha-sattva*, and thus not a desire of any material sort. . . . When, by the grace of the *bhagavat*, because of the power or influence of worship, all the uncleanness of the mind is driven away, then *śuddha-sattva* appears in the mind, the *hlādinī-śakti* emitted by Kṛṣṇa finds a place in the mind of the *bhakta*, and *śuddha-sattva dharma* results. It is as when iron is heated in the fire, and when sufficiently heated takes on some of the qualities of fire and functions as fire.

"Essence," *sāra*, is explained as "highest development"; and as will be seen, as *prema* toward Kṛṣṇa deepens, it passes through successive stages called *sneha*, *māna*, *pranaya*, *rāga*, *anurāga*, culminating in *bhāva*. As Kṛṣṇadāsa himself will point out (2.23.34-35), *bhāva* and *mahābhāva* are possible only in *madhura* or *śṛṅgāra*, rarely in *sakhyā*, and never in *dāsyā* or *vātsalyā*.



Sloka 11. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalantlamanī* [ītrādha-prakarāṇa] 4.3:

Between the two of them, Rādhā is superior in every way; her nature is *mahābhāva*, and she surpasses all in qualities.

61 Her mind, her senses, her body, all are made up of Kṛṣṇa-prema; she is the *svarūpa-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, and the companion of his pleasure.

Sloka 12. *Brahma Saṁhitā* 5.47:

I bow to Govinda the *ādi-puruṣa*, who, as the soul of all dwells in Goloka in his own true form, with those parts, inspired by *rasa* consisting of bliss and consciousness.

62 Hear the description of how [his consorts] cause Kṛṣṇa to taste *rasa*, and how they assist him in this sport. 63 We see that the consorts of Kṛṣṇa are of three kinds; one [kind] is the *lakṣmīs*, the second like the *mahiṣīs* in Pura, 64 and [the third], the epitome of all these consorts, the beautiful women of Vraja. 65 And all these consorts emanate from Rādhikā. 66 Just as the *avatāras* emanate from Kṛṣṇa, the source of all *avatāras*, so too from Rādhā are her constituent parts manifest as companions. 67 The *lakṣmīs* are partial manifestations of her glory; the *mahiṣīs* are the manifestations of the true form of her glory. 68 The Vrajadevīs are of various natures and forms; they are her *kāyavyūha* forms and causes of her *rasa*.

Sloka 11. The two of them: Rādhā and Candrāvalī, another of the *gopīs*. See 2.8.śl.38.

61. Made up of: the interpretation of the couplet depends upon the term "*bhāvitā*," which can mean: (a) "her mind etc., are born from or made up of Kṛṣṇa-prema"; or (b) "are transformed by," as water is transformed, or altered, by the addition of camphor. The example Rādhāgovinda Nātha uses is that of iron in fire: the iron takes on certain of the characteristics of fire, and in those characteristics shows no differences from fire; so the body, mind, and senses can be transformed by *prema*. The former interpretation would however seem to fit the context better. "Pleasure" is *kṛtā*, "games." As the *hlādinī-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, she can do no other.

Sloka 12. See 2.8.śl.39.

63. Pura: Dvāraka and Mathurā. The queens (*mahiṣī*) of Kṛṣṇa in Dvāraka are Rukminī and the others.

64-65. There is some confusion at this point in the Rādhāgovinda Nātha text. V. 64 and v. 65 are both given as singlets; the MSS do not mark them so, rather reading the two together as a single *payāra*.

65. See *Nārada-pañcarātra* 2.3.55, in which she is identified in this way.

66. "Companions," i.e., all the consorts of Kṛṣṇa noted above. See *Padma Purāṇa* 46.13-17. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that in some MSS there is an extra couplet following this one, to the effect that: "The *lakṣmīs* are the partial glory of her, and the *mahiṣīs* like reflections of the moon to her." The couplet is redundant, and does not appear in the oldest MSS, such as *Jhāmāpura*.

68. See commentary on 1.1.42. The *gopīs*, though they differ in face, figure, and temperament, are all aspects or manifestations of Rādhā; and as they give pleasure to Kṛṣṇa in *līlā*, so they receive

69 Without many consorts there is no enjoyment of *rasa*; therefore there are many manifestations of *līlā*-companions. 70 There are, in Vraja, many different kinds [of women], with many different kinds of *bhāva* and *rasa*, and they cause Kṛṣṇa to taste [*rasa*] in the *rasa* and other *līlās*. 71 Rādhā is the causer of the bliss of Govinda, the enchanter of Govinda. She is the be-all and end-all of Govinda; she is the crest-jewel of all the consorts.

Sloka 13. *Bṛhadgautamīya Tantra*:

Rādhā is said to be *devī*, *kṛṣṇamayī*, *paradevatā*, *sarvalakṣmīmayī*, *sarvakāntī*, and the highest *sanmohinī*.

72 "Devī" means 'she who is most brilliant,' 'she of the highest beauty,' or 'the *nagari*, the dwelling-place of the play and worship of Kṛṣṇa.' 73 'Kṛṣṇamayī' is 'she whom Kṛṣṇa is both within and without'; wherever her eyes fall, there she sees Kṛṣṇa. 74 She is the true form of Kṛṣṇa, full of *prema-rasa*; as his *śakti*, she is one form with him. 75 In her worship she fulfills the desires of Kṛṣṇa; thus her name is called "Rādhikā," in the [*Bhāgavata*] *Purāṇa*.

it. And as they receive it, Rādhā receives it. There is an additional, more subtle suggestion: that *prema* is essentially unselfish, so Rādhā's pleasure grows as the pleasure of the other *gopīs* grows, because they are giving pleasure to Kṛṣṇa.

69. I.e., the *līlā* must include all possible ranges of temperament, beauty, etc., in order for *rasa* to be experienced to the full.

Sloka 13. The glosses are provided in the text of vv. 72-87. See 2.23.śl.23.

72. Kṛṣṇadāsa is using for his etymology the root "*div*," "sky, light, brilliance." The interpretation of the second part of the couplet depends on *nagari*, which is literally "a woman who dwells in a city," she herself being the dwelling-place for *kṛtā* and *pūjā*. *Nagari*, in the context of esthetics and of the *kāma-śāstra*, is also a woman who is learned, skilled, and clever, and able to understand the essence of things, especially pleasure; she is in this way also the proper abode for Kṛṣṇa, who is himself the *nagara*.

73. The feminine suffix "*-mayī*," means both "full of" or "made of" and "surrounded by." The line has many levels of meaning. The most obvious of course is that Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are in both eternal union and eternal separation. The second is that although she is *svakṛtā*, in the eternal *līlā*, the *māyā*-power of Kṛṣṇa prevents her from knowing that, in the earthly *līlā*. The third is that as she is part of the *dhāma* of Kṛṣṇa, his *svarūpa-śakti* in fact, he is within her as she is within him; but as *śakti* is an aspect of the *svarūpa*, not the full *svarūpa*, she is not identical with him.

74. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that *śakti* and the possessor of *śakti* must be identical in form; Śrī Kṛṣṇa is *prema-rasa-maya*, "replete with *prema-rasa*," and Rādhā is "made up of Kṛṣṇa-prema," and there is no division between these. See also comment on v. 83.

75. The word in the *Bhāgavata* is "*aradhita*," "worshiped or desired," and it is later speculation which makes this *gopī*, who is unnamed otherwise, into Rādhā. The *śloka* in question follows.



Śloka 14. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.30.28:

Surely the Bhagavān Hari was worshiped (*arādhitā*) by her so that he abandoned us and happily led her away in secret.

76 Thus she is to be worshiped by all as the highest goddess. She is the preserver of all things and the mother of the world.

77 I have explained the term "*sarva-lakṣmī*" previously. She is the abode of all the *lakṣmīs*. 78 Or "*sarva-lakṣmī*" can also be the six divine attributes of Kṛṣṇa. [Rādhā] is the *śakti* which is the abode of those, the best of all the *śaktis*. 79 In her reside all beauty and all splendor; the charm of all the *lakṣmīs* emanates from her.

80 And in the word "*kānti*" is all the desire of Kṛṣṇa; all the desires of Kṛṣṇa rest in Rādhā. 81 And Rādhā fulfills all the desires of Kṛṣṇa; this is the meaning of "*sarva-kānti*."

82 Kṛṣṇa is the enchanter of the world—she the enchantress of him; thus she is the highest *śhākuraṇī* of all things. 83 Rādhā is the full *śakti*, Kṛṣṇa is the full container of *śakti*; they are two principles, but they are not divided. To this the *śāstras* are witness. 84 As musk and its scent are not divided, as fire and flame are not divided, 85 so Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are always one in true form. It is for the purpose of tasting *līla-rasa* that they hold two forms. 86 It was to teach *prema-bhakti* that he assumed an *avatāra*, assuming both the beauty and the *bhāva* of Rādhā, 87 and he made *avatāra* in the form of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. This is the meaning of the fifth *śloka*.

88 Before explaining the meaning of the sixth, I shall first sketch the argument. 89 Prabhu, descended, preached *saṅkīrtana*. This was the external cause [of the incarnation], which I have mentioned before. 90 But there is an internal cause of

Śloka 14. See 2.8.125.

77. See 1.1.40 and commentary and 1.4.62-67.

78. Jīva Gosvāmīn, *Prīti-sandarbhā* 120, calls Rādhā "the physical form (*mūrti-vigraha*) of Kṛṣṇa, and the abode of all qualities and all greatness."

80. Rādhāgovinda Nātha bases his etymology on the root "*kām*," "desire."

83. Rādhā is described as *pārṇa-śakti* by Baladeva in his commentary *Govinda-bhāṣya* on *Vedānta Sūtra* 2.3.45, and in his *Siddhāntaratna* 2.22. As Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out in his commentary on the verse, the *śāstras* say both things: that *śakti* is the same as and not the same as *śaktimān*. "Principle" is *vastu*, the essential building block of reality.

84. In this case, scent would be considered the *śakti*, the musk the *śaktimān*; or the flame the *śakti*, the fire *śaktimān*; or sweetness the *śakti*, and sugar the *śaktimān*. The statement is a typical statement of the principle of *bhedābheda*—simultaneous immanence and transcendence or unity and separation. Kṛṣṇa is both the taster and that which is to be tasted, both experiencing *rasa* and causing his *bhaktas* to experience the taste of *rasa*; if he is not both these things, the experience of *rasa* would not be complete.

90. *Mukhyabījā*: internal cause, lit., "primary seed." I.e., the other cause was not for the sake

his *avatāra*—his own duty as *rasika-śekhara* Kṛṣṇa. 91 This is a most secret, three-fold cause, which Svarūpa Dāmodara has explained. 92 Svarūpa Gosvāmī was a very intimate friend of Prabhu; he knows all the discourse of Prabhu about these matters. 93 He says that inwardly, Prabhu was the image of the *bhāva* of Rādhā, and being in that *bhāva*, pleasure and pain welled constantly [in his heart]. 94 In his final *līla*, he was mad with the pain of separation from Kṛṣṇa. His [last] days were full of delusions, and he raved like a madman. 95 Prabhu remained day and night in that same *bhāva* of madness that Rādhā felt at the sight of Uddhava. 96 He would rave, in the night, hanging on the neck of Svarūpa; in fits of passion he would openly declare his own *bhāva*. 97 And when any *bhāva* rose up in the heart of Prabhu, Dāmodara would soothe him with *ślokas* and songs of the same *bhāva*. 98 But there is no necessity to describe all these things now. I shall describe them in detail later.

99 Formerly, in Vraja, there were three kinds of *dharma*s of Kṛṣṇa, corresponding to his three ages: *kaumāra* [childhood], *paugāṇḍa* [boyhood], and *kaiśara* [youth], which is of the most profound significance. 100 His childhood was made fruitful by the affection of his parents; his boyhood was made fruitful by the friendship of his companions. 101 And with Rādhā and the others he enjoyed the *rāsa* and other *līlas*; by these he fulfilled his desire and tasted the sweet juice of *rāsa*. 102 He made fruitful his youth, desire, and indeed, the whole world, in these *līlas* of *rāsa* and the rest.

Śloka 15. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 5.13.59:

So Madhusūdhana, making fruitful the years of his youth, took his pleasure in the nights among his jewels of consorts, having dispelled all evil [from the world].

Śloka 16. Rūpa Gosvāmīn's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*daṣṭṭā-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī*] 2.1.231:

With words that suggested her boldness in the art of love the previous night, Hari made Rādhā lower her eyes in shame before her friends; and,

of the world, but for the sake of himself: Kṛṣṇa the crown of *rasikas* come to taste his own *rāsa* as Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

91. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that the "three fold cause" is: the greatness of the love of Rādhā, the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa himself, and to taste the sweetness which gave Rādhā pleasure. See Introduction, Sect. VI.2.

98. The whole *antya līla* of this text is in fact devoted to such descriptions.

99. I.e., it was in his youth when he had his love-relationships with Rādhā and the *gopīs*.

Śloka 16. See 2.8.142.



with great skill painted on her breast a playful crocodile. Thus he made fertile his youth while sporting in the *kuṇja*-grove.

Sloka 17. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamādhava* 7.5:

O sweet-eyed companion! If Hari and Rādhā had not been incarnated in Mathurā, the [whole] Creation would be meaningless—and especially Kāndarpa in it.

103 In this way, in a former age, Kṛṣṇa was the dwelling-place of *rasa*, and he tasted also the sweet juice of *rasa*. 104 But though he tried to taste them, there were three things which he desired which were not fulfilled. 105 The first of these three desires I have explained. Kṛṣṇa said, "I am the receptacle of *rasa*, 106 I am the fundamental Truth, filled with full *cit* and full *ananda*; but because of the *prema* of Rādhā I become as mad. 107 I do not know how much power there is in the *prema* of Rādhā, but by that power I am continually overwhelmed. 108 The *prema* of Rādhā is my *guru*, and I am her dancing pupil; she makes me dance in many strange and wonderful ways.

Sloka 18. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 8.77:

—O my beloved friend Vṛndā, whence do you come?

—From the feet of Kṛṣṇa.

—Where is he?

—In the *kuṇḍa* forest.

—What is he doing?

—He is learning dancing.

—Who is his *guru*?

—Your image, throbbing in all the directions and intermediate directions in every tree and creeper, roams everywhere like a dancer, making him dance behind it.

109 The taste of the *prema* of Rādhā is a crore of times greater than the enjoyment of the taste of my own *prema*. 110 As I myself am the container of mutually op-

106. *Pārṇa-tattva*: fundamental Truth or ultimate principle; *unmatta*: mad.

108. The frequent image is of the puppet-master and the puppet.

109. I.e., the *prema* felt by Kṛṣṇa as Rādhā is greater than that felt by Kṛṣṇa as Kṛṣṇa, contained entirely within himself.

110. Rādhagovinda Natha explains this as Kṛṣṇa's being at the same time atomic and all-pervading; possibly also there is suggested the presence in all *jīvas* and all-pervasiveness or total transcendence. The second half of the couplet is more difficult. Again, Rādhagovinda Natha sug-

posed *dharma*s, so the *prema* of Rādhā is also always full of antagonistic *dharma*s. 111 The *prema* of Rādhā is all-pervasive and eternal; though there is no room for growth, still it grows greater with every moment. 112 Surely there is no more profound matter than this *prema*. It is the *dharma* of profundity, devoid of pride. 113 It is most pure and stainless, it is second to nothing. Still, its ways are devious and always [move] toward the left hand.

Sloka 19. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Danakelikaumudī* 2.1:

Though it is omnipresent, still it is perpetually increasing; though it is the most profound of all things, it avoids ponderousness. Though its guile is ever increasing, yet pure, the passion of Rādhā for Kṛṣṇa conquers all else.

114 Rādhā is the highest abode of that *prema*; I am only its object. 115 I taste that joy which is of the type which an object of love tastes, but the joy of her who contains that [love] is a crore of times greater than mine. 116 My heart longs to gain that joy which the container of love gains. But [though I try] eagerly, I cannot taste it. Indeed, how could I? 117 If I could be the container of this *prema*, I could experience the bliss of that *prema*.

118 Thinking thus Kṛṣṇa remained full of eager desire; the desire for the taste of *prema* spread blazing in his heart. 119 This then is the first. Hear now the nature of another desire. Seeing his own sweetness, Kṛṣṇa pondered in this way:

120 "My sweetness is most full, most wonderful, and infinite. In the three worlds, no one can reach its limit. 121 Only Rādhā, by her *prema*, eternally tastes this nectar of my sweetness. 122 The purity of the true *prema* of Rādhā is like a mirror; its brilliance and clarity grow greater moment by moment. 123 Though there is no room in which my sweetness can grow, still it appears in ever-new forms before that mirror. 124 My sweetness and the *prema* of Rādhā vie with one another. Both increase with every moment, and neither overcomes the other. 125 My sweetness is eternally renewed, and each *bhakta* tastes it according to his own *prema*.

gests that it means that Kṛṣṇa is intoxicated by the *prema* of Rādhā, even though he is the ultimate principle or fundamental Truth, *purṇa-tattva*.

112. "Matter" is to be taken literally; *vastu*. In material considerations, excellence is usually accompanied by pride of excellence.

113. I.e., Rādhā is a *vāma-nāyikā*; Rūpa's UNM [*sakhi-prakaraṇa*] 8.32, defines *vāma-nāyikā* as a woman in a condition of *māna*, demonstrating irritation with her lover because of some real or imagined offence, in order to bring him under control.

120. [The sweetness (*madhura*) is in contrast to Kṛṣṇa's other primary divine characteristic majesty or sovereignty (*aiśvarya*). TKS]



126 When I see my sweetness reflected in the mirror, I have a desire to taste it. But I cannot taste it. 127 And when I muse on a possible means of tasting it, my mind runs to [the thought] of identity with Rādhā."

*Sloka 20. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 8.34:*

What is this unprecedented, astonishing, ultimate sweetness of mine which throbs so profoundly? When I see this, I am attracted and with greedy mind seek to enjoy it impetuously like Rādhikā.

128 There is one natural power in the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa. Emanating from Kṛṣṇa, it makes men and women restless and uneasy. 129 Seeing him, hearing him, all hearts are drawn to him; and Kṛṣṇa longs to taste himself. 130 But the thirst of him who drinks of this nectar of sweetness is not eased; rather, it increases eternally. 131 And then, being unsatisfied, one blames the Creator—"The Creator is unskilled; he does not know well the art of creation. 132 He has given only two, and not a crore, of eyes to each man. And through the blinking of these eyes, what chance have I to see my Kṛṣṇa?"

*Sloka 21. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.31.15:*

When you wander in the forest in the daytime, to those who gain no sight of you a half a moment is an age. And those who do see, with faces turned upward, your charming curly locks of hair [must say], 'He who has made lashes upon our eyes is surely most unskilled.'

*Sloka 22. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.28.39:*

When the *gopīs*, on seeing their beloved Kṛṣṇa, after a while had cursed the creator of the lashes on their eyes that interfered with their looking, they took him to their hearts via their eyes, embraced him at length, and they all attained to a love for him such as is hard to obtain by those who are eternally united.

133 The eyes bear no other fruit than that of looking at Kṛṣṇa. He who gazes upon Kṛṣṇa is indeed blessed.

*Sloka 23. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.21.7:*

O my *sakhis*! When the two sons of Vrajendra return home with their

*Sloka 20. See 2.8.1.35; 2.20.1.28.*

*Sloka 21. See 2.21.1.21.*

boy-companions, driving their cattle before them, ceaselessly playing their flutes, these beloved drink their faces, casting side glances; this is the fruit of those who have eyes, and we know no greater fruit.

*Sloka 24. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.44.14:*

What great austerities have the *gopīs* performed, that they ceaselessly drink the full form of the beauty of Kṛṣṇa with their eyes? There is no beauty greater than his; it is complete and renews itself at every moment; it is the only refuge of majesty, of beauty, of fame; it is most hard to attain.

134 Therefore, unprecedented is the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa, unprecedented is his power; at the very hearing of it, the heart becomes disturbed. 135 The sweetness of Kṛṣṇa generates desire in Kṛṣṇa. He is not able to taste [that sweetness] thoroughly, and so his mind remains anxious. 136 This then is the description of the second cause. Hear now the signs of the third.

137 The perfection of this *rasa* is most profound. Only Svarūpa Gosvāmī knows it completely, 138 and if anyone else knows of it, they know of it from him. In it is the most secret meaning of Caitanya Gosvāmī. 139 The name of the *prema* of the *gopīs* is *adhirāḍha-bhāva*. It is pure and stainless *prema*, and there is no [element of] *kāma* in it.

*Sloka 25. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.285-86 [quoting an unnamed tantra]:*

It has been customary to call the erotic love of the *gopīs* pure *prema*; Uddhava and the rest of the *bhaktas* long for this *prema*.

*Sloka 24. See 2.21.1.19.*

137-38. I.e., Svarūpa Dāmodara preached this interpretation of the Caitanya-*līlā*. Raghunātha Dāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa's *guru*, knew Svarūpa well, presumably learned the following esoteric interpretation from him, and in turn passed it on to Kṛṣṇadāsa. [For the relationship of Svarūpa to Raghunātha, and the transmission of teachings to Kṛṣṇadāsa, see 2.2.73; 3.6.200-202; and 3.14.6-9. TKS]

139. "Ascendant" *bhāva*. When the ultimate limit of *anurāga* is reached, the condition is one called *bhāva* or *mahābhāva* (ante, v. 59); there are two conditions of *mahābhāva*, called *rāḍha* and *adhirāḍha*. Rūpa's UNM [*sthāyibhāva-prakarṇa*] 14.159, describes *rāḍha* as an inflamed or glowing condition of *mahābhāva*, when time is greatly exaggerated and an instant of longing seems an eternity, and an eternity of fulfillment seems an instant. *Adhirāḍha* is an exaggeration even of this. *Kāma* is here for the first time opposed to *prema*, *kāma* being desire for the satisfaction of one's own self, *prema* being desire for the satisfaction of Kṛṣṇa.

*Sloka 25. See 2.8.1.46.*



140 The signs of *kāma* and *prema* are different, as iron and gold are different in their true natures. 141 Desire, love for the satisfaction of one's own senses—this is called *kāma*. But the desire for the satisfaction of the senses of Kṛṣṇa—this has the name *prema*. 142 The object of *kāma* is solely self-enjoyment; but having as its object the happiness of Kṛṣṇa, *prema* is most powerful. 143 *Loka-dharma*, Vedic dharma, the dharma of the body, the path of *karma*, modesty, composure, bodily comfort, the inner peace of soul, 144 the path of propriety not abandoned easily, their own families—abandoning all these and taking to themselves much punishment and rebuke 145 [the *gopīs*] worshiped Kṛṣṇa. They served him in *prema* for the sake of his happiness. 146 This is profound *anurāga* toward Kṛṣṇa; it is as a sparkling clean white cloth, on which there is no stain. 147 Thus *kāma* and *prema* are most distinct. *Kāma* is as profound darkness; *prema* is stainless, brilliant like the sun. 148 And there is no hint of *kāma* among the *gopīs*. Their connection with Kṛṣṇa was only for the sake of giving him pleasure.

Sloka 26. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.19:

In fear that your most delicate lotus feet be injured by our hard breasts, we place them gently down. With those lotus feet you wander about the forest—are they not hurt by those sharp pointed stones? You are our very life, and therefore our minds are rended.

149 The *gopīs* did not consider their own pleasure or pain. The sole preoccupation of their minds was to make Kṛṣṇa happy.

Sloka 27. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.32.21:

O women! Thus you have abandoned for my sake the world and the Vedas and family. I disappeared in order for you to follow me, for I love mystery. Therefore, O loved ones, do not blame my kindness.

150 They abandoned all for the sake of Kṛṣṇa. Because its cause was the happiness of Kṛṣṇa, theirs was pure *anurāga*.

143. *Loka-dharma* means accepted custom: courtesy, respect for others, etc. *Veda-dharma* presumably means those forms of activity based on the injunctions of texts, and perhaps vedic ritual—sacrifice, etc., as well. *Deha-dharma* Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets as hunger, thirst, and other demands of the physical body. *Karma* can be either activities for the satisfaction of those bodily demands, or actions undertaken for the sake of accumulation of merit.

Sloka 26. See 2.8.śl.47; 2.18.śl.7; 3.7.śl.9.

151 In former times, Kṛṣṇa promised that as one worshiped him, in that same way would Kṛṣṇa worship [the worshiper].

Sloka 28. *Bhāgavad Gītā* 4.11:

In whatever way one worships me, I honor him in that same way, for in all their various ways men do follow my path, Partha.

152 That promise was broken, in regard to the worship of the *gopīs*. There is witness to that in words from the holy mouth of Kṛṣṇa [himself]:

Sloka 29. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.32.22:

Your union with me is stainless, and I by my own deeds will not be able to repay you even in the lifetime of a god. You have loved me properly, and have cut fully the unaging fetters of world and family. Let your holy deeds be rewarded by their own holiness.

153 Thus it is that the *gopīs* were devoted to their own bodies. But it was for the sake of Kṛṣṇa—know that for certain. 154 “I have dedicated this body to Kṛṣṇa; it is his possession. It is the instrument of his enjoyment. 155 The touch and the sight of it is the delight of Kṛṣṇa.” This is the reason that they bathed and decorated their bodies.

Sloka 30. Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Laghuhbhāgavatāmṛta*, uttarakhaṇḍa 40 [quoting *Ādi Purāṇa*]:

O Arjuna! The *gopīs* take care of their bodies because they are mine. And there are no receptacles of my profound *prema* which are greater.

156 There is yet another wonderful aspect of the *gopī-bhāva*, the power of which cannot be perceived with the mind. 157 When the *gopīs* saw Kṛṣṇa there was bliss, a crore-fold, even though they had no desire for bliss. 158 Whatever joy Kṛṣṇa felt at the sight of the *gopīs*, the *gopīs* tasted it a crore of times more. 159 They were not seeking their own happiness, but even so their happiness increased. This is a paradox. 160 But there is a solution to this paradox in that the happiness of the *gopīs* lay in the completion of the happiness of Kṛṣṇa. 161 The gladness of Kṛṣṇa grows at the sight of the *gopīs*, [and as his gladness grows], so his sweetness grows, and of it there is no limit. 162 “At the sight of me Kṛṣṇa gained so much plea-

Sloka 28. See 1.4.śl.2; 2.8.śl.21.

Sloka 29. See 2.8.śl.22; 3.7.śl.11.



sure"—and in [the glow of] his pleasure, the faces and bodies of the *gopīs* bloomed. 163 And again, as the charm and beauty of Kṛṣṇa increase when he sees the charm and beauty of the *gopīs*, so the charm and beauty of the *gopīs* increase when they see the charm and beauty of Kṛṣṇa. 164 In this way they vie with one another and mutually augment one another, and neither becomes greater than the other. 165 So Kṛṣṇa's pleasure is in the quality and beauty of the *gopīs*. And at his pleasure, the pleasure of the *gopīs* also grows. 166 Thus, their pleasure nourishes the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa; it is for this reason that there is no sin of *kāma* in the *prema* of the *gopīs*.

Sloka 31. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā*, *keśavaṣṭaka* 8:

He is worshiped, as he comes down the road, by crowds of beautiful young women, with hundreds of dancing glances mixed with sprout-like smiles; his eyes move quickly to their breasts like black bees to *kusuma* flowers. I worship victorious Keśava when he comes thus into Vraja from the forest.

167 This is then another natural sign of the *prema* of the *gopīs*, that in that [*prema*] there is no suspicion of *kāma*.

168 The *prema* of the *gopīs* is the nourishment of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa; the sweetness grows and *prema* is fully satisfied. 169 In the bliss of the object of love is the bliss of the container of love; bliss is not because of the wish for one's own happiness. 170 This is the way of pure *prema*, that in the happiness of the object of love is the happiness of the container of love. 171 The bliss of selfish love obstructs the bliss of the service of Kṛṣṇa, and toward that [selfish] bliss there is great anger in the [true] devotee.

Sloka 32. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*paścima-vibhāga*, *prṭabhaktirasalahari*] 3.2.62:

Dārūka does not welcome that bliss of love which heightens the transport of bliss through his body, for his own eye put an obstacle in his fanning of Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 33. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga*, *sāttvika-lahari*] 2.3.54:

The lotus-eyed one condemned loudly the joy which showered tears from her eyes that were watching Kṛṣṇa.

171. Kṛṣṇadāsa uses the term *nijapremānanda*, which is unusual, *ānanda* and *prema* usually being reserved for the characteristics of pure love, in relation to *svatāpa*.

172 And the pure *bhakta* does not cling to *śalokya* and the rest, forsaking the service of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa, with his own pleasure as his end.

Sloka 34-36. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.29.11-13:

34 Just as the water of the Gaṅgā runs into the sea, the minds [of my devotees], when they merely hear of the qualities of me, Puruṣottama, contained within the hearts of all, turn toward me without interruption.

35 The mark of *nirguṇa bhakti-yoga* is cited as *bhakti* not separate from me and spontaneous; it is not the fruit of examination, nor of knowledge or works. 36 Even if I myself am prepared to give it, my people do not take to *śalokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, or *ekatva*, without serving me.

Sloka 37. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9.4.67:

My people, full of service, do not hold to *śalokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, and *ekatva*, which they earn by serving me, let alone anything ravaged by time.

173 The *prema* of the *gopīs* is natural and without a hint of *kāma*—it is stainless, glittering, pure as molten gold. 174 There are helpers, *gurus*, friends, and lovers of Kṛṣṇa; the *gopīs* are beloved, pupils, female companions, and servants.

Sloka 38. *Gopīpremaṁṛta*:

O Arjuna! I have spoken the truth to you, when I said that the *gopīs* are my companions, *gurus*, pupils, objects of my enjoyment, friends and wives; what is it that they are not to me?

175 The *gopīs* know the desires of the heart of Kṛṣṇa, the means of serving him in *prema* and the satisfaction of his longings.

172. See the commentary on 1.3.16 for an explanation of the types of *mukti* mentioned here and in 1.3.35-36.

Sloka 34. See 2.19.1.22.

Sloka 35. Rādhāgovinda Natha interprets the term *nirguṇa* as "pure," *śuddha*, and not "qualityless." See 2.19.1.23.

Sloka 36. See 2.6.1.23; 2.9.1.24; 2.19.1.24; 3.3.1.12.

Sloka 37. See 2.24.1.66.

174. It is possible that both halves of the couplet refer to the *gopīs*, although if the term *guru* is taken to be "elder," the first half describes the four types of *bhāva*, *śṛṅgāra* being the best and elaborated in the second half.



*Sloka 39.* Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, uttarakhaṇḍa 39 [quoting *Ādi Purāṇa*]:  
O Arjuna! The *gopīs* know my greatness, my worship, my condition and course of my mind; others than they do not know these things truly.

176 And the greatest among the *gopīs* is Rādhā. In beauty, in qualities, in good fortune, in *prema*, she is the greatest of them all.

*Sloka 40-41.* Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, uttarakhaṇḍa 45-46 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*]:

40 Just as Rādhā is the beloved of Kṛṣṇa, so is she a reservoir of love for him. Among all the *gopīs* she alone is perfectly loved by him. 41 O Arjuna! Among the three worlds this earth is indeed blessed! For on this earth is the town called Vṛndāvana. And the *gopīs* of that place are blessed, for Rādhā is among them.

177 The cause of the increase of *rasa* in the love-play is the company of Rādhā, and all the *gopīs* are secondary causes of this *rasa*. 178 Rādhā is the consort of Kṛṣṇa, the storehouse of the heart of Kṛṣṇa—without her even the *gopīs* cannot be the source of his happiness.

*Sloka 42.* Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda* 3.1:

Kṛṣṇa, foe of the demon Kāṁsa, abandoned all the beautiful women of Vraja and held Rādhā in his heart, her, by whom the fetter was tied by the *vāsanās* of worldly existence.

179 Taking the *bhāva* of that Rādhā, Caitanya descended and preached *nāma* and *prema*, the *dharma* of the age. 180 In that *bhāva* [Kṛṣṇa] fulfilled his own desires, which is the root-cause of his *avatāra*. 181 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is Vrajendrakumāra; the *mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa is full of *rasa*; he is *śṛṅgāra* incarnate. 182 To taste that [*śṛṅgāra*] *rasa* he descended, and, as an accompanying cause, he propagated all the *rasas*.

*Sloka 43.* Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda* 1.46:

O friend, engendering bliss in the whole world by the beauty of his limbs, black and soft like a string of blue lotuses he aroused the celebration of Kāndarpa in the hearts of the women of Vraja; thus sweet Hari plays in

*Sloka 40.* See 2.8.śl.24; 2.18.śl.2.

*Sloka 42.* *Vāsanā*: present consciousness of past perception. See 2.8.śl.26.

*Sloka 43.* See 2.8.śl.32.

spring like Love incarnate, freely embracing the beautiful women of Vraja, according to his own desire.

183 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is the abode of *rasa*; and he tasted *rasa* infinitely and minutely. 184 And by that he initiated the *dharma* of the Kali age. The servants of Caitanya know all these hidden meanings— 185 Advaita Ācārya, Nityānanda, Śrīnivāsa, Gadādhara, Dāmodara, Murāri, Haridāsa, 186 and how many other *bhaktas* of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. I put my head to the feet of them all, in devotion.

187 This is a synopsis of the meaning of the sixth *śloka*. Now hear expounded the meaning of the basic original *śloka*.

*Sloka 44.* Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kāṇḍācā*:

How great is the greatness of the love of Śrī Rādhā, which can be savored only by herself, how great the marvelous sweetness of mine in consequence? And how great is this happiness of hers which results from experiencing me?—Out of desire to discover this, Hari the Moon, rich in *bhāva* for her, was born in the river of the womb of Śact.

188 All these things are very profound, and should not be spoken. But if I do not speak of them, no one will understand them at all. 189 Thus I speak in a somewhat oblique fashion. The *rasika-bhakta* will understand my words, but the fool will not. 190 He who holds Caitanya and Nityānanda in his heart will find great joy in all these revelations. 191 The *rasa* of these revelations is like a young mango shoot; it is always deeply loved by true *bhaktas*, as the nightingale loves the mango shoot. 192 But the camels, non-*bhaktas*, do not enter here. And because of this,

*Sloka 44.* [This *śloka* is the same as 1.1.śl.6. As in 1.4.śl.8, Rādhāgovinda Nātha has attributed this *śloka* to Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kāṇḍācā*, but the MSS evidence does not support this. Possible justification for this claim may rest on the couplets explicitly citing Svarūpa as the source for these ideas (1.4.91-98, 228) but the conclusion that this and other *ślokas* are direct quotations from the now-lost *Kāṇḍācā* is still open to debate, with the possible exception of 1.7.śl.2. (See Introduction, Sect. VI.1.) TKS]

188. The usual interpretation is not that the doctrine is secret in the way in which certain Tantric doctrines are secret, but that these are matters of faith, not of intellectual comprehension. The somewhat argumentative tone of this verse and the one following, however, make one wonder whether or not Kṛṣṇadāsa is defending his revelation of all this to the people of Bengal, which, as was suggested in the Introduction, may well have been a point of controversy between him and Jīva Gosvāmin. V. 189 in fact seems to be a compromise: he will write, but write obliquely, so that only the *bhakta* who already believes will understand; to others it will sound like nonsense.

192. I.e., the camels will not enter the garden to eat the young mango-shoot.



there is a special gladness in my mind. 193 What happiness in the three worlds can this book provide if people do not understand these things, which I am so concerned to convey? 194 Thus to all *bhaktas* I make obeisance. I speak fearlessly; let them be astonished.

195 Once, Kṛṣṇa meditated in this way within himself: "They call me full of bliss, full of *rasa*; 196 because of me, the three worlds are joyful. But who is there to give joy to me? 197 Only one who has greater qualities than mine is able to gladden my heart, 198 but a greater possessor of qualities than I there cannot be, in the world. By Rādhā alone can I have such experience. 199 Though my beauty is greater than that of a crore of Kāmas, though there is no sweetness equal to or greater than my own, 200 though in my beauty the three worlds are gladdened, at the sight of Rādhā my eyes are refreshed. 201 [Though] the song of my flute attracts the three worlds, the voice of Rādhā steals my ear. 202 Even though the world is redolent with my sweet fragrance, my heart and mind are stolen by the fragrance of the body of Rādhā. 203 Though the world is flavored with my *rasa*, the nectar of the lips of Rādhā conquers me. 204 Though my touch is cooler than a crore of moons, I am cooled by the touch of Rādhā. 205 In this way, though I am the source of pleasure in the world, the beauties and qualities of Rādhā are the life-giving element in my life. 206 In this way is my experience understood. But when I examine it, all is reversed. 207 At the sight of Rādhā my eyes are refreshed, and at the sight of me, Rādhā becomes unconscious in ecstasy. 208 At the sound of my flute, she loses consciousness. She embraces the *tamāla* tree, mistaking it for me. 209 'I have embraced Kṛṣṇa; my birth has been fruitful'—and she remains sunk in that ecstasy, with the tree in her arms. 210 Again, when she smells my fragrance on the favorable wind, she tries to rise up into it, blinded by her *prema*. 211 Or when she tastes the betel which I chew, she sinks into a sea of bliss, and recognizes nothing at all. 212 And the bliss which she has in union with me—if I had a hundred mouths I could not describe its limits. 213 When I see the sweetness in her body in bliss, at the end of *līlā*, I forget myself in bliss. 214 That both taste equal *rasa*, this Bharata Muni acknowledges. But he does not know my Vraja-*rasa*. 215 As much pleasure as I derive from union with others, Rādhā's pleasure [in union with me] is a hundred times greater.

193. Kṛṣṇadāsa seems to be saying that though the issues are complex and the logic often strained, the result will justify the effort. It would appear that someone significant may have objected to his writing so frankly on topics generally reserved for an audience of adept *bhaktas*.

205. *Jivat*: "life-giving element."

214. Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes that Bharata says in his *rasa-śāstra* that in sexual union both *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* experience equal pleasure.

Śloka 45. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Lalitāmādhava* 9.9:

O fair one! Your *bimba*-like lower lip surpasses the sweet fragrance of nectar; your face is sweet-smelling, like a lotus; your words break the boast of the cuckoo's song; your limbs are cool as sandal; thus your body partakes of all the wealth of beauty. O Rādhā! Tasting you, all my senses are again and again delighted.

Śloka 46. A śloka of Rūpa Gosvāmī:

Her eyes greedy for the beauty of Kāmsahara, her skin tingling for his touch, her ears listening anxiously for his voice, her nostrils delighting in his scent, her tongue in passionate longing to drink the nectar of his lip, her lotus-face downcast, her great patience caused by deception, agitated by emotions that also appear on the outside.

216 Because of this, I know that there is a certain *rasa* in me, and Rādhā, who charms me, controls that *rasa*. 217 I always long to taste that kind of pleasure which Rādhā gains from me. 218 I made many attempts, but I could not taste it. And at a hint of the sweetness of that joy, the desire in my heart grows. 219 So I have descended to taste that *rasa*, and I have tasted that *prema-rasa* in many ways. 220 I have taught by the actions of my *līlā* the *bhakti* which is practiced by the *bhakta* in the *rāga-mārga*. 221 The three thirsts were not satisfied, for it could be tasted in no other way. 222 And without taking on the *bhāva* of Rādhā and her beauty, the three pleasures could not be fulfilled at all. 223 So I have taken the body and the *bhāva* of Rādhā; I hold her color; I shall descend to taste the three pleasures."

224 In this way, Kṛṣṇa made his decision, and [assumed] all these *bhāvas*; and at that same time he came as the *yuga-avatāra*. 225 For at about that time Advaita was worshiping, and his cries attracted Kṛṣṇa. 226 His father and mother and *guru* were incarnated first, and then, taking the color and *bhāva* of Rādhā, 227 Kṛṣṇa, the full moon, appeared in Navadvīpa, in the womb of Śacī, the ocean of pure milk.

228 So I have explained the sixth śloka, meditating on the lotus-feet of Svarūpa Gosvāmī. 229 I have given the meaning of the two ślokas, and this śloka of Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī's is the proof:

216. For more on the control of Kṛṣṇa by the devotee, see 1.7.138; 1.17.71, śl.5; 2.23.26.

Śloka 46. Kāmsahara: Kṛṣṇa the slayer of the *asura* Kāmsa.

221. The three desires mentioned in the sixth śloka were not fulfilled by the previous *līlā* in the manifest Vṛndāvana.



*Śloka 47.* Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamālā*, *cāitanyāṣṭaka* 2.3:

May God in the form of Caitanya lavish his mercy on us, he who, curious to enjoy a certain shoreless sweetness of some group of loving men, after having praised the *rasa*, concealed his own luster while manifesting the other's splendor.

*Śloka 48.*

Thus, this *maṅgalācaraṇa*, defining the true nature of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and the reasons for this *avatāra*, has been described in six *ślokas*.

230 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

*Śloka 47.* See 1.4.śl.7.

## Ādi Līla Chapter 5

*Śloka 1.*

I pay homage to Īśvara Nityānanda, of infinite and wonderful power; even a fool can discern his true nature, if he so desires it.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In these six *ślokas* the greatness of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya has been explained; in five *ślokas* now let me expound the ultimate truth of Nityānanda. 3 Kṛṣṇa is the container of all *avatāras*, *svayaṁ bhagavān*; his second body was Śrī Balarāma. 4 The two were one *svarūpa*, divided only in body. His first *kāyavyūha* was [as Kṛṣṇa's] companion of the Kṛṣṇa-*līla*. 5 That Kṛṣṇa was Śrī Caitanyacandra in Navadvīpa; with him that Balarāma was Śrī Nityānanda.

*Śloka 2.* Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaṇḍa*:

May Nityānanda Rāma be my refuge, of whom Saṁkarṣaṇa, Kāraṇatoyaśāyī the dweller in the causal ocean [the first *puruṣa*], Garbhodaśāyī the dweller in the primeval womb [the second *puruṣa*], Payobdhiśāyī the dweller in the ocean of milk [the third *puruṣa*], and Śeṣa are but parts.

6 Śrī Balarāma Gosvāmī is the basic Saṁkarṣaṇa, and in five forms he serves Kṛṣṇa. 7 He himself is the companion of the Kṛṣṇa-*līla*; with four other bodies he per-

4. *Kāyavyūha*: bodily form or manifestation of the godhead.

*Śloka 2.* [See 1.1.śl.7; this *śloka* is the subject of the entire chapter. For the attribution of this *śloka* and *ślokas* 3, 7, 15, 16 in this chapter, see the commentary to 1.4.śl.8 and 1.4.śl.44. TKS]

7. The four other bodies are Saṁkarṣaṇa, Kāraṇārṇavaśāyī *puruṣa*, Garbhodaśāyī *puruṣa*, and Kṣīrodaśāyī *puruṣa*.



*Sloka 47.* Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stavamāla*, *caitanyaṣṭaka* 2.3:

May God in the form of Caitanya lavish his mercy on us, he who, curious to enjoy a certain shoreless sweetness of some group of loving men, after having praised the *rasa*, concealed his own luster while manifesting the other's splendor.

*Sloka 48.*

Thus, this *maṅgalācāraṇa*, defining the true nature of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and the reasons for this *avatāra*, has been described in six *śloka*s.

230 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

*Sloka 47.* See 1.4.śl.7.

## Ādi Līla Chapter 5

*Sloka 1.*

I pay homage to Īśvara Nityānanda, of infinite and wonderful power; even a fool can discern his true nature, if he so desires it.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, and to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 In these six *śloka*s the greatness of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya has been explained; in five *śloka*s now let me expound the ultimate truth of Nityānanda. 3 Kṛṣṇa is the container of all *avatāras*, *svayaṁ bhagavān*; his second body was Śrī Balarāma. 4 The two were one *svatūpa*, divided only in body. His first *kāyavyūha* was [as Kṛṣṇa's] companion of the *Kṛṣṇa-līla*. 5 That Kṛṣṇa was Śrī Caitanyacandra in Navadvīpa; with him that Balarāma was Śrī Nityānanda.

*Sloka 2.* Svarūpa Dāmodara's *Kaṇḍā*:

May Nityānanda Rāma be my refuge, of whom Saṁkarṣaṇa, Karaṇatoyaśāyī the dweller in the causal ocean [the first *puruṣa*], Garbhodaśāyī the dweller in the primeval womb [the second *puruṣa*], Payobdhiśāyī the dweller in the ocean of milk [the third *puruṣa*], and Śeṣa are but parts.

6 Śrī Balarāma Gosvāmī is the basic Saṁkarṣaṇa, and in five forms he serves Kṛṣṇa. 7 He himself is the companion of the *Kṛṣṇa-līla*; with four other bodies he per-

4. *Kāyavyūha*: bodily form or manifestation of the godhead.

*Sloka 2.* [See 1.1.śl.7; this *śloka* is the subject of the entire chapter. For the attribution of this *śloka* and *śloka*s 3, 7, 15, 16 in this chapter, see the commentary to 1.4.śl.8 and 1.4.śl.44. TKS]

7. The four other bodies are Saṁkarṣaṇa, Karaṇārṇavaśāyī *puruṣa*, Garbhodaśāyī *puruṣa*, and Kṣīrodaśāyī *puruṣa*.



forms the *līla* of creation. 8 The performance of creation and the rest are the keeping of [Kṛṣṇa's] command. As Śeṣa he performs various services for Kṛṣṇa. 9 That Rāma is Nityānanda the companion of Caitanya, who tastes in all ways the *ānanda* of the service of Kṛṣṇa.

10 Let me now state the meaning of the seventh *śloka* by four *śloka*s, by which all people can know the truth of Nityānanda.

*Śloka 3. Svarūpa Dāmodara's Kaṇḍācā:*

I take refuge with that Nityānanda Rāma, whose form named Saṁkarṣaṇa, which pervades the Vaikuṇṭha-world, which is beyond *māya* and, filled with sovereignty, shines forth amidst the four *vyūhas*.

11 Beyond the material world is the place called Paravyoma, which, as the *vigraha* of Kṛṣṇa, is endowed with the qualities of all-pervasiveness and the rest. 12 All-pervading, eternal, full of glory, this is Vaikuṇṭha, the dwelling-place of Kṛṣṇa and the Kṛṣṇa-*avatāras*. 13 In its upper part is the place famous as Kṛṣṇaloka, a tripartite place made up of Dvārakā, Mathurā, and Gokula. 14 The highest place of all is Śrī Gokula, or the *lokadhama* of Vraja; and its names are Śrī Goloka, Svetaadvīpa, and Vṛndāvana. 15 These are all all-pervading, infinite, and glorious, as the body of Śrī Kṛṣṇa; they pervade above and below without restriction. 16 It was mani-

8. Śeṣa or Ananta, the great serpent; the *avatāra* of Kṣīrodaśāyī *puruṣa*. He upholds the earth, sings praises of Kṛṣṇa and serves as his umbrella, couch, throne, etc., i.e., he supplies Kṛṣṇa with his *dhāma*.

*Śloka 3.* [This *śloka* is the same as 1.1.śl.8 and is expounded in 1.5.10-42a. For the attribution see commentary on 1.5.śl.2. TKS]

11. *Vigraha*: image, form, shape.

12. Rādhāgovinda Nātha uses the etymology *kuṇṭha* = *māya*, and therefore *vai-kuṇṭha* is a place which is without, or untouched by, *māya*.

13. Sanātana Gosvāmī's *Bḍhādhāgavatāmṛta* 2.5.89 says that Kṛṣṇaloka is above Vaikuṇṭha.

14. [*Lokadhama*: self-contained universe that comprises a complete spatial and social environment, here the eternal realm of Kṛṣṇa. When manifest on earth with God, it gains an apparent physical dimension, which is mysteriously coterminous with its eternal dimensions; see below v. 16 and commentary. TKS]

15. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that Kṛṣṇadāsa has had to qualify here with the phrase "as the body of Kṛṣṇa," since otherwise there would be a contradiction in saying that something is all-pervading and at the same time above or below. Kṛṣṇa, however, as is shown by the *rāsa-līla*, can be in identical forms simultaneously; he can also be simultaneously pervasive and occupy physical space.

16. I.e., when Kṛṣṇa came into the world for his manifest *līla*, his whole *dhāma*, Gokula, which is in any case an extension of his person, came into the world with him. But, like Kṛṣṇa himself, its

festated in this Brahma-world through the will of Kṛṣṇa; it has one true form, but not two bodies. 17 The crest-jewel of the earth, a forest full of wishing-trees: with earthly eyes one sees only ordinary places, 18 but with the eyes of *prema* its true form becomes apparent—as the place of the joys of Kṛṣṇa, with his *gopa* and *gopi* companions.

*Śloka 4. Brahma Saṁhita* 5.29:

I worship the *ādi puruṣa* Śrī Govinda, [who] tends wishing cows, in a place covered with *lakhs* of wishing-trees, in dwellings made of heaps of wishing stones, respectfully served by the coquetry of a hundred thousand *lakṣmīs*.

19 He manifests his own *rāpa* in Dvārakā and Mathurā, and as the *caturvyūha* he sports in various ways: 20 Vasudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, the container of these *caturvyūhas*, in a state of *tūrīya*, pure. 21 In the three places Kṛṣṇa is full of *līla*, alone and with his own people he plays in unending time. 22 In Paravyoma, having manifested his true form as Nārāyaṇa, he undertakes various activities. 23 The true-form *vigraha* of Kṛṣṇa is only two-armed; while Nārāyaṇa's body has four, 24 [holding] conch, discus, club, and lotus, all full of divine power; and *śrī*, *bhū*, and *līla śakti* serve his feet. 25 Even though play is his only *dharma*,

appearance on this earth in no way affected its heavenly and eternal existence; the manifest and unmanifest *līlas* are one.

19. *Caturvyūha*: four forms or manifestation of Kṛṣṇa.

20. These are the four *vyūhas*. Vasudeva was the son of Vasudeva, born of Devaki; he is the first of the four, manifest as the two-armed Kṛṣṇa, Vrajendranandana. Saṁkarṣaṇa, as above, is Balarāma, called Saṁkarṣaṇa, "drawn, extracted" because he was taken out of the womb of Devaki and put into that of Rohiṇī. Pradyumna is the son of Kṛṣṇa, born from Rukmiṇī, and Aniruddha the grandson of Kṛṣṇa, born to Rukmavati. All these are of the Dvārakā *līla*.

21. I.e., he has no other tasks, such as creation. "Plays" is literally "to play a game"—*khele*. In all three *dhāmas*, *līla* is made up of both sovereignty or divinity (*aiśvarya*) and sweetness (*mādhurya*), but in Vraja sweetness has precedence over divinity, in Dvārakā divinity has precedence over sweetness, and in Mathurā the two are mixed. Rāpa's *BhRS* (*daśīna-vibhāga, vibhāva-lahartī*) 2.1.233 distinguishes among the three by the degree of the control exerted by *prema*: in Vraja it is fullest, in Mathurā fuller, and in Dvārakā full.

23. In Dvārakā he occasionally appears as four-armed. Nārāyaṇa is not the true form of Kṛṣṇa; Kṛṣṇa is his own true form, i.e., *svarūpa*.

24. According to Rāpa's *Laghuhāgavatāmṛta* (*parva-khaṇḍa, kṛṣṇāmṛta-manvantara-prakarāṇa*) 1.129, *śrī-śakti* is the power of wealth and fortune, and is personified by the four-armed, golden-colored, youthful Lakṣmī, at Nārāyaṇa's right hand; *bhū-śakti* is the power to uphold the earth; and *līla-śakti* the power by which Nārāyaṇa has *līla*; in the images these two are often seen seated beside Lakṣmī.



he also shows mercy to living creatures. 26 By four [types of] *mukti*—*sālokyā*, *sāṁpyā*, *sārṣṭi*, and *sārūpyā*—[he gives] salvation to all creatures. 27 The type of *mukti* which leads to absorption into *brahma* is not the proper way; the place of [such *muktas*] is outside *Vaikuṇṭha*. 28 Outside *Vaikuṇṭha* there is a ring full of light, as the luster of Kṛṣṇa's body of the highest brilliance. 29 Its name is *Siddhaloka*, beyond material nature; its *svarūpa* is *cit*, and there is no variation in *cit-śakti*. 30 It is as the disc of the sun appears undifferentiated from the outside, but within are the chariot, etc.

Sloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.278:

That which is said to be the one thing to be gained by loved ones and by enemies comes from the identity of Kṛṣṇa and *brahma*, which enjoy the metaphor of the rays and the sun.

31 So, in *Paravyoma* there are many *vilāsa*s of the *cit-śakti*; and outside there is an undifferentiated circle of brilliance. 32 This is the luminous, undifferentiated *brahma*, and he who seeks *sāyujya* gains union there.

Sloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.280 [quoting *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*]:

On the far side of *tamasa* is *Siddhaloka*, where dwell perfected ones, absorbed in the joy of *brahma*, and the *daityas* [Kāṁsa and the *asuras*] destroyed by Hari.

33 In *Paravyoma*, all around *Nārāyaṇa*, is the second manifestation of the *caturvyūha* in *Dvārakā*: 34 *Vāsudeva*, *Samkarṣaṇa*, *Pradyumna*, and *Aniruddha*—this is the second *caturvyūha*, in a state of *turīya* and purity. 35 There is that form of *Rāma*

26-32. See 1.3.16 and 2.6.239 and commentary.

29. "There is no variation . . .": presumably since *cit-śakti* is nonmaterial, there is no change, development, or transformation in it.

30. The sun-god, *Sūrya*, drives a chariot pulled by horses; these are all differentiations, as in fact each of these has differentiations within it.

31. I.e., in *Paravyoma*, trees, creepers, beasts, everything is a *vilāsa* of the *cit-śakti*, and can be spoken of as infinite differentiation.

Sloka 6. *Daityas*: enemies of Kṛṣṇa. In the *bhakti* system, antagonism toward the deity is an efficacious emotion, and being slain by him an assurance of salvation. *Rāvaṇa*'s hosts, in later versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, are saved by being slain by *Rāma*.

33. I.e., the *caturvyūha* appears in each of the three places.

35. *Rāma*: *Balarāma*. *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* points out: *Samkarṣaṇa* is called the refuge of *cit-*

which is *Mahāsamkarṣaṇa*; he is the refuge of *cit-śakti*, the cause of causes. 36 One *vilāsa* of *cit-śakti* is called pure *sattva*; *Vaikuṇṭha* and the other *dhāmas* are composed of it. 37 Divinity there is of six kinds, all made up of *cit*; know for certain that all are glories of *Samkarṣaṇa*. 38 One *śakti*, called *jīva*, is known as *taṭasthā*; *Mahāsamkarṣaṇa* is the refuge of all *jīvas*. 39 *Mahāsamkarṣaṇa* is the great refuge of that *puruṣa* from whom is the birth of the world, and in whom it is absorbed. 40 [He is] the refuge of all, the wonder of all, of unparalleled power and majesty, whose greatness *Ananta* cannot describe. 41 *Turīya*, *viśuddha-sattva*—his name is *Samkarṣaṇa*, and he is a part of *Nityānanda Rāma*. 42 This is the brief explanation of the eighth *śloka*. Now pay attention to the meaning of the ninth.

Sloka 7. *Svarūpa Dāmodara's Kaṇḍa*:

In that *Nityānanda Rāma*, of whom *adideva śṛṭpūman*, whose body is the refuge of all the *Brahmā*-eggs, the manifest lord of *māyā*, who lies in the ocean of creation, of whom the *ādī puruṣa* is but a part, do I take refuge.

43 Outside *Vaikuṇṭha* there is a place full of radiance, and outside that is called *Kāraṇārṇava*. 44 All around *Vaikuṇṭha* there is a body of water, infinite, shoreless—there is no end to it. 45 The land and other elements of *Vaikuṇṭha* are all made of *cit*; *māyā*-elements are not present there. 46 The water composed of *cit* is the highest cause; the *Gaṅgā* is one drop of it, the purifier of the fallen. 47 *Samkarṣaṇa* rests one part of his body on that *Kāraṇārṇava*: 48 he is known as the great creator *puruṣa*, who is the cause of the world, the *ādī-avatāra*, and he casts his glance on *māyā*. 49 *Māyā-śakti* remains outside this sea of causation; *māyā* is not able to touch

*śakti*; but *cit* is a *svarūpa-śakti*, and this is intrinsic to Kṛṣṇa himself. But, as can be seen from the following couplets, because Kṛṣṇa desires it, he manifests his whole *dhāma*; *Samkarṣaṇa* is thus the *vilāsa* of *cit-śakti*. As cause of causes, he is the cause of the *puruṣa-avatāras*, the causes of the world.

36. [*Suddha*: pure; *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* notes that the *vilāsa* of *cit-śakti* is called *śuddha-sattva*, which is distinguished into *hlāḍint*, *sandhint*, and *saṁvit śaktis*. The *sandhint* portion is predominant in *Vaikuṇṭha* and the other *dhāmas* of *Bhagavān* (see 1.4.56 and commentary). TKS]

37. *Aiśvarya*: divinity; *vibhāti*: glory, majesty.

38. This refers back to the "cause of causes" description in v. 35. *Samkarṣaṇa* is the refuge of all *jīvas*; at the beginning of creation, *Samkarṣaṇa* brought out all *jīvas* from his own body, then in the form of *Kāraṇārṇavaśaṅkṛt puruṣa*, and at the time of cosmic destruction he reabsorbs them into himself.

40. *Ananta* has a thousand mouths.

Sloka 7. [See 1.1.51.9; it is expounded in 1.5.42b-77a. TKS]

46. *Parama kārṇa*: highest cause; the cosmic sea on which the creator rests; thus the name '*kārṇa-ārṇava*.'



the sea of causation. 50 *Māyā* has two kinds of conditions; the chief material cause of the world is *prakṛti*. 51 Inert matter is not the cause of the world; Kṛṣṇa moves it by his *śakti*, in his mercy. 52 Thus, by the *śakti* of Kṛṣṇa, *prakṛti* is the indirect cause, as iron is melted by the power of fire. 53 Thus Kṛṣṇa is the primary cause of the world; *prakṛti* is like the [false] nipple hanging from the neck of the she-goat. 54 They say that the efficient cause of the universe is the *māyā*-part; this also is not so, for Nārāyaṇa is the cause-agent. 55 As the potter is the cause-agent of the pot, so the maker of the world is the *puruṣa*-avatāra. 56 Kṛṣṇa was the maker, *māyā* was his instrument, as are the wheel and stick to the causation of the pot. 57 From a distance, the *puruṣa* watches over *māyā*, and in it places the seed, in the form of *jīvas*. 58 By a semblance of his body he has union with *māyā*, and from *māyā* are born the quantities of Brahman-worlds. 59 As many worlds as there are, numberless, infinite, in so many forms the *puruṣa* enters into them all. 60 When the breath of the *puruṣa* is exhaled from his nose, with that sigh the Brahman-worlds are manifested. 61 Again, when his breath is inhaled, the Brahman-worlds enter the body of the *puruṣa* with it. 62 As particles of dust pass through the window, so the myriad Brahman-worlds pass through the pores of the skin of the *puruṣa*.

Sloka 8. *Brahma Saṁhitā* 5.48:

I worship that Govinda, the *ādī puruṣa*, for the duration of whose breath the lords of the Brahman-worlds that are born from his pores live, and of whom Mahaviṣṇu is a special fraction.

Sloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.11:

Where am I whose body stands but seven *vitastis* tall, inside the shell of the egg encompassed by *tamas*, *buddhi*, *ahaṁkāra*, space, water, fire, wind and earth; and where is the greatness of you in the space of whose pores countless such eggs move?

50. Kṛṣṇadāsa seems here to be stating the position of the Sāṁkhya philosophy, in order to disprove it. The Sāṁkhya position is that the two "conditions" of *māyā* are the *nimitta-kāraṇa* and the *upādāna-kāraṇa*. But Kṛṣṇadāsa has just said, and is about to say further, that *puruṣa* is the effective cause, in that he energizes *māyā* by his glance, remaining untouched by it.

53. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that some goats have hanging from their throats a false teat, which gives no milk. The term is *ajāgalastana*.

58. "Brahman-world" is literally "Brahman-egg"—*brahmāṇḍa*. *Āṅgabhāse*: semblance of his body. The point is that *jīva* is a part of *taṭastha-śakti*; as *śakti* and *śaktimān* are not separate, the *jīva* can be called a part or the body (*aṅga* or *aṁśa*) of the *puruṣa*; but this does not mean that the *jīva* is a part of the self of the *puruṣa*, for the self of the *puruṣa* cannot be touched by *māyā*.

Sloka 8. See 2.20.śl.39; 2.21.śl.10.

Sloka 9. The literal term "egg" has been left here for the sake of the verse's metaphor. *Vitasti*

63 That which is a part of a part is called a *kala*. Śrī Balarāma is the *pratimārti* of Govinda. 64 His one true form is Śrī Mahāsaṁkarṣaṇa; his *aṁśa*, the *puruṣa*, is thus counted as a *kala*. 65 Mahaviṣṇu is he whom I call *kala*; he is the container of the *avatāra* Mahāpuruṣa, he is the doer of all things. 66 Garbhoda and Kṣīrodaśayī—both are called *puruṣa*, and they are two parts of Viṣṇu, the *dhāma* of the universe.

Sloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *pārva khaṇḍa* 2.9 [quoting the *Sātvata Tantra*]:

Viṣṇu has three forms which they know under the name *puruṣa*: the first is the creator of *mahat-tattva*; the second is the *puruṣa* immanent in all the Brahman-worlds; the third is the *puruṣa*, immanent, the god indwelling in each creature. If one is able to realize this, he is freed from the material world.

67 Though one calls him a *kala* of Kṛṣṇa, he is the source of the fish, tortoise, and the other *avatāras*.

Sloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.28:

All these are but parts and fractions of parts of the *puruṣa*, but Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṁ bhagavān*. They incarnate themselves in every age to protect people persecuted by Indra's enemies.

68 That *puruṣa* is the creator, the preserver, the destroyer, the lord of the world; as protector of the world he makes many *avatāras*. 69 He looks to the *aṁśa* for the sake of creation, etc.; that *aṁśa* is called *avatāra*. 70 [He is] the *ādī avatāra*, the *mahāpuruṣa*, Bhagavān, the seed of all the *avatāras*, the *dhāma* which is the refuge of all.

is the span between the extended thumb and little finger, or between the wrist and tip of the middle finger, in either case about nine inches; *tamas*: darkness; *buddhi*: knowledge; *ahaṁkāra*: self-consciousness.

63. *Pratimārti*: is that which is undivided or not separate from the true form.

64. I.e., Saṁkarṣaṇa is a part of Balarāma, and the Kāraṇārṇava *puruṣa* is a part of Saṁkarṣaṇa, thus a part of a part, a *kala*.

66. *Dhāma*: place where a thing is situated, i.e., environment; here the term is used in a more general sense than has been noted before.

Sloka 10. See 2.20.śl.31.

67. In v. 65, Mahaviṣṇu was called the *avatārti*, i.e., the container or source of the *avatāras*.

Sloka 11. See 1.2.śl.13; 2.9.śl.12; 2.20.śl.20; 2.25.śl.29.

70. *Ādi avatāra*: Mahaviṣṇu, the container of all *avatāras*, the basic *avatāra* or root *avatāra*. *Mahāpuruṣa*: Mahaviṣṇu (v. 65).



Śloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.6.42:

The *puruṣa* is the *ādī avatāra* of Bhagavān. Of the supreme are time, nature, *prakṛti* which is cause and effect, [the *mahat-tattva* of] mind, etc., substance, transformation, *guṇa*, senses, vastness, splendor, and the totality of all creatures, moving and unmoving.

Śloka 13. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.1:

Bhagavān in the beginning assumed the form of the *puruṣa*—composed of *mahat*, etc., and consisting of the sixteen component parts—out of a desire to create the world.

71 Even though he is the refuge of all, the world is in him; he is the inner soul, and is the receptacle of the world. 72 In both these forms he has relationship with *prakṛti*; even so, there is not the slightest suggestion of the touch of *prakṛti*.

Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.11.39:

This is the divinity of *Īśvara*: even situated in the material, by the qualities of it [he is] never [touched], just as intellect, fixed on the Bhagavat, [is not touched] by the properties of oneself.

73 The [*Bhagavad*] *Gītā* speaks again and again in this way: that the divine principle of *Īśvara* is *acintya-śakti*. 74 [Though] I am in the world, the world is in me. I am not in the world; neither is the world in me. 75 Know this, my inscrutable power and divinity: this is the meaning which the *Gītā* expounds. 76 That *puruṣa* which is called an *aṁśa* is Nityānanda Rāma, the companion of Caitanya. 77 This then is the explanation of the ninth *śloka*; pay heed now to the meaning of the tenth.

Śloka 15. *Svarūpa Dāmodara's Kaṇḍācā*:

I take refuge in him, the lotus of whose navel has for stalk all the fourteen worlds, and is the birthplace of Brahṁa the creator; in him of whom

Śloka 12. See 2.20.śl.35.

Śloka 13. See 2.20.śl.34.

71. Vv. 62-66 said that Mahāviṣṇu is the refuge or the container of all Brahṁa-worlds; v. 59 said that he was indwelling within each Brahṁa-world; he is thus both the container and the contained, and has both kinds of relationship to *prakṛti*. It would seem that such a relationship would imply touch; but the answer is that since there can be no touch, the relationship must be the result of the inconceivable *śakti* of the deity.

Śloka 14. See 1.2.śl.11.

73. *Acintya*: inscrutable. The reference is perhaps to *BhG* 9.4-5; v. 74 is a rephrasing of these *ślokas*.

Garbhodaśayī is but a part of a part—in that Nityānanda Rāma do I take refuge.

78 That *puruṣa*, having created the infinite Brahṁa-worlds, entered into all those worlds, being many *mūrtis*. 79 Having entered within, he saw that all was dark, and he reflected that there was no place to stay. 80 He then created water from the sweat of his own body, and he filled half the Brahṁa-worlds with that water. 81 The measurement of the Brahṁa-worlds is fifty crores of *yojanas*, and the length and breadth of them are the same. 82 Half-filling them with the water, he made half his own staying-place, and in the other half he manifested the fourteen worlds. 83 There he manifested *Vaikuṇṭha*, his own *dhāma*, and he made his resting place on the water, on the bed of *Śeṣa*. 84 He lay on the bed made of Ananta, who has a thousand heads, a thousand mouths, 85 a thousand feet and hands, a thousand eyes, the seed of all the *avatāras*, the cause of the world. 86 From his lotus-navel arose a lotus, and in that lotus was the place of birth of Brahṁa. 87 In the stalk of the lotus were the fourteen worlds; he as Brahṁa the creator, created. 88 In the form of *Viṣṇu* he preserves the world, *Viṣṇu*, devoid of attributes, untouched by the qualities of *māyā*. 89 Taking the form of *Rudra* he destroys the world; creation, preservation, destruction are all according to his will. 90 *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Antaryāmi* the indweller, the cause of the world, whose *aṁśa* is conceived as *virāṭa*, 91 of whom this same *Nārāyaṇa* is a part of a part, he is *Prabhu Nityānanda*, the ornament of all. 92 Thus the meaning of the tenth *śloka* has been explained; now heed the meaning of the eleventh *śloka*:

Śloka 16. *Svarūpa Dāmodara's Kaṇḍācā*:

I take refuge in him of whom *Viṣṇu*, the nourisher of all things, *Dugdhābhiśayī*, appears as the *parātmā*, but a part of a part of a part, of whom Ananta, the holder of the worlds, is a part—in that Nityānanda Rāma do I take refuge.

Śloka 15. [See 1.1.śl.10; it is expounded in 1.5.77b-92a. For the attribution of this *śloka* see the commentary on 1.5.śl.2. TKS]

81. About 400,000,000 miles.

87-89. [These three—Brahṁa, *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva*—are of course the well-known *trimūrti*, the *guṇa-avatāras*, direct agents of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe respectively. TKS]

90. *Virāṭa-kalpana*, the cosmic figure whose body makes up the seven worlds and the seven nether-regions; see *BhP* 2.5.36, 38-41.

Śloka 16. [This *śloka* is the same as 1.1.śl.11 and is expounded in 1.5.92b-135. For the attribution of this *śloka* see the commentary on 1.5.śl.2. *Aṁśaṁśaṁśa*: part of a part of a part. TKS]



93 The earth is in the middle of the navel-lotus of Nārāyaṇa, and within the earth are seas numbering seven. 94 Within the ocean of milk is the place called Sveta-dvīpa, which is the *dhāma* of the preserver Viṣṇu. 95 He is indwelling in all *jīvas*; the lord of the world, he is its sustainer. 96 In the *yugas* and *manvantaras* he makes many *avatāras*; he generates *dharma*, and punishes *adharma*. 97 The *devatas* do not get a sight of him; they go to the shore of the ocean of milk and pray to him. 98 Then he incarnates himself and sustains the world; there is no numbering his infinite grandeurs. 99 He of whom Viṣṇu is but a part of a part of a part, he is Prabhu Nityānanda, the ornament of all things. 100 That Viṣṇu, in the form of Śeṣa, holds up the earth; but he does not know where the earth is on his head. 101 His thousand hoods are extended, and on the circles of them glitter jewels, more brilliant than the sun. 102 The earth, extending fifty crores of *yojanas*, sits on one of his hoods like a mustard seed. 103 He is Ananta, Śeṣa, the *bhakta-avatāra*, and knows nothing other than service of Īśvara. 104 With his thousand mouths he sings the glories of Kṛṣṇa. He sings the glories eternally, but he does not reach the end of them. 105 Sanaka and the others hear the *Bhāgavata* from his mouth, and speak the qualities of Bhagavān, floating in a happiness of *prema*. 106 [As] umbrella, sandals, lying-place, pillow, clothing, pleasure-garden, house, sacred thread, and throne— 107 he serves Kṛṣṇa in so many different forms; having obtained the ultimate [service of Kṛṣṇa], he is called Śeṣa. 108 And this Ananta is called a part of a part of Prabhu Nityānanda; who can know his play?

109 By all these proofs we know the limit of Nityānanda; he is called Ananta—what is this to his greatness? 110 But acknowledging the term, [given by] some *bhaktas*, to be true, that is possible to him, who is the container of *avatāras*. 111 The *avatāra* and the container of *avatāras* are undivided, as formerly Kṛṣṇa was considered differently by different persons. 112 Some say, Kṛṣṇa is the apparent Naranārāyaṇa; some say, Kṛṣṇa is the apparent Vāmana; 113 some say, Kṛṣṇa is the *Kṣīrodāśāyī avatāra*. It is not impossible, and all speak the truth. 114 When

96. *Yuga, manvantara*: units of cosmic time, usually translated as “ages,” during which Bhagavān descends at least once to earth. See 1.3.5-7 and commentary.

102. See v. 81 and commentary.

107. Śeṣa: “the end.”

110. I.e., some of the *bhaktas* call Nityānanda “Ananta” or “the one without end”; because they are *bhaktas*, they speak truth; but, in v. 109, Kṛṣṇadāsa has just said that calling him Ananta does not do justice to his full greatness. He is Ananta, but he is more. Nityānanda is the container of the *avatāras* or the container of parts of Anantadeva, and thus Ananta is within Nityānanda. So the contention is true, but only part of the whole truth.

111-13. I.e., in the previous *līla*, Kṛṣṇa was considered by some as Naranārāyaṇa, some as Vāmana, etc. All of these are true, but not the whole truth.

Kṛṣṇa becomes incarnate, he is the container of all his parts; all the parts having come together are merged in Kṛṣṇa. 115 He who knows a certain form, he calls him that; all are potential in Kṛṣṇa, and none of them are false. 116 Thus Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Gosvāmī revealed to everyone the full range of the activities of all the *avatāras*. 117 In this same way is Nityānanda the manifestation of Ananta, and in that *bhāva* [he said], “I am called the servant of Caitanya.” 118 Sometimes his *līla* is that of *guru*, sometimes that of friend, sometimes that of servant, as formerly he played in Vraja in these three *bhāvas*. 119 Pretending to be a bull, he locks horns in battle with Kṛṣṇa; sometimes Kṛṣṇa massages his feet. 120 He knows Kṛṣṇa to be Prabhu, and himself as servant, and he considers himself to be only a part of a part of Kṛṣṇa.

Śloka 17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.11.40:

So the two brothers acted the bulls, and bellowing fought with one another; and they wandered about imitating the sounds of creatures and the common people.

Śloka 18. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.15.14:

Sometimes, Kṛṣṇa caused his elder brother, tired from play, to rest, cushioned by the lap of a cowherd boy and himself massaging his feet, etc.

Śloka 19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.13.37:

What is this *māyā*? From where has it come? Is it divine? Human? Demonic? Let the *māyā* of Kṛṣṇa generally be mine, there is none other which deludes me.

Śloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.68.37:

All the *loka-pālas* take the dust of his lotus feet upon their heads, of him who is the *tīrtha* for whom *tīrthas* are venerated; and we—Brahma, Śiva, myself, and Śrī—are a part of a part of him; where should we carry the royal throne of his leisure?

120. [*Kalāra kalā*: part of a part; Rādhagovinda Nātha glosses this term as ‘*aṁṣera aṁṣa*,’ a somewhat imprecise expression (a fraction of a fraction) which we have seen before. Technically a *kalā* is one sixteenth of a whole, so a *kalāra kalā* would be one sixteenth of one sixteenth or one two-hundred fifty-sixth of the whole, which suggests just how diminutive is the *avatāra* in relation to the complete godhead. TKS]

Śloka 20. See 2.20.śl.42.



121 Kṛṣṇa is the sole Īśvara, and all are his servants; whomever he causes to dance, dances. 122 So in this way Caitanya Gosvāmī is the sole Īśvara; all are his retinue or his servants. 123 His elders are Nityānanda and Advaita Ācārya; Śrīvāsa and the others are younger, the same, or older. 124 All are his retinue, all his helpers in *līlā*. And with them all Gaura Rāya accomplishes his own work. 125 Advaita Ācārya and Nityānanda are his two limbs, and with these two Prabhu has so much sport. 126 Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī is the apparent Īśvara; Prabhu regards him as elder, and himself as his servant. 127 The true nature of Ācārya Gosvāmī cannot be put into words; he saved the world by Kṛṣṇa's incarnation. 128 The true form of Nityānanda formerly was Lakṣmaṇa; as Rāma's younger brother he served him. 129 The actions of Rāma were the cause of all sadness; and by himself, Lakṣmaṇa bore the sorrow of that *līlā*. 130 He could not forbid him, to whom he was a younger brother, so he stayed silent, with great sorrow in his heart. 131 He became the elder brother in the Kṛṣṇa-*avatāra*, for serving him; and he caused Kṛṣṇa to taste many kinds of happiness. 132 Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are special parts of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. At the time of *avatāra* the two entered into the two. 133 With those *aṅśas* the elder brother-younger brother relationship arose; in the *śāstras* it is explained as the relationship between the part and the whole:

*Sloka 21. Brahma Saṁhitā 5.39:*

I love Govinda the *ādī puruṣa*, Bhagavān who manifested many *avatāras* in the world in the form of Rāma and the rest, as his *kalā*-parts, but appears finally as Kṛṣṇa himself, that highest *puruṣa*.

134 Śrī Caitanya was that Kṛṣṇa, and Nityānanda was Rāma. Nityānanda fulfills the desires of Caitanya. 135 The sea of the greatness of Nityānanda is unending and shoreless. I touch one drop of it, and that only through his mercy.

125. *Aṅga*: limbs; *raṅga*: sport.

126. Advaita is the *aṅśa-avatāra* of Mahāviṣṇu, and thus can be called the apparent (*sākṣat*) Īśvara; but even so, he is only a *kalā* of Kṛṣṇa, and therefore in *svatāra* Caitanya is his lord.

128. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says: In some *līlās* Balarāma is the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa, and in some *līlās* the elder brother. In the Tretā age, when Kṛṣṇa was incarnated as Rāmacandra, Balarāma was incarnated as Lakṣmaṇa, the younger brother of Rāma. It is of course the duty of the younger to serve and obey.

129. I.e., the exile in the forest, the abduction of Sītā, etc. Another interpretation could be: "Lakṣmaṇa bore the sorrow of his (i.e., Rāma's) independent (*svatantra*) *līlā*."

134. Rāma: Balarāma.

136 Hear another aspect of the greatness of his mercy: he causes the lowest of *jīvas* to rise up to the highest limits. 137 It is improper to speak openly of this secret matter of the Veda, yet it has been discussed to reveal his mercy. 138 Overcome by joy, I write of your grace, Prabhu Nityānanda. Forgive my transgression. 139 Avadhūta Gosvāmī had a servant, a storehouse of *prema*; Mīnaketana Rāmadāsa was his name. 140 Getting an invitation he visited my house for *ahorātra saṁkīrtana*. 141 He sat in the courtyard, full of great *prema*, and all the Vaiṣṇavas bowed at his feet. 142 While they were making obeisance, he climbed upon some; in *prema* he hit others with his flute; and some he slapped. 143 Anyone who wanted to could see in his eyes tears which flowed incessantly. 144 Sometimes, on his body one saw the blossoms of goose flesh; one of his limbs would be inert, another trembling. 145 When he shouted out for Nityānanda, people were most astonished. 146 There was a respectable *brahmaṇa* called Guṇārṇava Mīśra, whose work it was to serve the image. 147 Coming into the courtyard, [Mīśra] did not converse with him; and seeing this, Rāmadāsa became very angry and said, 148 "Here is a second Sūta Śrī Romaharṣaṇa, who, seeing Balarāma, did not come forward to receive him." 149 Saying this he danced and sang, in ecstasy. The *brahmaṇa* was doing his Kṛṣṇa-work, and was not angry. 150 At the end of the festival he went away, having given his blessings. He had some controversy with my brother. 151 His faith in Caitanya

137. Rādhāgovinda Nātha explains *veda-guhyā* as that which is revealed by the deity to someone, not to be revealed to others; or as that which the *śāstras* say and should not be revealed. It could also refer to the fact that the Vedas should not be taught to lower caste people.

139. Nityānanda was a member of an *avadhūta* order; see PHM, 47-52.

140. *Ahorātra-saṁkīrtana*: *kīrtana* which lasts throughout the day and the night.

142. These are the actions of one who is mad with *prema*, completely unexplainable except in their own context. [Mīnaketana's actions belong to one kind of divinely inspired madness, often termed *āveśa*, i.e., being gripped by the divine. This condition often afflicts Caitanya himself as becomes increasingly evident as his narrative unfolds. This is in contrast to those whose absorption in *prema* leads them to emulate the actions of one or more of the characters in the *BhP* story, which of course is only natural for Caitanya's entourage because they are incarnations from that eternal Kṛṣṇa-dhama. TKS].

143. The couplet is a little obscure, and is only glossed by the commentator. The point seems simply to be that Mīnaketana was never found not crying so deep was his devotion. *ye netre dekhite āśru mane haya yāra / sei netre avicchinnā vahe āśrudhara //*

144. *Pulaka* is the word usually translated as "horripilation"; "thrill" is perhaps better. It means the gooseflesh that arises when one is in a state of extreme emotion.

148. The reference is to a story in *BhP* 10.78.

150. Referring, presumably, to Rāmadāsa.

151. I.e., Kṛṣṇadāsa's brother was not a follower of Nityānanda. It is clear that by this point in time, the Vaiṣṇavas had broken up into smaller sectarian groups, followers of Nityānanda, of Advaita, Gadādhara, etc., and that there was some ill will among them.



Prabhu was very deep, but he held but a slight belief in Nityānanda. 152 Hearing this, Rāmadāsa was very sorrowful in his heart; so I reproached my brother, 153 "Two brothers are one body, manifested equally; if you do not honor Nityānanda, you will be totally destroyed. 154 Having faith in one, you do not honor the other—your reasoning is 'like the half-chicken.' 155 Or, honoring neither is to be a blasphemer; but to honor one and not the other, this is pure foolishness." 156 Becoming angry, Rāmadāsa broke his flute and went away; and in due time my brother was completely ruined.

157 So this demonstrates the power of the servants of him; but now let me speak of the nature of his mercy. 158 I reproached my brother, and because of this quality, that night Prabhu gave *darśana* to me. 159 Near Naihāṭī there is a village called Jhāmaṭapura; there Nityānanda Rāma appeared in a dream [to me]. 160 Falling down, I prostrated myself at his feet. Prabhu put his own lotus-foot upon my head. 161 He said, "Rise up, rise up," to me again and again; and rising up and seeing his beauty I was astonished. 162 A dark, glistening beauty, a huge body, like Kandarpa manifest, like a powerful wrestler. 163 Powerful arms and legs, and lotus-eyes, a silken cloth on his head, wearing silken clothing, 164 golden earrings in his ears, and golden armlets and wrist-ornaments; above his feet the *nāpura* anklets jingled, and on his neck a garland of flowers. 165 His body was anointed with sandalwood, his *tilaka* well-shaped, and his gait more slow and graceful than that of a *matta-gaja*. 166 His face shone more brightly than a crore of moons, his delicately pointed teeth, like pomegranate seeds, highlighted from chewing *tāmbūla*. 167 Drunken with *prema* his body swayed left and right, and he was crying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" in a deep voice. 168 His red-colored staff swung from his hand; he was like an intoxicated lion; and there were bees all around his feet. 169 I saw his devotees all in the

153. "The two brothers," i.e., Caitanya and Nityānanda.

154. Rādhagovinda Nātha tells this story in explanation of the proverb: Once there was a man who had a hen that laid very large eggs, and by these eggs the man made a satisfactory living. One day he thought: The chicken lays eggs through its rear end, and its front end is good for nothing at all except to eat. So I will cut off the front end and eat it; the rear end will remain, and no harm will be done. And so saying, he cut the chicken in half. The point of the proverb here, of course, is that you cannot separate Caitanya and Nityānanda, and if you attempt to do so, you lose both.

164. *Nāpura*: anklets like those worn by dancers.

165. *Matta-gaja*: a rutting elephant. There are inevitably some similes and other figures which do not seem to mean the same in English as they do in Bengali; "rut-elephant" does not in English give the impression of grace, controlled power, and intoxication in *prema* that is conveyed by the Bengali. *Tilaka*: mark on the forehead.

166. *Tāmbūla*: pan, which when chewed stains the gums a bright red, hence the contrast.

168. Or "swung . . . like (the tail of) an intoxicated lion."

dress of cowherds, all, intoxicated with *prema*, saying "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa." 170 Some were playing horns and flutes, some sang and danced; some served him with *tāmbūla*, some fanned him with fans. 171 Seeing the majesty of the true form of Nityānanda—such beauty, qualities, *līlā* all more than human— 172 I was overcome with a joyful pleasure and knew nothing at all; then Prabhu, smiling, spoke to me: 173 "Ah, Kṛṣṇadāsa, do not be afraid. Go to Vṛndāvana, where all things can be attained." 174 So saying, he urged me, giving me a sign with his hand. Then Prabhu disappeared, taking his companions with him. 175 I fell upon the ground unconscious; my dream was broken off, and it was morning. 176 I mused on what I had seen and heard: the order of Prabhu was to go to Vṛndāvana. 177 And in that instant I started for Vṛndāvana, and by the mercy of Prabhu I came to Vṛndāvana in happiness.

178 Glory, glory to Nityānanda, Nityānanda Rāma, by whose mercy I gained Vṛndāvana-*dhāma*. 179 Glory, glory to Nityānanda, glory to him full of mercy, because of whom I gained the refuge of Rūpa and Sanātana, 180 because of whom I have gained Raghunātha Mahāśaya, because of whom I have gained the refuge of Svārūpa. 181 By the grace of Sanātana I gained the perfection of *bhakti*; by the grace of Śrī Rūpa I gained the limits of *bhakti-rasa*. 182 Glory, glory to the lotus-feet of Nityānanda, because of whom I have found Rādhā-Govinda. 183 I am a greater sinner than Jagāi and Mādhāi; I am inferior to the worms found in feces. 184 He who hears my name, his merit is destroyed; he who takes my name does a very sinful thing. 185 Who in this world is merciful to a shameless one like me, except the one Nityānanda? 186 Drunken with *prema*, Nityānanda is the incarnation of mercy. He does not distinguish between the highest and the lowest. 187 He saves all who fall before him; thus he has saved an evil one like me, 188 as full of sin as I am, he brought me to Śrī Vṛndāvana; he gave the feet of Śrī Rūpa to a low one such as I, 189 and the *darśana* of Śrī Madanagopāla and Śrī Govinda—but I have no right to

172. Joyful pleasure: *ananda*. ". . . and knew nothing at all" is a frequent Vaiṣṇava phrase meaning that the person so overcome is not conscious of anything apart from the vision or the *bhāva* he is experiencing.

180. As Rādhagovinda Nātha points out, it is uncertain whether or not this refers to Svārūpa Dāmodara, the intimate follower of Caitanya at Puri. It seems unlikely that Svārūpa would be mentioned in the context of Vṛndāvana unless, as is not known, he went to Vṛndāvana after Caitanya's death. It more likely means that Svārūpa and his doctrines were known to him through Raghunātha [cf. 1.4.137-38; 2.2.73; 3.6.200-202; and 3.14.6-8. TKS].

183. Jagāi Mādhāi: see below, 1.8.17 commentary.

184. [Kṛṣṇadāsa of course means 'the servant of Kṛṣṇa' pointing the listener's attention away from ego to deity. TKS]



say all these things. 190 Madanagopāla is the king of Vṛndāvana, Vrajendrakumāra manifest in the *rāsa-vilāsa*, 191 who was manifested as the charmer of the Charmer in the *rāsa-vilāsa*, with Śrī Rādhā and Lalitā.

Śloka 22. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.32.2:

After the various lamentations of the *gopīs* in the *rāsa-līlā*, he suddenly appeared among them, dressed in a yellow robe, with a garland of wildflowers and a smiling face—like Madana the mind-stealer manifest.

192 The hearts of people are attracted by his own sweetness; Rādhā and Lalitā serve him on two sides. 193 The grace of Nityānanda showed him to me, and gave me Śrī Rādhā-Madanamohana as my *prabhu*. 194 To a lowly person like me he gave a *darśana* of Govinda. There is no way to tell of this; it is a story which cannot be described. 195 Seated on the *yoga-pīṭha* in Vṛndāvana in the forest of wishing trees, in a jeweled *maṇḍapa*, on a throne all made of jewels, 196 Śrī Govinda Vrajendranandana sat, manifesting his sweetness, intoxicating the world. 197 On his left side were Śrī Rādhikā and her [*gopī*] companions, and [with them] how much does Prabhu sport, in the *rāsa* and other *līlās*? 198 And in his own place, Padmāsana meditates on him, and worships him with the *mantra* of eighteen syllables. 199 In the fourteen worlds, all meditate on him, and in the citadel of Vaikuṇṭha they sing the qualities of his *līlā*. 200 Lakṣmī is attracted by his sweetness; Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin has described it in this way:

191. Manmatha-manmatha: "charmer of the Charmer (i.e., Kāma-deva)."

Śloka 22. See 2.8.11.18; 2.8.11.30.

193. Kṛṣṇadāsa is speaking of the image of Kṛṣṇa called Madanagopāla.

195. Kṛṣṇadāsa is speaking of the image of Kṛṣṇa called Govinda. *Yoga-pīṭha*: a special meeting place for Rādhā and Govinda and their retinue; in the center of the *yoga-pīṭha* is a six-petalled lotus inlaid with jewels, and within that is the jeweled throne of Rādhā and Govinda. This is situated beneath a wishing-tree (*kalpataru*), that tree of heaven which grants all wishes. *Maṇḍapa* is usually an open building for meetings or worship; here it is the place of tryst.

197. *Sakhī*: female companion.

198. *Padmāsana*: "the lotus position" for meditation, here a synecdoche for Brahman. *Aṣṭādaśakṣara-mantra*: eighteen syllable *mantra*; this is a special *mantra* for the worship of Kṛṣṇa the beloved of the *gopīs*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha does not give the *mantra* in his commentary, perhaps because it is not to be revealed.

Śloka 23. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī*] 1.2.239:

O friend, if you desire to stay with your friends, then do not look at the Hari-mūrti of Govinda, smiling slightly, his body bent in three parts, his wide eyes askance, his flute on lower lip like a young lotus-shoot, shining with peacock-feather eyes.

201 He is the manifest son of Vrajendra, and no other; they are ignorant who think of him as an image. 202 For such an offence there is no salvation; they fall into gloomy hell. What more can I say? 203 Who is able to describe the mercy of his feet from whom I have obtained this Govinda Prabhu? 204 The circle of so many Vaiṣṇavas, staying in Vṛndāvana, devoted to the name of Kṛṣṇa, the highest auspiciousness, 205 the treasures of their hearts are Nityānanda and Śrī Caitanya, and they know nothing other than Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa *bhakti*. 206 The dust of their feet, the shadow of their feet, the grace of Nityānanda Prabhu has given to a wretched man. 207 "There all can be obtained" was the word of Prabhu—that *sūtra* I have explained. 208 I gained all these things, having come to Vṛndāvana; all those things are to be obtained by the mercy of Prabhu. 209 I have written my own story without shame; the qualities of Nityānanda cause me to write, being maddened. 210 The greatness of the qualities of Nityānanda Prabhu is shoreless; by a thousand mouths the end of it could not be reached.

211 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

207. A *sūtra* is that which states the matter in brief, and is explained in commentary; the *sūtra* was that "all can be gained," and Kṛṣṇadāsa has explained "all" in terms of the images of Govinda, Madanamohana, etc.



## Ādi Līlā Chapter 6

Sloka 1.

I bow down to Śrīmad Advaitācārya, doer of wonderful deeds, by the gift of whose grace even a fool can ascertain the true form of truth.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 In five ślokaś the truth of Śrī Nityānanda has been described. Now in two ślokaś let me speak of the great truth of Advaitācārya.

Sloka 2. Svartūpa Gosvāmī's Kaṇḍācā:

That Mahāviṣṇu, who by māyā has created this world, the maker of creation, his avatāra is the Īśvara Advaitācārya.

Sloka 3. Svartūpa Gosvāmī's Kaṇḍācā:

Because he is non-different from Hari, he is called Advaita; as he is a teacher of bhakti, he is called Ācārya. I take refuge in that Advaita Ācārya Īśvara, the bhakta-avatāra.

3 Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī is the manifest Īśvara, whose greatness is not within the perception of human beings. 4 The creator Mahāviṣṇu performed the task of the creation of the world, and the rest; his manifest avatāra is Advaita Ācārya. 5 That puruṣa, who by māyā creates and preserves, who in līlā creates the infinite Brahmā-worlds, 6 and manifests infinite mūrtis according to his wish, and enters into each of the Brahmā-worlds with a single mūrti, 7 the aṁśa of that puruṣa is Advaita, and there is no division between them; there is a distinction of body between them,

Slokaś 2-3. [See 1.1.śl.12-13 respectively; they are the subject of this entire chapter. For the attribution of these ślokaś, see the commentary to 1.5.śl.2. TKS]

but no division. 8 He assists with his pradhāna, and builds a crore of Brahmā-worlds according to his will. 9 Advaita is the blessing of the world, the dhāma of blessed qualities; his deeds are blessed, and his name is blessed. 10 With a crore of aṁśas, a crore of śaktis, a crore of avatāras, the puruṣa creates the whole saṁsāra. 11 Māyā has two aṁśas—nimitta and upādāna. Māyā is the source of the efficient cause, and the material cause is matter; 12 so the Īśvara-puruṣa has two mūrtis and creates the universe with nimitta and upādāna. 13 The puruṣa himself is the efficient cause of the universe, and Nārāyaṇa in the form of Advaita is the material cause. 14 As the nimitta-aṁśa he casts his glance on māyā; the upādāna Advaita creates the Brahmā-worlds. 15 Even though the sāṁkhya considers that pradhāna is the cause, the universe was not created from inert [matter]. 16 By his own creation-śakti Prabhu moves the pradhāna; the creation then was by the śakti of Īśvara. 17 And in the form of Advaita he makes the śakti move [it]; thus Advaita is the chief cause. 18 Advaita Ācārya is the maker of the crore of Brahmā-worlds; and he is the supporter of the Brahmā-worlds with one mūrti in each. 19 The chief aṅga of that Nārāyaṇa is Advaita: in the Bhāgavata the word aṅga is used for aṁśa:

Sloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.14.14:

Are you not Nārāyaṇa? You are the soul of all embodied creatures, O Lord! You are the overseer of all the world. Because you dwell in the water and in the hearts of jīvas, you are Nārāyaṇa. He who is Nārāyaṇa is your body; this alone is truth, not your māyā.

20 The aṁśa, "aṅga," of Īśvara is made up of cit and ānanda; there is no relationship with māyā, so it is said in this śloka. 21 Why is he not called aṁśa, but aṅga? Aṅga is more intimate than aṁśa. 22 The aṁśa of Mahāviṣṇu is Advaita, the storehouse of virtues; he is undivided from Īśvara, so his name is "Advaita" or "complete." 23 As formerly he created the whole universe, so now he is incarnated to propagate bhakti. 24 Giving the gift of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti he has saved all jīvas, and he expounded bhakti in the [Bhāgavad] Gītā and Bhāgavata. 25 Except for instruc-

8. Rādhagovinda Natha interprets pradhāna as prakṛti, material nature, or as it is more technically designated, first cause of the material world.

9. Maṅgala: "auspicious, beneficent," translated here as "blessed."

11. Nimitta: the efficient cause; upādāna: the material cause.

15-17. These three couplets do not appear in all MSS; they are in fact repetitive of 1.5.50-56, which also goes into the Sāṁkhya position on the matter.

Sloka 4. See 1.2.śl.9; 1.3.śl.13.

21. Antaraṅga: intimate.

22. I.e., that which is undivided is whole.



tion in *bhakti*, he has no other work, and thus his name is "Ācārya." 26 He is the guru of Vaiṣṇavas and revered in the world; by the two names together he becomes Advaita Ācārya. 27 "He of the lotus eyes"—of him is he *aṅga* and *aṁśa*; thus he bears the name, the ornament, of Kamalākṣa. 28 His followers gain the *Īśvara-sārūpya*—four-armed, dressed in yellow, like Nārāyaṇa. 29 Advaita Ācārya is the most excellent part of *Īśvara*: his essential truth, name, qualities—all are most wonderful. 30 Because of his worship with *tula* and water, and because of his shout came the *avatāra* of Caitanya with his people; 31 because of him Prabhu propagated *kṛtana*, because of him Prabhu saved the world. 32 The greatness of the qualities of Ācārya Gosvāmī is shoreless; how can a worm of a *jīva* reach the shore of it?

33 Ācārya Gosvāmī was the chief *aṅga* of Caitanya; his other *aṅga* was Prabhu Nityānanda. 34 The *upāṅgas* of Prabhu were Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas*; like the hands, face, and eyes, and the disc and the other weapons. 35 With all of these Caitanya Prabhu undertook his acts; taking all of these he propagated that which he desired. 36 Knowing him to be the pupil of Mādhavendra Puri, Prabhu honored Ācārya Gosvāmī as guru. 37 [For] the preservation of propriety and *dharma* in his earthly *līlā*, with praises and *bhakti*, he made obeisance at his feet. 38 Ācārya considered Caitanya Gosvāmī as Prabhu, and considered himself as his servant. 39 He forgot himself in the happiness of that consideration and advised *jīvas*—"Be

27. One of the epithets of Mahāviṣṇu is "lotus-eyed one," *kamala-nāyana*; *kamalākṣa* is also "lotus-eyed one"; both are names of Advaita Ācārya.

28. This is ambiguous in both Bengali and English; *sārūpya* can mean either that his followers gain him who has the form of *Īśvara*, four-armed Nārāyaṇa, etc., or that they themselves gain the form, i.e., become, like *Īśvara*, four-armed, etc. Rādhāgovinda Nātha has chosen the latter interpretation. [For the different kinds of *mukti*, see 1.3.15-16; 1.4.36-37; 2.6.239; 2.9.31.24; 3.3.31.12. TKS]

29. *Tattva*: essential truth; *nāma*: name; *guṇa*: quality.

30. [It was Advaita's call during his worship that directed Kṛṣṇa's attention to the plight of the Vaiṣṇavas and precipitated his *avatāra*. See 1.3.72, 76-91; 1.4.225; 1.13.61-69. TKS]

34. Again there is an ambiguity. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets it as meaning that the *aṅgas*, the limbs and primary bodily parts, Nityānanda and Advaita, were hands, face, and eyes, while Śrīvāsa and the others were secondary *aṅgas*, *upāṅgas*, extensions of the body like the *cakra* or disc. Previously, *upāṅgas* were called fingers and toes. The other possibility, less likely, is that hands, face, and eyes are considered *upāṅgas*, and are themselves the disc and the other weapons, beauty being the weapon of Kṛṣṇa in this *avatāra*.

35. *Vihāra*: activity, play or sport, amorous activity; often a synonym for *līlā*.

36. In this earthly *līlā*, Caitanya honored Advaita as guru, even though Advaita was an *aṅga* of himself; the earthly reason for this is that Advaita was a pupil of the guru of Caitanya's own guru.

37. Even though the *līlā* has significance on the cosmic level, customs of society must be observed; these of course include the honoring of one's guru.

servants of Kṛṣṇa." 40 The happiness of a crore of Brahmās is not a drop of that sea of *ananda* which is in the condition of servant to Kṛṣṇa.

41 [Says Advaita,] "I am a servant of Caitanya, and another is Nityānanda; there is no other *ananda* like that of the *bhava* of a servitor. 42 The most beloved Lakṣmī rests on his breast, begging and entreating for the happiness of *dāsyā*. 43 His associates are overjoyed in the *dāsyā-bhāva*—Vidhi, Bhava, Nārada and Śuka, Sanātana. 44 Nityānanda Avadhūta, the foremost of all, was mad in the *dāsyā-prema* of Caitanya. 45 Śrīvāsa, Haridāsa, Rāmadāsa, Gadādhara, Murāri, Mukunda, Candrasekhara, Vakreśvara— 46 all these were learned and intellectual men, but all were maddened in the *dāsyā* of Caitanya. 47 So they sang, danced, laughed hysterically, and exhorted people—"Be a servant of Caitanya." 48 'Caitanya Gosvāmī considers me his guru—yet I consider myself a servant of Caitanya.' 49 This is one wonderful influence of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*—the *dāsyā-bhāva* causes the inferiors to be equal or superior. 50 Hear the proof of this—it is explained in the *śāstras*, and even more profound proof of it is the experience of great men. 51 According to others' accounts there was in Vraja no one more honored of Kṛṣṇa than Nanda Mahāśaya; 52 there was on his part no consideration [of Kṛṣṇa] as *Īśvara*, but [his feeling was] pure *vātsalya*: [still] *prema* caused him to follow the *dāsyā* [path]. 53 He prayed for passionate love and attachment at Kṛṣṇa's feet: the proof of that is in the words of his own holy mouth: 54 'Hear, O Uddhava, it is true that Kṛṣṇa is my son; if it is in your mind that he is *Īśvara*, 55 still may my own mind be inclined as it was; may my mind ever remain fixed on that Kṛṣṇa, who is your Lord.'

41-73. Advaita is speaking. [The Bengali, however, is somewhat vague and could be construed to switch back to the narrator Kṛṣṇadāsa from time to time. TKS]

41. [*Dāsa*: servitor, often substituted for devotee (*bhakta*); in the following passage it appears to be synonymous with the more technical expression *dāsyā* or *dāsyā-bhāva*. TKS]

42. Lakṣmī, beloved of Nārāyaṇa, feels that the *dāsyā-bhāva* brings still greater happiness. There is another possibility: *hrdaye vasati*, "situated in the heart" of Nārāyaṇa. And, Rādhāgovinda Nātha adds, the reference may be to Rādhā, who is the container of all the *lakṣmīs*.

43. Vidhi: Brahmā; Bhava: Śiva; Śuka: Śukadeva Gosvāmī; and by Sanātana is meant the four: Sanātana, Sanaka, Sanandana, and Sanat Kumāra. Brahmā asks for this status in *BhP* 10.14.30; and Brahmā describes Śiva as such in a speech to Nārada as reported in Sanātana's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* 1.2.81-83. See below, 1.6.67.

52. *Vātsalya*: parental affection. Nanda's position is in contrast to Vasudeva, who, while he also considered Kṛṣṇa as a son, from time to time understood that he was Bhagavān.

53. *Rati mati*: literally "passion and a condition of mind," suggesting a single-mindedness of devotion.

54-55. The situation was that Uddhava had been sent from Mathurā by Kṛṣṇa; arriving in Vraja, he found Nanda in great grief because of his separation from his son Kṛṣṇa; Uddhava attempted to relieve his grief by explaining to him that Kṛṣṇa is divine, and this is his response.



Sloka 5-6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.47.66-67:

5 Let all our thoughts take refuge in the lotus-feet of Kṛṣṇa, let our voices speak his names, let our bodies be prostrate before him. 6 Wherever we are caused to wander because of our acts by the will of God, there, lord Kṛṣṇa, may we take pleasure in giving of gifts and performing auspicious deeds.

56 In Vraja all the group of friends—Śrīdāma and the rest—were without knowledge of him as Īśvara, but were full only of *sakhya*. 57 They fought with Kṛṣṇa, climbed upon his shoulders, and [still] in *dāsyā-bhāva* served his feet.

Sloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.15.17:

When Kṛṣṇa lay down, some *mahātmas* massaged his feet, and some cleansed of evil fanned him with fans.

58 The *gopīs*, beloved of Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, for the dust of whose feet Uddhava prays, 59 and than whom there is no more beloved to Kṛṣṇa, they too considered themselves maid-servants to him.

Sloka 8. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.6:

O destroyer of the sorrows of the people of Vraja, O hero of the women, O you whose smile drives away the pride of your own people, love [us]. O friend, we are your girl-servants, show us your lovely lotus-face.

Sloka 9. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.47.21:

It is our great sorrow that the son of Ārya has gone to live in the city of the Madhus; O Uddhava, does he remember, from the house of his father, the *gopas* his kind friends? Sometimes does he speak of [us, his] maid servants? When would he again put his aloe-scented arm on our heads?

60 Keep [aside] the story of all these—Śrīmatī Rādhikā is the highest and best of all the *aṁśas*. 61 He who becomes her maid-servant and serves her feet, binds Kṛṣṇa always with the quality of his love.

Sloka 7. *Mahātma*: a rather lofty epithet for the *gopas*.

Sloka 9. *Āryaputra*: "Son of an Honorable Man," a wifely expression for "husband."

61. See v. 73 commentary.

Sloka 10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.30.39:

Ah lord, lover, most beloved, strong of arm, where are you, where are you? I am your slave, your beggar, show me your presence, friend!

62 In Dvārakā, Rukmiṇī and the other *mahīṣṭs*—they also considered themselves as Kṛṣṇa's servants.

Sloka 11. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.83.8:

When the kings raised their bows to surrender me to the king of Cedi, he, whose foot-dust was used as crowns by invincible soldiers, led me away, as a lion his share from a herd of goats and sheep: may the feet of that Śrīniketa be for me to worship.

Sloka 12. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.83.11:

I performed *tapas*, in the hope to touch his very feet, and Kṛṣṇa by his grace came himself with his friend, and took my hand, me, the cleaner of his house.

Sloka 13. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.83.39:

By abandoning all attachments, indeed by austerity, we have become the house-servants of the Ātmārāma Puruṣa.

63 And what of the others—of Baladeva Mahāśaya, who was full of pure *sakhya* and *vatsalya* and the other *bhāvas*. 64 He also considered himself a servant; there is no one who does not experience the *bhāva* of *dāsa* toward Kṛṣṇa. 65 He who is Śeṣa Saṁkarṣaṇa, with a thousand mouths, he takes ten bodies and serves Kṛṣṇa. 66 And the Rudra in the infinite Brahmā-worlds, the *aṁśa* of Sadaśiva, the *guṇa-avatāra*, the ornament of all the *devas*, 67 he also prays for the *dāsyā* of Kṛṣṇa; Śiva says eternally, 'I am the servant of Kṛṣṇa.' 68 Drunken with Kṛṣṇa-*prema*, Digambara, the sky-clad Śiva, overwhelmed, sings the qualities and *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa, and dances forever. 69 Whether there are the *bhāvas* of father, mother, *guru*, and friend, by the nature of Kṛṣṇa-*prema* these are made *dāsyā-bhāva*. 70 The one Kṛṣṇa, the lord of the world, is to be served by all; as many [individuals] as there are they are his followers and servants. 71 That Kṛṣṇa was incarnated as Caitanya Īśvara; and thus

65. I.e., umbrella, couch, seat, etc.

67. In *BhP* 5.17.18, Śiva says in praise of Saṁkarṣaṇa, "O worshipful one, I worship you, the refuge of all in your lotus feet, you are the refuge of the divine qualities."



all others are his servants. 72 Some honor him, some do not honor him, but they are all his servants; those who do not honor him are destroyed by that sin. 73 I am a servant of Caitanya, a slave of Caitanya, I am a servant of Caitanya, a servant of his servants."

74 So saying he dances and sings and shouts loudly; and the next moment Ācārya sits very still. 75 The source of considering one's self a *bhakta* is Śrī Balarāma; his *aṁśas* follow in that *bhāva*. 76 One of his incarnations was Śrī Saṁkarṣaṇa; he considers himself a *bhakta* incessantly. 77 Another of his *avatāras* was Śrīyukta Lakṣmaṇa, and he was always in *dāsyā* to Rāma. 78 An *avatāra* of Saṁkarṣaṇa was Kāraṇābdhiṣayī, in whose heart the *bhakta-bhāva* was always present. 79 A part of the manifestation of him was Advaita Ācārya; *bhakti* in word, thought, and deed was his constant work. 80 In speech he said, "I am a follower of Caitanya." "I am his *bhakta*"—was the constant *bhāva* in his mind. 81 And bodily he served with water and *tulasī*, and he saved all the world, propagating *bhakti*. 82 That Śeṣa Saṁkarṣaṇa who holds the earth, with *kāyavyūha* serves Kṛṣṇa. 83 All these are *avatāras* of Kṛṣṇa, and we see without end the activities of *bhakti* of all. 84 In the *śāstras* all these are called *bhakta-avatāras*; and the feet of *bhakta-avatāras* are above all things. 85 There is only one *aṁśī*—Kṛṣṇa; the *aṁśas* are the *avatāras*; so *aṁśī* and *aṁśa* behave as elder and younger brothers. 86 In the *aṁśī* there is the *bhāva* of the elder, the knowledge [that he is] Prabhu; in the *bhāva* of the younger there is consideration of the self as *bhakta*. 87 The feet of the *bhakta* is greater than equality to Kṛṣṇa; the *prema* of the *bhakta* of Kṛṣṇa is greater than is his [own] self. 88 Kṛṣṇa considers the *bhakta* greater than himself, which is proven by the words of many *śāstras*:

Śloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.14.15:

The Self-born [Brahmā], Saṁkara, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Śrī, or I myself—none is as dear to me as you.

89 No one equal to Kṛṣṇa tastes of his sweetness; his sweetness is tasted by the *bhāva* of the *bhakta*. 90 This is the conclusion of the *śāstras* and the experience of knowl-

72. *Pāpa*: sin.

73. [*Tāra dāsera dāsa*: servant of his servants. The injunction to serve those who serve Kṛṣṇa is highly esteemed among the sixty-four *vaidhī* acts of a devotee (see below vv. 87-88). It is perhaps even more significant in Kṛṣṇadāsa's text, where it appears repeatedly, because it anticipates the dominant form of ritual practice preferred by the Vṛndāvana-based community, i.e., *mañjarī-sādhana*. TKS]

85-86. *Aṁśī*: container or possessor of the parts (*aṁśa*).

edgeable men; but stupid people do not know the grandeur of this *bhāva*. 91 Accepting the *bhakta-bhāva*, Balarāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Advaita, Nityānanda, Śeṣa, and Saṁkarṣaṇa 92 drink the nectar of the *rasa* of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa, and drunken by that happiness, they know nothing more.

93 Whatever the work of others, Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself was thirsty for the taste of his own sweetness. 94 He tries to taste his own sweetness, but apart from the *bhakta-bhāva* there is no taste of that. 95 Thus taking on the *bhakta-bhāva* he was incarnated, full of all *bhāvas*, in the form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. 96 In the *bhāva* of various *bhaktas* he drinks his own sweetness; previously I explained the theory of this. 97 The *avatāras* are foremost in *bhakta-bhāva*, and there is no greater pleasure than that of the *bhakta-bhāva*. 98 The basic *bhakta-avatāra* was Śrī Saṁkarṣaṇa, and Advaita is counted as a *bhakta-avatāra*. 99 Limitless is the greatness of Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī, whose cry brought on the Caitanya-*avatāra*. 100 Propagating *saṁkīrtana* he saved the whole world; by the grace of Advaita people gained the wealth of *prema*. 101 Who can tell the limits of Advaita's greatness; that which I write I have heard from the great men. 102 A crore of my obeisances at the feet of Ācārya, that he not take [anything I say as] an offence to him. 103 Your greatness is a crore of fathomless seas, [yet] I speak of measuring it—this is a great offence. 104 Glory, glory, glory to Śrī Advaita Ācārya; glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya and to the revered Nityānanda. 105 In two *ślokas* the truth of Advaita has been put forth; now prepare, *bhaktas*, for a discussion of the *pañca-tattva*.

106 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

96. See chapter 1.4.

99. See below, v. 30 and commentary.



## Ādi Līlā Chapter 7

Sloka 1.

I bow down to Śrī Caitanya, the seeker for the poor and lowly, the refuge of those without refuge, and I write of a little portion of his majesty and sweetness, which effects fortune.

1 Glory, glory to Mahāprabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya—he is most fortunate, whose refuge is at his feet.

2 Previously obeisance has been made to the six *tattvas*, *guru* and the rest; I have spoken of the *guru-tattva*; now I shall discuss the [other] five. 3 The five *tattvas* were incarnated with Caitanya; with the five *tattvas* he has sport in *saṅkīrtana*. 4 The five *tattvas* are one essence, with no differences at all [among them]; but for tasting *rasa* there are various differences:

Sloka 2. Svarūpa Gosvāmin's *Kaṇḍāḥ*:

I bow to Kṛṣṇa, himself of these five natures: *bhakta-rūpa*, *bhakta-svarūpa*, *bhakta-avatāra*, the form called *bhakta*, and him whose *śakti* is the *bhakta*.

Sloka 1. See 2.21.śl.1.

2. 1.1.26-29.

4. In the manifest *līlā* they appear with different *bhavas*, different appearances, etc., which is described in detail in Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*.

Sloka 2. See 1.1.śl.14. [The attribution of this *śloka* to Svarūpa Dāmodara is much more probable than in previously cited *ślokas*. Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD* 10 quotes this *śloka* verbatim, preceded in v. 9 with the expression "spoken by the venerable Svarūpa": *ataḥ svarūpacaraṇairuktaṁ tattvanirūpaṇe / upādhibhedat pañcatattvaṁ tattvasyeha pradarśyate //*. Kṛṣṇadāsa very clearly knew the works of Kavikarṇapūra, whom he quotes with regularity in the key narratives of the *madhya līlā* where he expands Kavikarṇapūra's statements by supplying the theoretical formulations of Jīva and Rūpa Gosvāmin. Whether or not Kṛṣṇadāsa took this quotation directly from Kavikarṇapūra we cannot definitively conclude, but it is significant that the explanation of the *pañca-tattva* found

5 The *svayaṁ bhagavān* Kṛṣṇa is the sole *Īśvara* unequalled, son of Nanda, the greatest among knowers of *rasa*. 6 The maker of *vilāsa* in the *rāsa* and other *līlas*, the lover of the beautiful women of Vraja—all others whom you see are his followers—7 that Kṛṣṇa was incarnated Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and all his blessed followers with him. 8 Caitanya *Īśvara* is the sole essence of God; his pure body is full of *bhakta-bhāva*. 9 There is a wonderful natural characteristic of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa: to taste himself Kṛṣṇa took on the *bhakta-bhāva*. 10 So Caitanya Gosvāmī holds the *bhakta-bhāva*; his brother Nityānanda is his *bhakta-svarūpa*. 11 His *bhakta-avatāra* is Ācārya Gosvāmī; all celebrate these three *tattvas* as Prabhu: 12 one Mahāprabhu and two Prabhus; the two Prabhus serve the feet of Mahāprabhu. 13 These three *tattvas* are honored as *sarvārādhyā*: to be revered by all. The fourth, the *bhakta-tattva*, is known as *ārādha*, the one who worships. 14 Śrīvāsa and the other *crores* and *crores* of *bhaktas* are all counted among those who are perfected *bhaktas* in their essence. 15 Gadādhara and the rest are *śakti-avatāras* of Prabhu, and they are counted as "intimate" *bhaktas*. 16 With all these, Prabhu sports eternally, and with all of them Prabhu propagates *kīrtana*. 17 With all of them he tastes *prema*, and with all of them he distributes his wealth of *prema*.

18 These five *tattvas* all together came to earth and broke the seal of the treasure-house of former *prema*. 19 The five together looted the *prema* and tasted it, and however much they drank, their thirst grew incessantly. 20 Drinking again and again, they became greatly intoxicated; they danced and wept and laughed and sang, as if drunk on wine. 21 They did not consider fitness of vessels, nor the propriety or impropriety of the place; to whomever they found they gave the gift of *prema*.

in this chapter coincides remarkably with the *GGUD*. This is clearly the strongest evidence in the text that Kṛṣṇadāsa was actually working from Svarūpa's *Kaṇḍāḥ*, a text he refers to generally but never claims actually to quote. See also the commentary on 1.4.śl.8 and 1.4.śl.44. TKS]

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18. "Former *prema*" refers to the *prema* of the *Vraja-līlā*.

21. I.e., to Hindus and non-Hindus, *brāhmaṇas* and *caṇḍālas*, learned and ignorant they distributed it; for a brief discussion of the extent to which this idealistic statement was true, see Introduction, Sect. 1.2.



## Ādi Līlā Chapter 7

Sloka 1.

I bow down to Śrī Caitanya, the seeker for the poor and lowly, the refuge of those without refuge, and I write of a little portion of his majesty and sweetness, which effects fortune.

1 Glory, glory to Mahāprabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya—he is most fortunate, whose refuge is at his feet.

2 Previously obeisance has been made to the six *tattvas*, *guru* and the rest; I have spoken of the *guru-tattva*; now I shall discuss the [other] five. 3 The five *tattvas* were incarnated with Caitanya; with the five *tattvas* he has sport in *saṅkīrtana*. 4 The five *tattvas* are one essence, with no differences at all [among them]; but for tasting *rāsa* there are various differences:

Sloka 2. Svarūpa Gosvāmin's *Kāṇḍā*:

I bow to Kṛṣṇa, himself of these five natures: *bhakta-rūpa*, *bhakta-svarūpa*, *bhakta-avatāra*, the form called *bhakta*, and him whose *śakti* is the *bhakta*.

Sloka 1. See 2.21.1.1.

2. 1.1.26-29.

4. In the manifest *līlā* they appear with different *bhāvas*, different appearances, etc., which is described in detail in Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*.

Sloka 2. See 1.1.14. [The attribution of this *śloka* to Svarūpa Dāmodara is much more probable than in previously cited *ślokas*. Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD* 10 quotes this *śloka* verbatim, preceded in v. 9 with the expression "spoken by the venerable Svarūpa": *ataḥ svarūpacaraṇairuktaṁ tattvanirūpaṇe / upadhibhedāt pañcatattvaṁ tattvasyeha pradarśyate* //]. Kṛṣṇadāsa very clearly knew the works of Kavikarṇapūra, whom he quotes with regularity in the key narratives of the *mādhya-līlā* where he expands Kavikarṇapūra's statements by supplying the theoretical formulations of Jīva and Rūpa Gosvāmin. Whether or not Kṛṣṇadāsa took this quotation directly from Kavikarṇapūra we cannot definitively conclude, but it is significant that the explanation of the *pañca-tattva* found

5 The *svayaṁ bhagavān* Kṛṣṇa is the sole *Īśvara* unequaled, son of Nanda, the greatest among knowers of *rāsa*. 6 The maker of *vilāsa* in the *rāsa* and other *līlās*, the lover of the beautiful women of Vraja—all others whom you see are his followers—7 that Kṛṣṇa was incarnated Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and all his blessed followers with him. 8 Caitanya *Īśvara* is the sole essence of God; his pure body is full of *bhakta-bhāva*. 9 There is a wonderful natural characteristic of the sweetness of Kṛṣṇa: to taste himself Kṛṣṇa took on the *bhakta-bhāva*. 10 So Caitanya Gosvāmī holds the *bhakta-bhāva*; his brother Nityānanda is his *bhakta-svarūpa*. 11 His *bhakta-avatāra* is Ācārya Gosvāmī; all celebrate these three *tattvas* as Prabhu: 12 one Mahāprabhu and two Prabhus; the two Prabhus serve the feet of Mahāprabhu. 13 These three *tattvas* are honored as *sarvārādhyā*: to be revered by all. The fourth, the *bhakta-tattva*, is known as *ārādha*, the one who worships. 14 Śrīvāsa and the other crores and crores of *bhaktas* are all counted among those who are perfected *bhaktas* in their essence. 15 Gadādhara and the rest are *śakti-avatāras* of Prabhu, and they are counted as "intimate" *bhaktas*. 16 With all these, Prabhu sports eternally, and with all of them Prabhu propagates *kīrtana*. 17 With all of them he tastes *prema*, and with all of them he distributes his wealth of *prema*.

18 These five *tattvas* all together came to earth and broke the seal of the treasure-house of former *prema*. 19 The five together looted the *prema* and tasted it, and however much they drank, their thirst grew incessantly. 20 Drinking again and again, they became greatly intoxicated; they danced and wept and laughed and sang, as if drunk on wine. 21 They did not consider fitness of vessels, nor the propriety or impropriety of the place; to whomever they found they gave the gift of *prema*.

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22 Looting, drinking, giving, they emptied the storehouse; but in that wonderful storehouse the *prema* increased a hundred fold. 23 There rose up a flood of *prema*, which covered the four directions: women, old men, boys, youths—all were drowned in it. 24 Good people and bad, crippled, inert, blind—the people of the world were drowned in the flood of *prema*. 25 The world drowned in it, and the seed of the *jīva* was destroyed; seeing this the five were greatly pleased. 26 As much of a rain of *prema* as the five made, so much the water grew, and covered the three worlds. 27 The Mayāvādīs, those devoted to *karma*, sophists, abusers, *pāṣaṇḍīs*, and low scholars, 28 all these very cleverly fled away, and the flood was not able to touch them. 29 Seeing that, Mahāprabhu reflected, “I have tried to drown the world, 30 but some have evaded it, and my promise is broken; I shall spread a trap to catch them all.” 31 So saying he reflected deeply, and Prabhu took on the *saṁnyāsa-āśrama*. 32 For twenty-four years he was in the householder stage of life; in his twenty-fifth year he took on the ascetic *dharma*. 33 Having become a *saṁnyāsin* Prabhu attracted all those philosophers and others who had fled away. 34 The scholars, atheists, followers of *karma*, abusers—all of them came and bowed down at the feet of Prabhu. 35 He forgave their offences, and they were drowned in the water of *prema*. Who can evade the great net of the *prema* of Prabhu? 36 Prabhu was the *avatāra* of mercy come to save everyone; to save everyone he did things of infinite cleverness. 37 So he made many *mlecchas* and others his own *bhaktas*, and of all only the Mayāvādīs of Kāśī escaped.

25. Rādhagovinda Nātha interprets this to mean the seed of *saṁsāra*, or that which binds the *jīva* to *māyā*, usually understood as *karma*.

27. *Mayāvādin karmanīṣṭha kutārkikagaṇa / ninduka pāṣaṇḍī yata pādhyādhama* // By Mayāvādin presumably is meant the *advaitin* followers of Saṅkara, followers of the *jñāna-mārga*; *karmanīṣṭha* are presumably followers of *karma*, believing that action and works are efficacious by themselves; *kutārkika* are those who endlessly and fruitlessly debate the meanings of the texts, rather than accepting the word of the *BhP* at its face value; *ninduka* are those who vilify Kṛṣṇa and Vaiṣṇavas, or perhaps, more generally, all those who cause injury for selfish ends; *pāṣaṇḍī*, see ante 1.3.61 and commentary; interestingly, Rādhagovinda Nātha defines *pādhyādhama* as “lowest among students,” and goes on to remark that as in Caitanya’s day Navadvīpa was a seat of learning and the center of the *navya-nyāya* school of philosophy, there were a great many students around; some of these were devoted to sophistry and meaningless discussion, and constituted an opposition to the spread of Caitanya’s *bhakti*.

32. See 2.1.11.

37. The term *mleccha*, lit., “babblers,” means non-Hindu, but in most of these texts it is usually limited to Muslims. That Caitanya did have some followers who were Muslims is clear enough: Haridāsa is the most famous of them; the case of Rūpa and Sanātana, as has been seen, is not clear. And there are many other stories of conversions (e.g., below 2.18), though their authenticity is sometimes in question. Kāśī: Vārāṇasī, Benares.

38 While going to Vṛndāvana Prabhu stopped in Kāśī, and the Mayāvādīs began to abuse him, 39 “He is a *saṁnyāsin*, and still he sings and dances; he does not study the Vedānta, but only performs *saṁkīrtana*.” 40 He is a fool, this *saṁnyāsin*, who does not know his own *dharma*, an emotionalist who wanders about with emotionalists.” 41 Hearing all this Prabhu laughed to himself; he disregarded them and answered not at all. 42 Having disregarded them, he made his way to Mathurā, and after seeing Mathurā he again came away. 43 In Kāśī there was a *śūdra* scribe Śrī Candrasekhara, in whose house Prabhu, the non-dependent *Īśvara*, stayed. 44 At the house of Tapanā Miśra he took his food, and he honored no invitation with *saṁnyāsins*. 45 Sanātana Gosvāmin came and met him there, and for teaching him Prabhu remained there two months. 46 He taught him all the *dharma* of the Vaiṣṇavas, and the many deep and secret meanings of the *Bhāgavata* and other *śāstras*. 47 Meanwhile Candrasekhara and Tapanā Miśra, unhappy in mind, humbly entreated Prabhu, 48 “How long, O Prabhu, shall we listen to people vilify you; we cannot bear it, and now will abandon our lives. 49 How many *saṁnyāsins* there are who vilify you; we cannot bear to hear it, and our ears and hearts burst.” 50 Hearing this, Prabhu smiled a little, and right then a *brāhmaṇa* came to meet him. 51 Coming forward, he held his feet and prayed, “I ask one thing; grant it, in your grace. 52 I have invited all the *saṁnyāsins*; if you [also] come, my heart will be gratified. 53 You do not frequent the places of the *saṁnyāsins*, I know that; but honor my invitation, and accept.”

54 Prabhu smiled and accepted the invitation, [making] this gesture because of mercy toward the *saṁnyāsins*. 55 The *brāhmaṇa* knew that Prabhu went to no one’s house; but in inspiration he accepted [the invitation]. 56 On the next day, Prabhu went to that *brāhmaṇa*’s house, and he saw sitting there a group of *saṁnyāsins*. 57 He made obeisance to them all, and went to cleanse his feet. And having cleansed his feet, he sat in that place. 58 Sitting down, he revealed some of his divinity; his body was full of great brilliance, glorious as a crore of suns. 59 By his majesty the minds of all the *saṁnyāsins* were attracted, and they all left their seats and arose. 60 The foremost among the *saṁnyāsins* was named Prakāśānanda;

40. *Bhāvaka*: emotionalist; a person who is constant prey to his passions, is not steady, and who loses control of himself at the slightest provocation.

43. The true caste of Candrasekhara is very much in doubt; in places (1.10.150; 2.19.88), Kṛṣṇadāsa calls him a *vaidya*. It is possible that here he is using the term *śūdra* simply to mean non-*brāhmaṇa*; this would not be extraordinary. *Svatantra*: non-dependent.

44. I.e., he would not eat in places where *saṁnyāsins* were eating.

58. *Āiśvarya*: divinity, sovereignty.



he made a certain homage to Prabhu, 61 "Hear, O Śrīpāda, come here, come here; you are sitting in an unclean place—what is this abasement?" 62 Prabhu said, "I am of a lowly *saṁpradāya*; it is not right for me to sit in the company of all of you." 63 Then Prakāśānanda took him with his own hand, and with great respect made him sit in the midst of the assembly. 64 He asked, "Is your name Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya? You are a pupil of Keśava Bhārati; in that you are fortunate. 65 You are a member of a *saṁnyāsin* order; you stay in this place; why do you not show yourself to all of us? 66 Though you are a *saṁnyāsin*, still you sing and dance; with a bunch of emotionalists you make *nāma-saṁkīrtana*. 67 Study of the Vedānta and meditation—this is the *dharma* of a *saṁnyāsin*; abandoning that, why do you act like an emotionalist? 68 Seeing your majesty, you [seem to be] the manifest Nārāyaṇa; why do you do low things, what is the reason for this?"

69 Prabhu said, "Hear, Śrīpāda, the reason for this. My *guru*, seeing me to be ignorant, commanded me, 70 'You are ignorant; you have no right to the Vedānta; always mutter the Kṛṣṇa-mantra, for this is the epitome of all *mantras*. 71 From the Kṛṣṇa-mantra will come the release from the world; from the name of Kṛṣṇa you will gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 72 Apart from the name there is no other *dharma* in the Kali age; the name is the essence of all *mantras*, this is the secret significance of the *śāstras*.' 73 Saying this, one *śloka* he taught to me, [saying] 'Having uttered this *śloka*, reflect upon it':

*Śloka 3. Brhannāradya Purāṇa 38.126:*

There is only the name of Hari, the name of Hari, the name of Hari;  
there is no other way, no other way, no other way in the Kali age.

74 Following this advice, I take the name incessantly; and while taking the name, my mind becomes distracted. 75 I am not able to hold myself in check; I become as mad: I laugh, I weep, I dance, I sing, as if drunk on wine. 76 Then, getting control

61. Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests that this refers back to v. 57, and that Caitanya was sitting in the place where feet were washed, perhaps just outside the door of the room.

62. There were ten *saṁpradāyas* of *saṁnyāsins*: Tīrtha, Āśrama, Vana, Aranya, Giri, Parvata, Sāgara, Puri, Bhārati, and Sarasvatī. These orders were established by Śaṅkara and his followers; it is said that Śaṅkara at one point, for some reason wanted to punish some of these *saṁpradāyas*. As a result of that some left their *guru* completely, and others revolted to a lesser extent; these are still known as *hīna* [low] *saṁpradāya*, and among them was the Bhārati *saṁpradāya*, to which Caitanya belonged.

65. *Grāma*: "place" or "village," though it is likely that even then Vārāṇasī was something more than an ordinary village.

*Śloka 3.* See 1.17.3; 2.6.19. [This *śloka* appears in the first biography of Caitanya, Murāri's KCC 2.2.28; it resurfaces at least once in nearly every subsequent biography, a testament to its sig-

of myself, I reflected in my mind, 'My perception has become clouded by the name of Kṛṣṇa. 77 I have become mad; I cannot hold my mind firm'; and reflecting thus, I pleaded at the feet of my *guru*, 78 'What is the *mantra* you have given me, Gosvāmī, what is its power? While muttering it, the *mantra* has driven me mad. 79 It makes me dance and laugh and weep.' When he heard this, my *guru* smiled and said to me, 80 'This is the nature of the great *mantra* of the Kṛṣṇa-name; whoever utters it, his *bhāva* toward Kṛṣṇa overcomes everything. 81 *Prema* toward Kṛṣṇa is the highest end of man, before this, the other four ends of man are as blades of grass. 82 The fifth end of man is the sea of the nectar of the joy of *prema*; and the joys of *mokṣa* and the rest are less than a single drop of it. 83 The fruit of the Kṛṣṇa-name is *prema*, so it is said in all the *śāstras*. By good fortune that *prema* has been born in you. 84 It is the nature of *prema* to agitate the body and mind, and arouses a desire to gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa. 85 By the nature of *prema* the *bhakta* laughs, and cries, and sings and being mad he dances and runs here and there. 86 Sweat, trembling, thrilling, tears, choking, pallor, madness, sadness, composure, pride, happiness, humility— 87 in all these *bhāvas* does *prema* cause the *bhakta* to dance; he floats in the sea of the nectar of *ānanda* of Kṛṣṇa. 88 It is good that you have gained this highest end; because of your *prema*, my own [efforts] have been successful. 89 So dance, sing, make *saṁkīrtana* with the *bhaktas*, and instruct all the people in the Kṛṣṇa-name.' 90 So saying, he taught me a *śloka*—the essence of the *Bhāgavata*, he said again and again:

nificance and popularity in explaining the importance and ease of chanting the name of Kṛṣṇa for salvation. The *śloka* is explained in CC 1.17.18-22. TKS]

81. *Puruṣārtha*: goals or ends of man. The four are *kāma*, *artha*, *dharma*, and *mokṣa*. The verse is based on Rūpa's *BhRS* [pārva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī] 1.1.33.

86. *Sveda kampa romāñcaśru gadgada vaivarṇya* / *unmāda viśada āhairya garvya harṣa dainya* // 86-93. [The incredible effects of chanting the name of Kṛṣṇa in *kīrtana* are a favorite topic among Caitanya's biographers. The litany of physical signs (e.g., weeping, trembling, etc.) and the dissociative mental states bear a strong resemblance to epilepsy (for an extended discussion of this association, see the text and commentary to 1.17.5, 2.18.74). These effects seem to function primarily to validate the presence of genuine *prema* or possession by the godhead. They are recognizable at least as far back as Bharata, called the eight *sāttvika bhāvas*, which are latent in the subsidiary or ensuing emotions or *anubhāvas* (see 2.23.31). The *sāttvika bhāvas* are: stupor (*stambha*), perspiration (*sveda*), thrill or horripilation (*romāñca*), break in the voice (*svara-bhaṅga*), trembling (*vepathu*), changes in color (*vaivarṇya*), weeping (*śru*), and loss of consciousness (*pralaya*). In the adaptation to *bhakti*, the list has been somewhat modified by Rūpa Gosvāmī. For the more technical analysis and list of the physical effects of *bhāva* (= *sañcāri* or *vyabhicāri*), see 2.8.135 and commentary. Popular expression of these manifestations is of course less precise and more inclusive. Of Caitanya's biographies, Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* contains perhaps the most vivid descriptions of these extraordinary *kīrtana* gatherings (e.g., *CBh* 2.8.147-228). TKS]



Sloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.2.40:

The man, thus aroused, his affection inspired by his own *nāma-saṁkīrtana*, with spinning thoughts like a madman, transported beyond the world of men, sometimes laughs out loud, sometimes weeps, sometimes cries out, and sometimes sings and dances.

91 I keep my deep faith in this speech of his, and so incessantly make the *saṁkīrtana* of the Kṛṣṇa-name. 92 That Kṛṣṇa-name makes me dance, and sometimes sing; I dance and sing not according to my own will. 93 In the Kṛṣṇa-name is the taste of the sea of *ānanda*; beside it the joy of *brahma* is like a tiny puddle of water."

Sloka 5. Rāpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī] 1.1.39 [quoting *Haribhaktisudhodaya* 14.36]:

O guru of the world, for me who has been established in the pure sea of the joy of the realization of your true form, even that happiness of dwelling in the place of *brahma* is like a tiny puddle of water in the imprint of a cow's hoof.

94 Hearing these sweet words of Prabhu, the minds of the *saṁnyāsins* turned about, and they said in honeyed speech, 95 "What you have said is true: he gains the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa who is blessed by fortune. 96 Perform Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, for in this is the happiness of all. But why not listen to the Vedānta? What is the harm in that?" 97 Hearing, Prabhu laughing replied, "If you do not take it amiss, let me propose something." 98 Then all the *saṁnyāsins* said, "You seem like Nārāyaṇa manifest, 99 your words refresh the ear as your sweet beauty does the eye. 100 The minds of all are delighted by your majesty; never is a request from you improper." 101 Then Caitanya said, "The *Vedānta Sūtra* is the word of Īśvara, which Śrī Nārāyaṇa spoke when in the form of Vyāsa. 102 Error, confusion, contradiction, want of skill—these faults are not present in the word of Īśvara. 103 Together with the Upaniṣads the *sūtra* speaks the truth, and that meaning is of the greatest excellence and is easily perceived. 104 But the Ācārya made the *bhāṣya* according to the secondary meaning, and by listening to him all things are destroyed. 105 This was not his fault, for he received the command of Īśvara; he expounded the secondary

Sloka 4. See 2.9.śl.20; 2.23.śl.20; 2.25.śl.34; 3.3.śl.9.

Sloka 5. See 2.24.śl.9; 3.3.śl.13.

103. *Mukhyavṛtti*: the primary or obvious meaning; the meaning which is present in a word by its nature—that meaning which comes immediately into the mind when a word is pronounced.

104. The Ācārya is Śaṅkara, whose *bhāṣya* or commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtra* will be the subject of the following dispute. There are three levels of meaning which are usually accepted in

meaning, hiding the primary one. 106 The chief meaning in the word *brahma* is Bhagavān, made up of *cit* and divinity and none is equal or superior to him. 107 His glory and his body—all are formed by *cit*; hiding the glory of the *cit*, he calls him

the *alamkāra-śāstra*. *Mukhya*, which has been discussed, is the first. The second is *lakṣaṇa*, which comes into play when the primary meaning of the word does not fit the context. Rādhāgovinda Nātha gives the following example: "Ghoṣa lives on the Gaṅgā"; it is clear that since literally living in the middle of a river is not possible, the sentence means "Ghoṣa lives on the bank of the Gaṅgā"—the *lakṣaṇa* meaning. Jīva Gosvāmī divides *lakṣaṇa* into three sub-divisions: *ajahatsvārtha*, *jahatsvārtha*, and *jahadajahatsvārtha*. *Ajahatsvārtha* is where the term retains its original meaning but is extended. For example, the statement "Keep the crows away from the milk" does not mean that only crows should be kept away from the milk, while dogs and cats may come and drink as they please. It means that creatures, including crows, should be kept away. *Jahatsvārtha* is the situation mentioned above, in which the original meaning must be abandoned completely: "The stage cried out" does not mean that the stage has suddenly gained the power of crying out, but that the people on the stage cried out. And *jahadajahatsvārtha* is that *lakṣaṇa* in which one part of the primary meaning is left, and the other part retained. This is the type which is in question here, for Caitanya will argue that the Māyāvādins use this type of interpretation of the "tat tvam asi" statement ("you are that") of the Upaniṣads.

Rādhāgovinda Nātha summarizes the Vaiṣṇava position: by "tat" is understood that which is infinitely differentiated, omniscient, etc., and by "tvam" is understood the *jīva*, which has small knowledge, etc. In the *svārūpa* there is no differentiation between the two, but this cannot be held on the level of total knowledge versus partial knowledge; thus there is a difference on the level of primary meaning. If by "tat" is understood "omniscient Caitanya," if one leaves off "omniscient," only "Caitanya" is left; and if by "tvam" is understood "partially-knowing Caitanya," one leaves "partially knowing," only "Caitanya" is left. Thus "Caitanya" is the meaning of both words, and there is no difference between them. This is the reasoning by which the Māyāvādins establish the non-difference between *brahma* and *jīva*. The third type of meaning is called *gaunavṛtti*, which has been translated "secondary meaning." The usual example is "Devadatta the lion." This does not mean that Devadatta is himself a lion, with mane, tail, etc., but that he has the qualities (*guṇa*) of a lion. Thus some of the qualities in the primary meaning are transferred, but not all. Caitanya's position is that these *alamkāras* are fine for poetry, but inappropriate to use in philosophical discussion, which is what Śaṅkara has done, thereby hiding the true meaning, the primary one, from people.

106-107. *Aiśvarya*: divinity. The argument is essentially that *brahma* is said in the *śruti* to possess *śakti* (e.g., *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 6.8), that *śakti* implies action, and action implies differentiation: power as an abstract force is meaningless. The word *brahma*, according to Rādhāgovinda Nātha's commentary, can be analyzed in either of two ways: *vṛṇhati* and *vṛṇhayati*. By *vṛṇhati* is meant "he who by himself becomes great"; and by *vṛṇhayati* is meant "he who makes others great." Both these meanings are accepted (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.12.57). The *śruti* also says that *brahma* is the greatest of all, supreme, infinite: and *brahma* is infinite in all ways, in *svārūpa*, in *śakti*, in the activities of *śakti*, and the differentiation of the manifestation of *śakti* (*Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 6.8). Śaṅkara himself accepts this in his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra* 1.1.1, and by this agreement accepts the fact that *brahma* is differentiated and qualified, for greatness itself is a quality, and differentiates the great from that which is not great. Furthermore, Jīva Gosvāmī, in his commentary on the first *śloka* of the *BhP*, says that *brahma* is Bhagavān, and that none is equal or superior to him.



*nirākāra*. 108 His place, those who surround him are [all] *cit* and *ananda*; yet he calls him 'the transformation of the substance of matter.' 109 It was not his fault; he was a servant of the Giver of Commands; but of those who hear him, all is destroyed. 110 He considers the body of Viṣṇu to be made of matter; there is no blasphemy toward Viṣṇu greater than this. 111 The *tattva* of Īśvara is like a burning flame; the true form of the *jīva* is like a tiny spark of it. 112 The *jīva-tattva* is *śakti*, the Kṛṣṇa-*tattva* is *śaktimān*; this is demonstrated in the *Gītā*, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, and in other places.

Sloka 6. *Bhagavad Gītā* 7.5:

The elemental world is my lower nature; know that I have a higher nature, in which *jīva*-[*śakti*] participates, by which the world is upheld, strong-armed prince.

Sloka 7. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 6.7.61:

The *śakti* of Viṣṇu is of three kinds: *parā*, *kṣetrajñā*, and the third is held to be called *avidyā-karman*.

113 Having written that the *para-tattva* is the same as the *jīva-tattva*, he has clouded

Bhagavān, being infinitely qualified, has a form, since that is a quality; thus Śaṅkara is mistaken when he calls *brahma nirākāra*, "without form." There is an additional difficulty in v. 106: *brahma* is here called Bhagavān, when previously it has been stated that *brahma* is only the radiance of the body of Bhagavān. The reasoning is familiar: that a part of the whole may be called by the name of the whole, but the whole cannot be called by the name of the part. Finally: the Mayāvādins argue that *brahma* is infinite and undifferentiated, and therefore must be formless, for form implies differentiation, and finite-ness. But it has been shown that *brahma* is indeed differentiated, so it is possible to be infinite and differentiated; it is therefore also possible to be infinite and possess form. This is the *gaṇavṛtti* argument referred to above.

108. I.e., at the time of creation, all the *guṇas* of *māyā* were agitated, and developed into the world and the rest of creation. If Bhagavān has a body and that body is material, it also must have come into being at this time, have been non-existent beforehand, and will dissolve in the cosmic dissolution; it must have been material to touch material nature. But *māyā* does not touch the *svatāpa*, and *māyā* was agitated by the glance of the *puruṣa*. The body and the *dhāma* in *svatāpa* are *cit*, totally divorced from the material creation.

111-112. *Śaktimān*: container or possessor, i.e., the source, of *śaktis*; see the commentaries to 1.1.42 and 1.4.84. *Śakti* and *śaktimān* are not separate, as the flame and the spark are not separate. This relationship between the *jīva* and Kṛṣṇa is possible in *svatāpa*.

Sloka 6. *Parā*: the *antaraṅga cit-śakti* is supreme, among the *śaktis* of Īśvara; *kṣetrajñā*: *jīva-śakti*; *avidyā*: *māyā-śakti*. See 2.6.12; 2.20.10.

Sloka 7. See 2.6.10; 2.8.136; 2.20.19; 2.24.188.

113. The *jīva* is a spark, Īśvara is like the flame: these are not the same; there is an eternal and infinite difference between the *cit-śakti* and *jīva-śakti*.

the supreme excellence of Īśvara. 114 In the *sūtra* of Vyāsa the theory of evolution has been stated; he raised a dispute, saying 'Vyāsa was mistaken.' 115 'Because of evolution, Īśvara becomes changed'—so saying, he established an 'illusion-theory.' 116 In fact, the evolution theory is proven; considering that the *atmā* is in the body—this is the place of the illusion. 117 Śrī Bhagavān possesses unknowable *śakti*, and according to his will he is transformed into the form of the world. 118 Even so, by his unknowable *śakti*, he remains unchanged; there is a parallel to this in the material touchstone. 119 By the touch of this stone, all kinds of gold and jewels appear; even so, the stone remains unchanged in its true form. 120 If there is such unknowable power in material nature, what is the wonder at the unknowable power of Īśvara? 121 That *praṇava* syllable is the great utterance, the epitome of the Vedas; as the true form of Īśvara that *praṇava* is the container of the whole universe. 122 The *praṇava* is the very purpose of Īśvara, the refuge of all; 'tat tvam asi' is one part of the Veda. 123 He has hidden the great utterance *praṇava*, and has estab-

114. The reference is the *Vedānta-sūtra* 1.4.26, *ātmakṛteḥ parināmāt*. Caitanya is about to argue that the world is the final evolutionary development of *brahma*, that due to *acintya-śakti*, *brahma*, even while evolving as the world, remains unchanged: as the pot is the end-product of clay, so the world is of *brahma*. Śaṅkara in his commentary wrote that he by himself created himself: *brahma* was both the doer and the deed. He agreed to the evolutionary idea, but held that because of evolution, *brahma* was subject to change (*vikāri*).

115. *Vivartavāda*: illusion theory; as the rope is mistaken for the serpent, or as a mirage in the desert, so the world is mistaken for *brahma*. Thus the results of these mistakes are also mistaken: fear from the rope, hope for the quenching of thirst from the mirage, etc. Therefore one must know *brahma* as separate from the world, etc.

116. The evolution theory is the primary meaning of the *śāstras*, and is therefore accepted by all; but the mistake which the Vivartavādins make is shown in the relationship between the soul or true self (*atmā*) and the body. The body is perishable, non-soul; the ordinary man considers that the perishable body is *atmā*, and that the pleasure and pain of the body are the pleasure and pain of the *jīvātma*, that "my body is I"; but the body is not I: it is subject to birth and death, decay and change. The true form of the self, the *jīvātma*, the spark of the flame, has no decay or death or change: it is eternal.

117. This is further comment on v. 115: how is it possible that Īśvara remains unchanged? Because of his *acintya-śakti*, which is beyond human comprehension.

118. *Acintya*: unknowable, inscrutable.

121. *Praṇava*: the syllable *om* or *aum* [ॐ]. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 1.8: "Om is *brahma*; in *om* is also the visible world." *Om* is past, present, and future; *om* is the totality. From it the Vedas arise. It is the true form of Īśvara; *Brahma Sūtra* 1.3.

122. Caitanya is now taking another tack. In addition to hiding the truth by insisting on secondary interpretations, Śaṅkara is guilty of subordinating the importance of the utterance *om* to the philosophical interpretation of the formula "tat tvam asi," which occurs in *Chandogya Upaniṣad* 6.14.3 of the *Sāma Veda*. Thus the formula is a tiny part of the Veda, but *om* is the be-all and end-all of things.



lished 'tat tvam asi' as the great utterance. 124 In all the *sūtras* and the Vedas there are denotations of Kṛṣṇa; but he has abandoned this primary meaning, and has explained the secondary one. 125 The Veda is self-proven, the crest-jewel of proofs; if one interprets the secondary meaning, this self-provenness is destroyed. 126 Like this, in each *sūtra* he has abandoned the simple meaning, and by means of his imagination he has given the secondary one." 127 And in this way he condemned each *sūtra*, and when they heard it all the *saṁnyāsins* were astonished. 128 The *saṁnyāsins* all then said, "Listen, Śrīpāda, that interpretation which you have refuted, none can argue. 129 That the meaning is from the Ācārya's imagination, everybody knows; but we honor it, in accordance with our *sampradāya*. 130 Explain the primary meaning, that we may see your power." So Prabhu attached their primary meanings to all the *sūtras*.

131 "The great substance I call Śrī Bhagavān; he is full of six kinds of divinity, the repository of the highest truth. 132 In the divinity of his true form he is without a touch of *māyā*; Bhagavān is the *sambandha* of all the Vedas. 133 Calling him 'nirviśeṣa,' not honoring his *cit-śakti*, is not honoring half of his true form, and the fullness of him is lost. 134 The various means which are the means of gaining Bhagavān—*śravaṇa* and the other forms of *bhakti*—are aids to the gaining of Kṛṣṇa. 135 These are called *abhidheya* in all the Vedas; from *sādhana-bhakti* is the sprouting of *prema*. 136 If one has love toward the feet of Kṛṣṇa, no other emotion ex-

124. See ante, commentary on v. 104. *Abhidhāna*: denotations; see *BhP* 11.21.43. Following on his previous argument, Caitanya contends that wherever "brahma" appears, "Kṛṣṇa" should be read. By *lakṣaṇā* is meant the second level, employed when the first does not fit the context: Caitanya has proven, it seems, that "brahma," at least in the sense in which the Mayāvādins understand it, does not fit the contexts of the *śāstras*. Śaṅkara is also guilty of doing away with *om*, the primary, and falling back on "tat tvam asi," the secondary.

125. The Veda is the absolute. If one puts secondary and tertiary interpretations upon it, one is placing one's own intelligence and imagination over the divine word. If one has to do that, it is proof that the primary meaning is not understood.

131. *Aiśvarya*: divinity, sovereignty.

132. *Sambandha* is a technical term in rhetoric, meaning the matter which is to be discussed. [Bhagavān as *sambandha* is the topic of 2.20-21. TKS]

133. *Nirviśeṣa*: without differentiation.

134. *Śravaṇa*: "listening" to stories of Kṛṣṇa, the recitation of the *BhP*, and the interpretations of the Vaiṣṇava texts by holy men; this is one of the sixty-four acts of *vaidhi-bhakti*. See 2.22.60-84 and commentary.

135. *Abhidheya*: that which is to be explained, or, in this case, "means." [*Sādhana* as *abhidheya* is the topic of 2.22. TKS] *Sādhana-bhakti* is here the ritual or *vaidhi bhakti* by which one is prepared to attain the state of *rāganuga*. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that the nine primary kinds of it are cited in the Vedas: (1) *śravaṇa*, listening to the stories, in *Rg Veda* 1.56.2, and in many places in the *Vedānta Sūtra*, e.g. 4.4.1; (2) *kīrtana*, "praising" the name and qualities of Kṛṣṇa: *Rg*

cept that for Kṛṣṇa can remain in him. 137 That great wealth of *prema* is the fifth end of man, which makes one taste the *mādhurya-rasa* of Kṛṣṇa. 138 By *prema* Kṛṣṇa is under control of his own *bhaktas*; by *prema* one gains the *rasa* of the happiness of the service of Kṛṣṇa. 139 All the *sūtras* conclude on these three ends: *sambandha*, *abhidheya*, and *prajoyana*."

140 Hearing the explanation of all the *sūtras* in this way, all the *saṁnyāsins* said with humility, 141 "You are the *mārti* full of the Vedas, the apparent Nārāyaṇa; forgive our transgressions, that previously we abused you." 142 Because of that the *saṁnyāsins*' minds were changed, and they always took the name of Kṛṣṇa. 143 In this way, having forgiven the transgressions of them all, he gave the grace of the name of Kṛṣṇa to all of them. 144 Then all the *saṁnyāsins* took Mahāprabhu, and seated him among them, and gave him food. 145 After taking food, Mahāprabhu returned to the place where he was living; such wonderful *līlā* did Gaurāṅga-sundara make.

146 Candrasekhara, Tapana Miśra, and Sanātana, when they heard and saw all this, were greatly delighted in their hearts. 147 All the *saṁnyāsins* came to see Prabhu, and all the people of Vārāṇasī sang his praises, 148 "Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya has come to Vārāṇasī city, and the city and the people are greatly blessed." 149 *Lakhs* and *lakhs* of people came to see Prabhu; there were such crowds around his door that no one could enter. 150 When Prabhu went for a *darśana* of Viśveśvara, *lakhs* and *lakhs* of people came and gathered in that place. 151 When he went to the banks of the Gaṅgā to bathe, there also all the people came in great crowds. 152 Raising up his arms, Prabhu called "Bol Hari Hari!" and the people filled the earth and heavens with the sound of "Hari." 153 Having saved the people, Prabhu thought to leave; he sent Śrī Sanātana to Vṛndāvana. 154 Observing the commotion of the crowds day and night, Prabhu left Vārāṇasī and came to Nīlācala. 155 Later I shall explain all this *līlā* in full; I have mentioned it briefly here, by way of introduction.

*Veda* 1.154.1; (3) *smaraṇa*, "remembering," meditating upon the deity, a mental transformation: *Rg Veda* 1.154.3; (4) *pādasevana*, "serving the feet" of the image of the deity, and of the guru: *Rg Veda* 1.154.4; (5) *arcana*, "dedication" of the self to the deity: *Rg Veda* 1.55.1; (6) *vandana*, "obedience" or "bowing" to the deity or the guru: *Yajur Veda* 31.20; (7) *dāsyā*, "service" of the deity or the guru: *Rg Veda* 1.56.3; (8) *sakhya*, "friendship" with the deity: *Rg Veda* 1.154.5; and (9) *ātmanivedana*, "self-dedication" to the infinite, the creator, the eternal: *Rg Veda* 1.156.2.

138. *Vaśa*: control; see 1.4.216; 1.17.71, śL5; 2.23.26.

139. *Prajoyana*, i.e., the object or end, is here *prema*. [*Prema* as *prajoyana* is the topic of 2.23. TKS]

150. *Viśveśvara* is the name of an image of Śiva, or more properly a *liṅgam* of Śiva, at Benares.

152. *Bol*: speak, say (imv.).



156 In the form of the five *tattvas*, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya made the world blessed by distributing the Kṛṣṇa-name and *prema*. 157 He sent Rūpa and Sanātana to Mathura, and these two generals propagated *bhakti*. 158 Nityānanda Gosvāmī he sent to Bengal, and he preached *bhakti* endlessly and in a variety of ways. 159 He himself went to the south, and village to village he preached the name of Kṛṣṇa. 160 He preached *bhakti* all the way to Setubandha, and by Kṛṣṇa-*prema* he saved all. 161 Thus have been explained the five *tattvas*, and by the hearing of it will come the realization of the *tattva* of Caitanya. 162 Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaita—these three, and Śrīvāsa and Gadādhara and so many *bhaktas*, 163 to the lotus-feet of all of them a crore of obeisances. Thus I have told something of the activities of Caitanya.

164 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of 'the nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

157. *Senāpati*: literally, "generals."

160. Setubandha: the bridge of Rāma, Cape Comorin, at the southern tip of India.

## Ādi Līla

### Chapter 8

*Sloka 1.*

I salute that Caitanya Deva, the Bhagavān, by whose will even this fool publicly dances wonderfully, on the stage of this book.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Gauracandra, glory to Paramānanda, glory to Nityānanda. 2 Glory, glory to Advaita Ācārya, full of mercy; glory, glory to the honored Gadādhara Paṇḍita. 3 Glory, glory to all the *bhaktas*—Śrīvāsa and the rest—I bow prostrate at the feet of all. 4 Remembering that august company allows the dumb to make poetry, the lame to cross mountains, the blind to see the stars; 5 while all the reading and knowledge of the *paṇḍitas* who do not honor them is but the croaking of frogs. 6 He who has *bhakti* toward Kṛṣṇa but does not honor all of these does not receive the grace of Kṛṣṇa; there is no way for him. 7 As Jarāsandha and the other kings, formerly, preserved the Vedic *dharma* and worshiped Viṣṇu, 8 but did not reverence Kṛṣṇa, and were considered *daityas*, so he who does not reverence Caitanya is considered to be a *daitya*. 9 "If they do not honor me, all the people will be destroyed"—for this reason, tender with mercy, Prabhu took *saṁnyāsa*. 10 "In respect for a *saṁnyāsīn*, people will make obeisance

1. Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes that this *bandana* is to the *pañca-tattva* (the five *tattvas*), which would make *paramānanda* refer to Nityānanda, though the structure is peculiar: *jaya-jaya paramānanda jaya nityānanda*. The more literal reading is preferred, with Paramānanda referring to Paramānanda Purī.

8. *Daitya* is usually considered to be *asura*, an anti-god; Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines the term however, as one whose nature is opposed to *bhakti*.

10. It is a peculiar tenet of the system that proper action, even if done for nonreligious reasons or for wrong reasons, is efficacious: as will be seen, the name of Kṛṣṇa, even if uttered by mistake, brings salvation. So here: people will respect Caitanya because they respect *saṁnyāsīns*, not because of *bhakti*, but that in itself is enough.



to me; so their sorrow will be broken, and they will gain salvation." 11 He who does not worship such a Caitanya, full of mercy, even though he be the best of men, he is counted as an *asura*. 12 Thus I say again, with uplifted arms: Leave all false philosophy, and worship Caitanya and Nityānanda. 13 If any philosopher says philosophy is proof, that he who is accomplished in the *śāstras* of philosophy is the one who is worthy of service, 14 [I say to him:] reflect on the mercy of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and when you reflect your mind will be greatly astonished. 15 If one performs *śravaṇa* and *kīrtana* through many births, still he does not attain the wealth of *prema* at the feet of Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 2. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pūrva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī] 1.1.36:

*Mukti* is easily attained through *jñāna*, *bhukti* results from merits from sacrifice, etc. But *bhakti* to Hari is very hard to obtain, with thousands and thousands of *sādhana*s.

16 If Kṛṣṇa evades the *bhaktas*, giving them enjoyment and *mukti*, he never gives *prema-bhakti*, but keeps it hidden away.

11. At this point a rather serious question arises. Kṛṣṇadāsa has been saying that he who does not worship or have *bhakti* for the *pañca-tattva* and for Caitanya are *asuras*, even though they are otherwise excellent men. This presumably means not only non-Hindus, but non-Vaiṣṇava Hindus, and even Vaiṣṇava Hindus who are not the Gauḍīya school. This might seem strange to one who is used to thinking of Hinduism in terms of tolerance. Judging from the treatment the Bengalis received at Vṛndāvana at the hands of the Vallabha *sampradāya*, such exclusiveness did exist. Nevertheless, Rādhāgovinda Nātha has an ingenious if somewhat pious explanation of the whole thing: Hanumān served Rāma, and received his grace; Jarāsandha served Viṣṇu, and did not. The reason is that Rāma, as an *avatāra*, participated fully in the *svatva*; Viṣṇu only partially. Similarly, in v. 6, Kṛṣṇa in *svatva* includes not only himself, but the *pañca-tattva* as well; thus if one is to worship Kṛṣṇa in *svatva*, he must worship the *pañca-tattva* also.

15-17. *Śravaṇa*: listening to the stories of Kṛṣṇa, an important devotional act. These are puzzling verses; Rādhāgovinda Nātha explains in this way: there are two classes of people: those among whom there is no offence to Vaiṣṇavas or to the name, and those among whom there is. And among those who have no offence or opposition, there are again two classes: those who are "sinless" (*niṣpāpa*) and those who are "attached to evil deeds" (*duṣkarmarata*). Obviously, those who are pure encounter no opposition in gaining *prema*. Those who are sinners (*pāpī*), such as Jagāi and Madhāi, have to exert themselves, through the name, through *kīrtana*, etc., to gain it. They gain it through the grace of Caitanya. Vv. 15-17, then, say that if one is of the class which has no opposition to Vaiṣṇavism, one can gain the grace of Caitanya—but through Caitanya alone; one can worship others all one likes, but Kṛṣṇa hides his *prema*, distributing it freely only through Caitanya.

Sloka 2. *Bhukti*: the enjoyment of heaven.

Sloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.6.18:

O king, to you and the Yādavas, Bhagavān is equally lord, *guru*, deity, dear friend, head of the family, and sometimes he is your servant. But this be for sure: Bhagavān Mukunda grants *mukti* sometimes, but not *bhakti-yoga*.

17 That same *prema* Śrī Caitanya spread everywhere, even to Jagāi and Madhāi, to say nothing of others. 18 The independent Īśvara distributed the profound store of *prema* to everyone, and made no distinction. 19 See—even now, he who takes the name of Caitanya, becomes overwhelmed with tears and thrilling, in Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 20 To say "Nityānanda" brings the rise of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*; it makes the whole body weak with emotion, and streams of tears to flow. 21 There are sufficient offences against the name of Kṛṣṇa, [such that] should the offender say "Kṛṣṇa," he is not transformed.

Sloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 2.3.24:

If one takes the name of Hari, and there is no change in his heart, tears in his eyes, and gooseflesh on his body, one's heart alas is made of stone, it is not melted by the name.

17. Jagāi-Madhāi: These were two brothers, sons of a *brāhmaṇa*, who lived in Navadvīpa. They were very evil men, indulging in all manner of foul deeds, especially tormenting Vaiṣṇavas. One day, at the order of Caitanya, Nityānanda and Haridāsa went to them; they were drunk, and drinking. One of them struck Nityānanda on the head with an earthen pot, and cut his head so that the blood streamed down. But Nityānanda did not get angry. When he heard of this, Caitanya went running to the place; when they saw Nityānanda's calm, and heard his prayers to Caitanya to forgive and grant his grace to the one who had struck him, the hearts of Jagāi and Madhāi melted. Caitanya cleansed them, and granted them the gift of *prema*. For the complete narrative, see Vṛndāvana Dāsa, *CBh* 2.13.1-325. A translation of the story can be found in Tony K. Stewart, trans., "The Rescue of Two Drunkards," in *The Religions of India in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 375-88.

18. *Svatantva*: independent, self-dependent; a mark exclusive to the supreme lord.

21. Offences (*aparādha*) are of three general kinds: those against the name, those against the service, and those against Vaiṣṇavas. Kṛṣṇadāsa is saying here that the results of an offence against the name are not easily dispelled. There are ten basic kinds of offences to the name: (1) insult to holy men; (2) considering the name and qualities of Śiva and other deities as separate from those of Nārāyaṇa and other Vaiṣṇava deities; (3) scorn for one's *guru*; (4) insults to the Vedas and other *śāstras*; (5) considering that one has praised the name too much; (6) an inclination to use the power of the name for wrong purposes; (7) considering that *dharma*, *vratā*, charity, fire-sacrifice, etc., are equal to the name; (8) instructing anyone in the name who has no faith, or does not pay close attention; (9) even while listening to the name, giving primacy to thoughts of other matters; and (10) listening to or taking the name mindlessly.



22 One Kṛṣṇa-name destroys all sins; it manifests *bhakti*, which is the source of *prema*. 23 In the rise of *prema* is the transformation through *prema*, with sweat and trembling and gooseflesh, choking, and streams of tears. 24 Easily there is destruction of the world, in the service of Kṛṣṇa—such wealth is gained as the result of a single Kṛṣṇa-nāma. 25 If one takes the same Kṛṣṇa-name several times, and there is no *prema* or streams of tears, 26 then we know that his offences have been very great. The seed of the Kṛṣṇa-name does not take root in him. 27 But all these judgments are not present in Caitanya and Nityānanda; taking that name yields *prema*, and the streams of tears flow. 28 Prabhu is the non-dependent Īśvara, infinitely generous and noble; if one does not worship him, he will never be saved.

29 O ignorant and foolish people, listen to the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, from which you will know all the greatness of Caitanya. 30 Vedavyāsa has spoken of the Kṛṣṇa-līlā in the *Bhāgavata*; the Vyāsa of the Caitanya-līlā is Vṛndāvana Dāsa. 31 Vṛndāvana Dāsa spoke the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, by the hearing of which all unholy things are destroyed. 32 In it we know the greatness of Caitanya and Nityānanda; by it we know the limits of the perfection of the *bhakti* of Kṛṣṇa. 33 As much of the essence of perfection of *bhakti* as is in the *Bhāgavata*, he has extracted and written in this [book]. 34 If *pāṇḍits* or Yavanas hear the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, they at once become great Vaiṣṇavas. 35 A human could not compose such a beautiful book; it is the speech of Śrī Caitanya in the mouth of Vṛndāvana Dāsa. 36 At the feet of Vṛndāvana Dāsa a crore of obeisances; by writing such a book he has saved the world. 37 Nārāyaṇī was the vessel for the leavings of the food of Caitanya; in her womb Śrī Dāsa Vṛndāvana was born. 38 He wrote such a wonderful description of the

23. I.e., as through the name, *prema* increases in the *bhakta*, these symptoms show. See commentary to 1.7.86-93.

24. I.e., the breaking of the ties with the world, with the round of rebirths.

27. Rādhāgovinda Nātha comments: if one pronounces the name of Kṛṣṇa once, all *papa* will be destroyed, the ties with the world will be broken, and *prema* will be gained; but that is only for the class of men who have no offence or antagonism (*niraparādha*); for those who have offence, especially *nāma-aparādha*, the result is not so easily obtained. The number of those in the world without offence is not great; Caitanya and Nityānanda have mercy on those who have offence, and taking their names brings true *prema*.

29-31. *Caitanya Maṅgala*: CBh of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, as it has come to be known, for the reason given here: as Vyāsa described the Kṛṣṇa-līlā, in the *BhP* so the new Vyāsa, i.e., Vṛndāvana Dāsa, describes the Caitanya-līlā.

34. Yavana: Muslims.

37. Nārāyaṇī, mother of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, was the niece of Śrīvāsa, the early intimate follower of Caitanya. Caitanya was very fond of her, from all accounts; when she was four years old, Vṛndāvana Dāsa tells us, Caitanya gave her the remnants from his meal—*prasāda*, an act of grace [see CBh 2.2.319; 2.10.288-94. TKS]. She was five years old when Caitanya took *saṁnyāsa*.

actions of Caitanya that the three worlds are purified when they hear it. 39 Thus, O people, worship Caitanya and Nityānanda: this will break the sorrow of the world, and you will get the joy of *prema*. 40 Vṛndāvana Dāsa wrote the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, and in it he described the whole Caitanya-līlā. 41 He wrote the whole līlā in *sūtra* form, and afterwards he expanded and elaborated on it. 42 The līlā of Caitanya is infinite and shoreless, and in describing it the book became expanded. 43 Seeing this expansion, he decided to condense it; some līlās supported by the *sūtras* he did not describe. 44 He was absorbed in the description of the līlā of Nityānanda, and the *śeṣa-līlā* of Caitanya remained unfinished. 45 To hear the description of all those līlās the minds of the *bhaktas* dwelling in Vṛndāvana were anxious.

46 In Vṛndāvana in a *kalpa*-grove is a golden house; there is a *maha-yoga-piṭha* there, and a jeweled throne. 47 On it Vrajendranandana is always sitting, a veritable Madana, named Śrī Govindadeva. 48 In various ways he is served like a king, with divine articles, divine dress and ornaments. 49 A thousand servants serve him incessantly, and even a thousand mouths could not describe his service. 50 The principal among the servants is Śrī Paṇḍita Haridāsa; his fame and qualities are known through the world. 51 He is of good character, patient, peaceful, generous, sober, sweet spoken, sweet-acting, very serene; 52 he is respectful toward all, and he seeks for the benefit of all; malice, envy, dishonesty are unknown to his mind. 53 The fifty ordinary *sad-guṇas* of Kṛṣṇa all have their dwelling place in his body.

43. In the CBh the *sūtras* cover the whole life of Caitanya, but the expanded commentary only the early part of his life. Kṛṣṇadāsa's reason for writing is to fill this gap. The next verse might be read as a gentle censure of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, whose *guru* was Nityānanda, but it justifies Kṛṣṇadāsa's own interest in writing about Caitanya's later life.

46. See ante, 1.5.195 commentary. The description is of the image Govinda in Vṛndāvana, one of the three primary images of the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas there. Madana: Kāma-deva.

50-60. [Haridāsa Paṇḍita is in the *guru*-lineage of Gadādhara Paṇḍita through Ananta Ācārya. He is not to be confused with the converted Muslim, Haridāsa, or the unfortunate devotee, Chota Haridāsa, who drowned himself in the Trivenī (see 3.2). TKS]

53. Of the infinite qualities, fifty are primary; BhRS [dākṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī] 2.1.23-29. They are: (1) beautiful body; (2) possessing all good signs; (3) pleasant; (4) radiant; (5) strong; (6) youthful; (7) well-spoken; (8) truthful; (9) gentle; (10) eloquent; (11) learned; (12) wise; (13) intelligent; (14) clever; (15) skillful; (16) mischievous; (17) dexterous; (18) honorable; (19) aware of proper place and time; (20) eyes on the *śāstras*; (21) pure; (22) controlled; (23) calm; (24) continent; (25) merciful; (26) grave; (27) patient; (28) looking on all things as equal; (29) generous; (30) acting according to *dharma*; (31) brave; (32) kind; (33) honoring that which should be honored; (34) honest; (35) humble; (36) modest; (37) the protector of those who come for protection; (38) happy; (39) with devoted heart; (40) absorbed in *prema*; (41) possessing all auspicious marks; (42) shining; (43) illustrious; (44) trustworthy; (45) refuge for holy men; (46) charming to women; (47) worshipful to all; (48) prosperous; (49) large; and (50) divine.



Sloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 5.18.12:

Who has absolute *bhakti* toward Kṛṣṇa, the group of gods possessed of all qualities dwell in him. But how [could this be] the virtue of the great person who is devoid of *bhakti* to Hari, who runs outside with a desire for the unreal?

54 Ananta Ācārya is the pupil of Paṇḍita Gosvāmī; his body is made of Kṛṣṇa-prema, he is generous and respected by all. 55 Who can describe his unending qualities; and his beloved pupil is Paṇḍita Haridāsa. 56 He has deepest faith in Caitanya and Nityānanda; his highest joy is in the actions of Caitanya. 57 He accepts the qualities of the Vaiṣṇavas, and sees no sin; he seeks the happiness of the Vaiṣṇavas by his word, thought, and deed. 58 He listens incessantly to the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, and by his grace all the Vaiṣṇavas listen to it. 59 And at the word, all are illuminated, as by a full moon; by the nectar of his own qualities he spreads the joy of the Vaiṣṇavas. 60 He, being greatly merciful, gave a command to me, to describe the *śeṣa-līlā* of Gaurāṅga.

61 The pupils of Kāśīśvara Gosvāmī are Govinda Gosvāmī—and there was no more beloved servant of Govinda—62 and Yādavācārya Gosvāmī, the companion of Śrī Rūpa, who was greatly entranced by the actions of Caitanya. 63 A pupil of Paṇḍita Gosvāmī was Bhūgarbha Gosvāmī; except for words of Gaura, there was no other word in his mouth. 64 His pupils were the worshiper of Govinda, Caitanya Dāsa, and Mukundānanda Cakravartī, and the *premi* Kṛṣṇadāsa. 65 A pupil of Ācārya Gosvāmī was Śivānanda Cakravartī; Caitanya and Nityānanda were constantly in his mind. 66 A great many other *bhaktas* lived in Vṛndāvana, and they all wanted to hear the *śeṣa-līlā*. 67 They all, being merciful, gave me an order, and at the command of all of them I write, without reticence. 68 With an anxious mind I received the order of the Vaiṣṇavas, and I went to Madanagopāla to beg his command. 69 Making *darśana*, I bowed at his feet. Gosvāmī Dāsa was the *pājari* then serving his feet. 70 When I prayed for instructions at the feet of Prabhu, a garland loosened and fell from Prabhu's neck. 71 All the Vaiṣṇavas then gave the Hari-sound, and Gosvāmī Dāsa brought the garland and put it on my neck. 72 Getting permission [in the form of] the garland, I was in great delight, and at that moment

Sloka 5. See 2.22.33.

54. Paṇḍita Gosvāmī: Gadādhara Paṇḍita.

60. See commentary to v. 43 above.

62. [This Yādavācārya was Yādava Miśra, brother of Caitanya's second wife, Viṣṇupriyā, thus Caitanya's brother-in-law. TKS]

65. Ācārya Gosvāmī: Advaitācārya.

I began to write this book. 73 Madanamohana causes me to write this book; my writing is but the speech of a parrot. 74 I write that which Madanagopāla causes me to write, as the magician causes the wooden doll to dance. 75 Madanamohana is the primary *devatā* of my *kula*; his servants are Raghunātha, Rūpa, and Sanātana. 76 I meditate at the lotus-feet of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, and taking his instructions I write, in which is great happiness. 77 Vṛndāvana Dāsa is the Vyāsa of the Caitanya-līlā; without his blessing there can be no revelation to others. 78 I am foolish, low, and insignificant; I long for material things. I undertake such rashness only by the strength of the command of the Vaiṣṇavas. 79 Such strength is from the feet of Śrī Rūpa and Raghunātha, by remembrance of whom all desires are fulfilled.

80 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

75. *Kula-devatā* would usually refer to the special god of one's family; here his family consists of Rūpa, Sanātana, and Raghunātha: these three were servants of the image of Madanagopāla in Vṛndāvana, and Kṛṣṇadāsa's *śikṣa-gurus*.



## Ādi Līlā Chapter 9

Sloka 1.

I bow down to that Śrīmat Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Deva, the *guru* of the world,  
by whose compassion even a dog is able to cross over the great sea.

1 Glory, glory to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Gaurācandra, glory glory to Advaita, glory glory to Nityānanda. 2 Glory to Śrīvāsa and the Gaura-*bhaktas*, the memory of whom is the source of the fulfillment of all desires. 3 Śrī Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Śrī Jīva, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and Raghunātha Dāsa, 4 by the grace of all these I write the qualities of the *līlā* of Caitanya; whether I know or do not know, I purify myself.

Sloka 2.

He himself is the gardener, he himself is the immortals' tree of the *prema*  
of Kṛṣṇa; he who gives and eats the fruits of that tree is Caitanya, my  
refuge.

5 Prabhu said, "Let me take the name Viśvambhara; the name is meaningful, if I fill the universe with *prema*." 6 So thinking, Prabhu took the *dharma* of a gardener, and in Navadvīpa he began the work of [planting] a fruit-garden. 7 The gardener Śrī Caitanya brought to the earth the wishing-tree of *bhakti*, and planted it and watered it with the water of his will. 8 Glory to Śrī Mādhava Purī, the stream

4. I.e., "it does not matter whether or not I know what I write about—I write by the grace of my *gurus*; in any case, I purify myself by writing."

8. *Kalpātaru*: wishing-tree. [The metaphor of the wishing-tree of *bhakti* will be developed in this chapter in general terms, then in specific detail in 1.10-12. Chapter 10 details Caitanya's personal devotional lineages; chapter 11 those of Nityānanda; and chapter 12 those of Advaitācārya and of Gadādhara Paṇḍita. It should be noted that virtually every individual listed in the following three chapters was considered a member of the incarnate Kṛṣṇa-*dhama* and listed in their eternal

of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*; he was the first sprout of the wishing-tree of *bhakti*. 9 The sprout was nourished, in the form of Śrī Īśvara Purī; Caitanya-*malī* himself became its main trunk. 10 By his own *acintya-śakti*, he who was the *malī* became the main trunk; that trunk is the basic source of all the branches. 11 Paramānanda Purī and Keśava Bhāratī, Brahmananda Purī and Brahmananda Bhāratī, 12 Viṣṇu Purī, Keśava Purī, Kṛṣṇānanda Purī, Śrī Nṛsiṃha Tīrtha, and Sukhānanda Purī— 13 these nine roots grew on the root of the tree, and kept it steady. 14 The taproot is Paramānanda Purī, greatly serene; on eight sides the other eight roots kept the tree stable. 15 On the main trunk many branches grew, and branches grew on branches, until they became innumerable. 16 Each *maṇḍala* is made up of groups of twenty branches, and the huge main branches shade all the Brahma-worlds. 17 And on each branch, hundreds and hundreds of smaller twigs—who can count how many smaller branches grew? 18 The names of the principal branches are uncountable; later I shall try, but now hear the description of the tree.

19 From the trunk of the tree there came two limbs. One is called Advaita, the other Nityānanda. 20 From these two limbs many branches grew, and from them smaller twigs, until the whole world was covered. 21 Who can write how many smaller branches there were: branches, smaller branches, and from them even smaller branches. 22 Pupils, pupils' pupils, and their pupils—they spread out over the world, and there is no numbering of them. 23 As the wild fig tree bears fruit on all its limbs, in the same way, fruit hangs everywhere on the *bhakti*-tree. 24 The limbs of the main trunk, and the smaller branches on them, bore the fruit of *prema*, sweeter than nectar. 25 The *prema*-fruit ripened, as sweet as nectar; Caitanya as gardener distributed it, and took no price for it. 26 As much wealth, as many jewels as there are in the three worlds, this all cannot be counted as worth a single fruit.

(*nitya*) forms in Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*. Some of the more important identities will be noted in the commentary. TKS]

9. *Malī*: gardener.

11-12. Members of the order into which Caitanya was initiated—his *gurus*.

13. [The nine roots may well be envisioned as under the ground, but it seems more likely that the image is that of the banyan tree [*figus benghalensis*] with its multiple roots dropping from the lower branches; see above 1.3.34. TKS]

16. *Maṇḍala* is an obscure term here; it means "circle" or "group." In present-day Vaiṣṇavism a *maṇḍala* is a sub-grouping within the Vaiṣṇava community (see Ralph W. Nicholas, "Vaiṣṇavism and Islam in Rural Bengal" in *Bengal: Regional Identity*, edited by David Kopf [East Lansing, MI: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1969], 33-47), and judging from the precision with which Kṛṣṇadāsa defines it, it had something of that same meaning in his time; Rādhāgovinda Natha does not comment.

23. [Wild fig: *uḍumbaravṛkṣa* (*figus glomerata*), which is notable for its profusion of fruit-bearing branches resulting in high yields of fruit, and its extraordinarily thick canopy. TKS]



27 Whether or not one asked, whether or not one was worthy—he considered this not at all; he only gave. 28 Handfuls upon handfuls he scattered in the four directions; the poor gathered it and ate, and the gardener smiled. 29 The gardener said, “Hear, O tree-family, as many roots, branches, and smaller branches as there are. 30 This unworldly tree does the work of all the senses; it is a stationary thing, yet it acts as would a moving one. 31 The limbs of this tree all have consciousness, and they grow and spread out, covering the whole world. 32 I am a single gardener; where shall I go? Alone, how many fruits can I gather and distribute? 33 To give alone is labor; some receive, and some do not, so their minds remain whirling. 34 Thus I give instruction to all, to everyone everywhere; I give the fruits of *prema*. 35 I am the single gardener; how much fruit can I eat? If I do not give these fruits, what else shall I do [with them]? 36 According to the nectar of my own will, I water and nourish the tree, and because of this there are uncountable fruits on it. 37 Thus I give the fruit to whomsoever there is; let people eat of it, and become eternally young and immortal. 38 My fame and merit will spread over the whole world, and full of joy the people will sing my praises. 39 Let him who takes his human birth on the earth of Bhārata fulfill his birth; let him do good to others.

*Sloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.22.35:*

This much is life's reward for the souls in this world, that they always act with their lives, their properties, spirits, voices, and wealth.

*Sloka 4. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 3.12.35:*

That which here and hereafter leads to the well-being of creatures, is that one should wisely love with act, thought and word.

40 I am a human gardener; I have neither wealth nor kingdom; I acquire merit by my fruits and flowers. 41 Being the gardener, I became the tree, by my own will; and from the tree comes the doing of good to all living creatures.”

*Sloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.22.33:*

Ah, these trees are the best, who provide sustenance for the hearts of all living things, as good people do not avert their faces from the beggars.

30. I.e., the tree acts as does a sentient object; there are two basic classes of beings, those which move and those which do not; the tree is an unmoving being, but acts with the senses of a moving one.

39. This seems to refer to all people born in India, not just Nadiya; presumably, India being the place where the *śāstras* were propagated, Indians have a special duty in regard to beneficence.

42 When the gardener Caitanya gave this advice, the family of trees was greatly overjoyed. 43 And they distributed the fruit of *prema* to all; at the taste of the fruit the people all became intoxicated. 44 They ate and filled their bellies with the fruit of *prema*, greatly intoxicating—all the people were drunk; they laughed and danced and sang. 45 Some writhed upon the ground, some shouted aloud, and seeing this the gardener smiled, greatly delighted. 46 The gardener eats the fruit of *prema*, and remains always intoxicated, helpless with ecstasy. 47 He made all the people drunk like himself; no one could be seen, except for people drunk with *prema*. 48 Those who formerly had abused him, calling him a drunkard, also ate the fruit, and danced, and said, “Excellent, excellent!” 49 So I have spoken of the distribution of the fruits of *prema*; now hear of the branches which gave the fruits.

50 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the ‘nectar of the acts of Caitanya,’ the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.



Ādi Līlā  
Chapter 10

Sloka 1.

I bow again and again to the bees at the lotus-feet of Śrī Caitanya, in which even a dog instinctively takes refuge should he get their scent.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and Nityānanda; glory to Advaita, glory to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 The story of this tree and of this gardener is impossible to tell; hear now the description of the names of its chief branches. 3 As large a group of followers as there was of Caitanya Gosvāmī, there was certainly no feeling of higher and lower among them. 4 As many great-hearted men as there were, having enumerated all of these, no one can distinguish gradations of superior and inferior. 5 Thus I bow down to them all, that in listing only their names, no fault will be attributed to me.

Sloka 2.

I salute the beloved of the immortal tree of *prema*, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, those hosts of votaries who, in the form of its branches, bestow the fruit of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa.

6 Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita and Śrīrāma Paṇḍita—these two brothers are branches, famed in the world; 7 Śrīpati and Śrīnidhi—two blood brothers of them, and the servants

2. [The image of Caitanya tending the tree of *bhakti* is carried over from the previous chapter and continues through 1.12. TKS]

5. Two interpretations are possible: that listing only their names, and not their accomplishments, is a possible offence; and that since there has to be order in a list, some will be first and some last: this is not proper, and a possible offence.

6. It was in their courtyard that Caitanya held *kīrtana* in his days in Navadvīpa, immediately after his return from Gayā. The two brothers had lived in the east, in a place called Kumārahaṭṭa, near Halisahara; at the order of Advaita they moved to Navadvīpa.

and maid-servants of the four brothers, the retinue of their household, 8 all of these are counted as branches on the two limbs; in their house Mahāprabhu always made *saṅkīrtana*. 9 The four brothers and all their family served Caitanya, and they recognized no other god or goddess than Gauracandra. 10 One main branch has the name Ācāryaratna; his retinue are branches and twigs of him. 11 Ācāryaratna's name is Śrī Candrasekhara, in whose house Īśvara danced, in the *bhāva* of the goddess. 12 Puṇḍarīka Vidyānidhi is also known as a main branch; Prabhu took his name, and himself wept. 13 A main branch is Gadadhara Paṇḍita Gosvāmī, as beautiful as Lakṣmī, there is none like him. 14 His pupils and their pupils were his branches and twigs; thus are the branches and twigs listed. 15 Vakreśvara Paṇḍita was a greatly beloved servant of Prabhu; he danced for twenty-four *praharas*, without a break in *bhāva*. 16 And when he was dancing, Mahāprabhu himself sang; holding the feet of Prabhu, Vakreśvara said, 17 "You show me the moon-like faces of ten thousand *gandharvas*; they sing, I dance, and in that is my joy." 18 Prabhu said, "You are like a wing to me; if I had another wing like you, I would rise up into the sky." 19 Paṇḍita Jagadānanda was to Prabhu like his very heart; people say that he was Satyabhāmā in *svarāpa*. 20 In deep love he wanted to comfort and protect Prabhu; out of fear for others and his asceticism, Prabhu never allowed it. 21 Stiffness and quarreling arose between the two; I shall tell the whole story of this deeply loving man later on. 22 Rāghava Paṇḍita was one of the first followers of Prabhu, and one of his main branches was Makaradhvaja Kara. 23 His sister Damayantī was a beloved servant of Prabhu—for all twelve months she prepared the food for him. 24 And filling many sacks with those preparations Rāghava took them secretly and went [to Caitanya]. 25 Those Prabhu accepted throughout the

11. At the house of Candrasekhara Ācārya Caitanya and his followers once acted out the Kṛṣṇa-līlā. Caitanya dressed as Rukmīṇī and acted the part of Rukmīṇī at her wedding, and afterwards danced in the *bhāva* of the goddess (*devī*), which led him to be absorbed in and subsequently to manifest the *bhāva* of a mother; see CBh 2.18.

12. Puṇḍarīka (Vidyānidhi, "storehouse of wisdom," was his title) was born in Caṭṭagrāma, but had a house in Navadvīpa. It is said that he was so devoted to the Gaṅgā that he would not bathe in it, for fear of touching it, or her, with his foot. He was the *mantra-guru* of Gadadhara.

15. *Prahara*: one watch, the eighth part of a day and night, three hours.

17. *Gandharva*: musician of the gods.

19-20. In the Dvāpara-līlā he was Satyabhāmā; when Caitanya was in Puri, Jagadānanda wanted to bring him scented oils and other luxuries, but Caitanya, saying that these were not appropriate for a *saṅnyāsī*, refused to accept them.

21. See 3.12.

23. I.e., according to what was appropriate in each of the twelve months.



year, and that is famous as the Raghava-jhali. 26 I shall expound on all those preparations later on—[a story] which, when the *bhaktas* hear of it, causes their eyes to stream with tears.

27 Infinitely beloved of Prabhu was Paṇḍita Gaṅgādaśa; by remembering and reflecting on him all fetters are destroyed. 28 An associate of Caitanya was Śrī Ācārya Purandara, whom Gaurasundara called “father.” 29 Dāmodara Paṇḍita was a branch, huge in *prema*, who criticized Prabhu in his speech. 30 Later I shall expand on these words of criticism; pleased by the reproach, Prabhu sent him to Nadiya. 31 His younger brother and branch was Saṅkara Paṇḍita, whose name is known as the “cushion for the feet of Prabhu.” 32 And Sadāśiva Paṇḍita, whose hope lies at the feet of Prabhu, housed in his own home Nityānanda, at the very first. 33 There is Pradyumna Brahmācārī, the worshiper of Śrī Nṛsiṃha, whom Prabhu called “the bliss of Nṛsiṃha,” 34 and the most noble Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, who knows nothing except the feet of Caitanya. 35 And the branch Śrīman Paṇḍita, the personal servant of Prabhu; he held the torch, when Prabhu danced. 36 Śuklāmbara Brahmācārī is greatly fortunate; Bhagavān forcibly took rice received as alms and ate it. 37 Nandana Ācārya is a branch famed in the world; in his house

26. See 3.10.

27. *Smarāṇa*: remembering and reflecting. Presumably this is the Gaṅgādaśa in whose *śola* Prabhu studied grammar; he lived in Vidyānagara, in Navadvīpa. He is said to be the *viśvaprakāśa* of Vasiṣṭha Muni.

28. Gaurasundara: the beautiful golden one, Caitanya; Purandara Ācārya: Caitanya's father, Jagannātha Miśra.

29-30. Dāmodara (not to be confused with Svartpa Dāmodara) was Saivya in the Vraja-līla. There will be related later on a story of how he reproached Caitanya rather strongly for befriending a boy who was the son of a beautiful *brāhmaṇa* widow; see 3.3.

31. Saṅkara was Bhadrā in the Vraja-līla. The nickname comes from an incident in which he took Caitanya's feet in his lap, for Caitanya's comfort.

32. I.e., when he first returned to Navadvīpa from Puri; see CBh 3.9.17 [= 3.8 GM ed.].

36. Śuklāmbara: a very devout Vaiṣṇava of Navadvīpa; whatever he got by begging he first offered to Kṛṣṇa and then took it as *prasāda*. The story is told in CBh 2.16.107-50 of how he was dancing one day at the *kṛtana* of Caitanya, with a bag for alms over his shoulder. Caitanya went to him and pulled out and ate fistfuls of rice which he had received by begging, while reminding Śuklāmbara of similar interaction in the previous ages.

37. While Nityānanda was staying at Paryāṭana Tīrtha, it was revealed to him that Caitanya would appear at Navadvīpa; he went to Navadvīpa, and when at first he did not meet Caitanya, he went to the house of Nandana Ācārya. Caitanya went there with his followers and met him (CBh 2.3.123-88). Another time, being angry with Advaita, Caitanya leapt into the Gaṅgā; Nityānanda and Haridāsa pulled him out, and to keep the matter quiet they took him secretly to the house of Nandana (CBh 2.17.30-65). From these episodes it is possible to interpret the “two Prabhus” as Caitanya and Nityānanda. But from another episode related by Vṛndāvana Dāsa (CBh 2.6.8-91), the phrase might mean Caitanya and Advaita, although less likely: on one occasion Caitanya sent Rāmāi Paṇḍita to Santipura to tell Advaita to tell his wife to prepare *pāṇa* for him, and to come to

the two Prabhus stayed hiding. 38 And the branch Śrī Mukunda Datta was a fellow student of Prabhu, at whose *kṛtana* Caitanya Gosvāmī danced. 39 Vasudeva Datta is the most respected servant of Prabhu; I could not tell his qualities if I had a thousand mouths. 40 As many *jīvas* as there are in the world, he wanted to take their sins upon himself; he wanted to suffer hell, on behalf of the *jīvas*.

41 The activities of the branch Haridāsa Thākura were wonderful; he took three lakhs of names, without faltering. 42 I speak only in survey; his qualities are infinite; Ācārya Gosvāmī fed him dishes [prepared] for *śrāddha*. 43 The wave of his qualities is like Prahlāda; even at the lashing of the Yavanas, he did not bat an eye. 44 When he gained perfection, taking up his body, Caitanya Prabhu danced in great joy. 45 Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described this *līla*; the rest of it, I shall show later on. 46 Branches of his branches were as many people as there were in Kulīnagrāma; Satyarāja and the rest are all receptacles of his grace.

Navadvīpa for the service. Advaita wanted to test Caitanya's claim to worship, and hid himself in Nandana's house, instructing Rāmāi to tell Caitanya that he had not come to Navadvīpa. Caitanya, because of his powers, knew all this, and Advaita was convinced.

40. The story is told in CC 2.15.158-178.

41. I.e., he repeated the names of Kṛṣṇa 300,000 times, presumably without stopping.

42. It is forbidden to give non-*brāhmaṇas* food which has been prepared for the *śrāddha*, the funeral, ceremonies. But one day Advaita, saying that because of his devotion he considered Haridāsa the best of *brāhmaṇas*, though he had been born a Muslim, gave him such food. Radhagovinda Nātha, giving the *Vaṇendra-brāhmaṇakula-śāstra* as authority, goes on to say that because of this the other *brāhmaṇas* considered that the family of Advaita was disgraced, and refused to take food at their house. As a result, Advaita and his family fasted. It happened that the next day it rained very hard, and the fires in all the houses in the village were extinguished, and the *brāhmaṇas* were unable to cook. It occurred to them that this was a divine judgment because of what they had done to Advaita, and they went to him and offered to accept what had been prepared the previous day. Advaita took them all to the cave where Haridāsa was living; and there a fire was burning. Acknowledging his greatness, they all praised him.

43. Prahlāda was the son of Hiranyakaśipu, and was a great Viṣṇu-*bhakta*. Hiranyakaśipu tried in many ways to get his son to abandon the way of *bhakti*, but he clung firmly to his faith. (*Mahābhārata* 2.61, 3.29; the story is also told in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*). Similar trials were undergone by Haridāsa, as told in CBh 1.11.67-155 [= 1.16 GM ed.], in which, by order of the Muslim *qazi*, he was whipped through twenty-two market places of the town because he would not renounce his faith; his *bhakti* toward Caitanya gave him the strength to endure the torture. For a complete translation of the story see: Tony K. Stewart, “The Exemplary Devotion of the ‘Servant of Hari’” in *The Religions of South Asia in Practice*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 564-77.

44. *Siddhi*: perfection, the ultimate state of realization, [here referring to Haridāsa's death. Caitanya picked up his body and danced with it on the beach at Puri. See CC 3.11; for other stories of Haridāsa see 3.3.48-259. TKS].

46. Haridāsa stayed in Kulīnagrāma for some time and brought many people into the Vaiṣṇava fold, including Satyarāja Khān, who, judging from his surname or title, may have been Muslim.



Sloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 5.18.12:

Who has absolute *bhakti* toward Kṛṣṇa, the group of gods possessed of all qualities dwell in him. But how [could this be] the virtue of the great person who is devoid of *bhakti* to Hari, who runs outside with a desire for the unreal?

54 Ananta Ācārya is the pupil of Paṇḍita Gosvāmī; his body is made of Kṛṣṇa-prema, he is generous and respected by all. 55 Who can describe his unending qualities; and his beloved pupil is Paṇḍita Haridāsa. 56 He has deepest faith in Caitanya and Nityānanda; his highest joy is in the actions of Caitanya. 57 He accepts the qualities of the Vaiṣṇavas, and sees no sin; he seeks the happiness of the Vaiṣṇavas by his word, thought, and deed. 58 He listens incessantly to the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, and by his grace all the Vaiṣṇavas listen to it. 59 And at the word, all are illuminated, as by a full moon; by the nectar of his own qualities he spreads the joy of the Vaiṣṇavas. 60 He, being greatly merciful, gave a command to me, to describe the *śeṣa-līlā* of Gaurāṅga.

61 The pupils of Kāśīśvara Gosvāmī are Govinda Gosvāmī—and there was no more beloved servant of Govinda—62 and Yādavācārya Gosvāmī, the companion of Śrī Rūpa, who was greatly entranced by the actions of Caitanya. 63 A pupil of Paṇḍita Gosvāmī was Bhūgarbha Gosvāmī; except for words of Gaura, there was no other word in his mouth. 64 His pupils were the worshiper of Govinda, Caitanya Dāsa, and Mukundānanda Cakravartī, and the *premi* Kṛṣṇadāsa. 65 A pupil of Ācārya Gosvāmī was Śivānanda Cakravartī; Caitanya and Nityānanda were constantly in his mind. 66 A great many other *bhaktas* lived in Vṛndāvana, and they all wanted to hear the *śeṣa-līlā*. 67 They all, being merciful, gave me an order, and at the command of all of them I write, without reticence. 68 With an anxious mind I received the order of the Vaiṣṇavas, and I went to Madanagopāla to beg his command. 69 Making *darśana*, I bowed at his feet. Gosvāmī Dāsa was the *pājari* then serving his feet. 70 When I prayed for instructions at the feet of Prabhu, a garland loosened and fell from Prabhu's neck. 71 All the Vaiṣṇavas then gave the Hari-sound, and Gosvāmī Dāsa brought the garland and put it on my neck. 72 Getting permission [in the form of] the garland, I was in great delight, and at that moment

Sloka 5. See 2.22.33.

54. Paṇḍita Gosvāmī: Gadādhara Paṇḍita.

60. See commentary to v. 43 above.

62. [This Yādavācārya was Yādava Miśra, brother of Caitanya's second wife, Viṣṇupriyā, thus Caitanya's brother-in-law. TKS]

65. Ācārya Gosvāmī: Advaitācārya.

I began to write this book. 73 Madanamohana causes me to write this book; my writing is but the speech of a parrot. 74 I write that which Madanagopāla causes me to write, as the magician causes the wooden doll to dance. 75 Madanamohana is the primary *devatā* of my *kula*; his servants are Raghunātha, Rūpa, and Sanātana. 76 I meditate at the lotus-feet of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, and taking his instructions I write, in which is great happiness. 77 Vṛndāvana Dāsa is the Vyāsa of the Caitanya-līlā; without his blessing there can be no revelation to others. 78 I am foolish, low, and insignificant; I long for material things. I undertake such rashness only by the strength of the command of the Vaiṣṇavas. 79 Such strength is from the feet of Śrī Rūpa and Raghunātha, by remembrance of whom all desires are fulfilled.

80 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

75. *Kula-devatā* would usually refer to the special god of one's family; here his family consists of Rūpa, Sanātana, and Raghunātha: these three were servants of the image of Madanagopāla in Vṛndāvana, and Kṛṣṇadāsa's *śikṣa-gurus*.



## Ādi Līlā Chapter 9

Sloka 1.

I bow down to that Śrīmat Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Deva, the *guru* of the world,  
by whose compassion even a dog is able to cross over the great sea.

1 Glory, glory to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Gaurācandra, glory glory to Advaita, glory glory to Nityānanda. 2 Glory to Śrīvāsa and the Gaura-*bhaktas*, the memory of whom is the source of the fulfillment of all desires. 3 Śrī Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Śrī Jīva, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and Raghunātha Dāsa, 4 by the grace of all these I write the qualities of the *līlā* of Caitanya; whether I know or do not know, I purify myself.

Sloka 2.

He himself is the gardener, he himself is the immortals' tree of the *prema*  
of Kṛṣṇa; he who gives and eats the fruits of that tree is Caitanya, my  
refuge.

5 Prabhu said, "Let me take the name Viśvambhara; the name is meaningful, if I fill the universe with *prema*." 6 So thinking, Prabhu took the *dharma* of a gardener, and in Navadvīpa he began the work of [planting] a fruit-garden. 7 The gardener Śrī Caitanya brought to the earth the wishing-tree of *bhakti*, and planted it and watered it with the water of his will. 8 Glory to Śrī Mādhava Purī, the stream

4. I.e., "it does not matter whether or not I know what I write about—I write by the grace of my *gurus*; in any case, I purify myself by writing."

8. *Kalpātaru*: wishing-tree. [The metaphor of the wishing-tree of *bhakti* will be developed in this chapter in general terms, then in specific detail in 1.10-12. Chapter 10 details Caitanya's personal devotional lineages; chapter 11 those of Nityānanda; and chapter 12 those of Advaitācārya and of Gadādhara Paṇḍita. It should be noted that virtually every individual listed in the following three chapters was considered a member of the incarnate Kṛṣṇa-*dhama* and listed in their eternal

of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*; he was the first sprout of the wishing-tree of *bhakti*. 9 The sprout was nourished, in the form of Śrī Īśvara Purī; Caitanya-*mālī* himself became its main trunk. 10 By his own *acintya-śakti*, he who was the *mālī* became the main trunk; that trunk is the basic source of all the branches. 11 Paramānanda Purī and Keśava Bhāratī, Brahmananda Purī and Brahmananda Bhāratī, 12 Viṣṇu Purī, Keśava Purī, Kṛṣṇānanda Purī, Śrī Nṛsiṃha Tīrtha, and Sukhānanda Purī— 13 these nine roots grew on the root of the tree, and kept it steady. 14 The taproot is Paramānanda Purī, greatly serene; on eight sides the other eight roots kept the tree stable. 15 On the main trunk many branches grew, and branches grew on branches, until they became innumerable. 16 Each *maṇḍala* is made up of groups of twenty branches, and the huge main branches shade all the Brahma-worlds. 17 And on each branch, hundreds and hundreds of smaller twigs—who can count how many smaller branches grew? 18 The names of the principal branches are uncountable; later I shall try, but now hear the description of the tree.

19 From the trunk of the tree there came two limbs. One is called Advaita, the other Nityānanda. 20 From these two limbs many branches grew, and from them smaller twigs, until the whole world was covered. 21 Who can write how many smaller branches there were: branches, smaller branches, and from them even smaller branches. 22 Pupils, pupils' pupils, and their pupils—they spread out over the world, and there is no numbering of them. 23 As the wild fig tree bears fruit on all its limbs, in the same way, fruit hangs everywhere on the *bhakti*-tree. 24 The limbs of the main trunk, and the smaller branches on them, bore the fruit of *prema*, sweeter than nectar. 25 The *prema*-fruit ripened, as sweet as nectar; Caitanya as gardener distributed it, and took no price for it. 26 As much wealth, as many jewels as there are in the three worlds, this all cannot be counted as worth a single fruit.

(*nitya*) forms in Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*. Some of the more important identities will be noted in the commentary. TKS]

9. *Mālī*: gardener.

11-12. Members of the order into which Caitanya was initiated—his *gurus*.

13. [The nine roots may well be envisioned as under the ground, but it seems more likely that the image is that of the banyan tree [*figus benghalensis*] with its multiple roots dropping from the lower branches; see above 1.3.34. TKS]

16. *Maṇḍala* is an obscure term here; it means "circle" or "group." In present-day Vaiṣṇavism a *maṇḍala* is a sub-grouping within the Vaiṣṇava community (see Ralph W. Nicholas, "Vaiṣṇavism and Islam in Rural Bengal" in *Bengal: Regional Identity*, edited by David Kopf [East Lansing, MI: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1969], 33-47), and judging from the precision with which Kṛṣṇadāsa defines it, it had something of that same meaning in his time; Rādhāgovinda Natha does not comment.

23. [Wild fig: *uḍumbaravṛkṣa* (*figus glomerata*), which is notable for its profusion of fruit-bearing branches resulting in high yields of fruit, and its extraordinarily thick canopy. TKS]



27 Whether or not one asked, whether or not one was worthy—he considered this not at all; he only gave. 28 Handfuls upon handfuls he scattered in the four directions; the poor gathered it and ate, and the gardener smiled. 29 The gardener said, “Hear, O tree-family, as many roots, branches, and smaller branches as there are. 30 This unworldly tree does the work of all the senses; it is a stationary thing, yet it acts as would a moving one. 31 The limbs of this tree all have consciousness, and they grow and spread out, covering the whole world. 32 I am a single gardener; where shall I go? Alone, how many fruits can I gather and distribute? 33 To give alone is labor; some receive, and some do not, so their minds remain whirling. 34 Thus I give instruction to all, to everyone everywhere; I give the fruits of *prema*. 35 I am the single gardener; how much fruit can I eat? If I do not give these fruits, what else shall I do [with them]? 36 According to the nectar of my own will, I water and nourish the tree, and because of this there are uncountable fruits on it. 37 Thus I give the fruit to whomsoever there is; let people eat of it, and become eternally young and immortal. 38 My fame and merit will spread over the whole world, and full of joy the people will sing my praises. 39 Let him who takes his human birth on the earth of Bhārata fulfill his birth; let him do good to others.

*Sloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.22.35:*

This much is life's reward for the souls in this world, that they always act with their lives, their properties, spirits, voices, and wealth.

*Sloka 4. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 3.12.35:*

That which here and hereafter leads to the well-being of creatures, is that one should wisely love with act, thought and word.

40 I am a human gardener; I have neither wealth nor kingdom; I acquire merit by my fruits and flowers. 41 Being the gardener, I became the tree, by my own will; and from the tree comes the doing of good to all living creatures.”

*Sloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.22.33:*

Ah, these trees are the best, who provide sustenance for the hearts of all living things, as good people do not avert their faces from the beggars.

30. I.e., the tree acts as does a sentient object; there are two basic classes of beings, those which move and those which do not; the tree is an unmoving being, but acts with the senses of a moving one.

39. This seems to refer to all people born in India, not just Nadiya; presumably, India being the place where the *śāstras* were propagated, Indians have a special duty in regard to beneficence.

42 When the gardener Caitanya gave this advice, the family of trees was greatly overjoyed. 43 And they distributed the fruit of *prema* to all; at the taste of the fruit the people all became intoxicated. 44 They ate and filled their bellies with the fruit of *prema*, greatly intoxicating—all the people were drunk; they laughed and danced and sang. 45 Some writhed upon the ground, some shouted aloud, and seeing this the gardener smiled, greatly delighted. 46 The gardener eats the fruit of *prema*, and remains always intoxicated, helpless with ecstasy. 47 He made all the people drunk like himself; no one could be seen, except for people drunk with *prema*. 48 Those who formerly had abused him, calling him a drunkard, also ate the fruit, and danced, and said, “Excellent, excellent!” 49 So I have spoken of the distribution of the fruits of *prema*; now hear of the branches which gave the fruits.

50 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the ‘nectar of the acts of Caitanya,’ the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.



## Ādi Līlā Chapter 10

Sloka 1.

I bow again and again to the bees at the lotus-feet of Śrī Caitanya, in which even a dog instinctively takes refuge should he get their scent.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and Nityānanda; glory to Advaita, glory to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 The story of this tree and of this gardener is impossible to tell; hear now the description of the names of its chief branches. 3 As large a group of followers as there was of Caitanya Gosvāmī, there was certainly no feeling of higher and lower among them. 4 As many great-hearted men as there were, having enumerated all of these, no one can distinguish gradations of superior and inferior. 5 Thus I bow down to them all, that in listing only their names, no fault will be attributed to me.

Sloka 2.

I salute the beloved of the immortal tree of *prema*, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, those hosts of votaries who, in the form of its branches, bestow the fruit of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa.

6 Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita and Śrīrama Paṇḍita—these two brothers are branches, famed in the world; 7 Śrīpati and Śrīnidhi—two blood brothers of them, and the servants

2. [The image of Caitanya tending the tree of *bhakti* is carried over from the previous chapter and continues through 1.12. TKS]

5. Two interpretations are possible: that listing only their names, and not their accomplishments, is a possible offence; and that since there has to be order in a list, some will be first and some last: this is not proper, and a possible offence.

6. It was in their courtyard that Caitanya held *kīrtana* in his days in Navadvīpa, immediately after his return from Gayā. The two brothers had lived in the east, in a place called Kumārahaṭṭa, near Halisahara; at the order of Advaita they moved to Navadvīpa.

and maid-servants of the four brothers, the retinue of their household, 8 all of these are counted as branches on the two limbs; in their house Mahāprabhu always made *saṅkīrtana*. 9 The four brothers and all their family served Caitanya, and they recognized no other god or goddess than Gauracandra. 10 One main branch has the name Ācāryaratna; his retinue are branches and twigs of him. 11 Ācāryaratna's name is Śrī Candrasekhara, in whose house Īṣvara danced, in the *bhāva* of the goddess. 12 Puṇḍarīka Vidyānidhi is also known as a main branch; Prabhu took his name, and himself wept. 13 A main branch is Gadadhara Paṇḍita Gosvāmī, as beautiful as Lakṣmī, there is none like him. 14 His pupils and their pupils were his branches and twigs; thus are the branches and twigs listed. 15 Vakreśvara Paṇḍita was a greatly beloved servant of Prabhu; he danced for twenty-four *praharas*, without a break in *bhāva*. 16 And when he was dancing, Mahāprabhu himself sang; holding the feet of Prabhu, Vakreśvara said, 17 "You show me the moon-like faces of ten thousand *gandharvas*; they sing, I dance, and in that is my joy." 18 Prabhu said, "You are like a wing to me; if I had another wing like you, I would rise up into the sky." 19 Paṇḍita Jagadānanda was to Prabhu like his very heart; people say that he was Satyabhāmā in *svarāpa*. 20 In deep love he wanted to comfort and protect Prabhu; out of fear for others and his asceticism, Prabhu never allowed it. 21 Stiffness and quarreling arose between the two; I shall tell the whole story of this deeply loving man later on. 22 Rāghava Paṇḍita was one of the first followers of Prabhu, and one of his main branches was Makaradhvaja Kara. 23 His sister Damayantī was a beloved servant of Prabhu—for all twelve months she prepared the food for him. 24 And filling many sacks with those preparations Rāghava took them secretly and went [to Caitanya]. 25 Those Prabhu accepted throughout the

11. At the house of Candrasekhara Ācārya Caitanya and his followers once acted out the Kṛṣṇa-līlā. Caitanya dressed as Rukmīṇī and acted the part of Rukmīṇī at her wedding, and afterwards danced in the *bhāva* of the goddess (*devī*), which led him to be absorbed in and subsequently to manifest the *bhāva* of a mother; see CBh 2.18.

12. Puṇḍarīka (Vidyānidhi, "storehouse of wisdom," was his title) was born in Caṭṭagrāma, but had a house in Navadvīpa. It is said that he was so devoted to the Gaṅgā that he would not bathe in it, for fear of touching it, or her, with his foot. He was the *mantra-guru* of Gadadhara.

15. *Prahara*: one watch, the eighth part of a day and night, three hours.

17. *Gandharva*: musician of the gods.

19-20. In the Dvāpara-līlā he was Satyabhāmā; when Caitanya was in Puri, Jagadānanda wanted to bring him scented oils and other luxuries, but Caitanya, saying that these were not appropriate for a *saṅnyāsī*, refused to accept them.

21. See 3.12.

23. I.e., according to what was appropriate in each of the twelve months.



year, and that is famous as the Raghava-jhali. 26 I shall expound on all those preparations later on—[a story] which, when the *bhaktas* hear of it, causes their eyes to stream with tears.

27 Infinitely beloved of Prabhu was Paṇḍita Gaṅgādaśa; by remembering and reflecting on him all fetters are destroyed. 28 An associate of Caitanya was Śrī Ācārya Purandara, whom Gaurasundara called “father.” 29 Dāmodara Paṇḍita was a branch, huge in *prema*, who criticized Prabhu in his speech. 30 Later I shall expand on these words of criticism; pleased by the reproach, Prabhu sent him to Nadiya. 31 His younger brother and branch was Saṅkara Paṇḍita, whose name is known as the “cushion for the feet of Prabhu.” 32 And Sadāśiva Paṇḍita, whose hope lies at the feet of Prabhu, housed in his own home Nityānanda, at the very first. 33 There is Pradyumna Brahmācārī, the worshiper of Śrī Nṛsiṃha, whom Prabhu called “the bliss of Nṛsiṃha,” 34 and the most noble Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, who knows nothing except the feet of Caitanya. 35 And the branch Śrīman Paṇḍita, the personal servant of Prabhu; he held the torch, when Prabhu danced. 36 Śuklāmbara Brahmācārī is greatly fortunate; Bhagavān forcibly took rice received as alms and ate it. 37 Nandana Ācārya is a branch famed in the world; in his house

26. See 3.10.

27. *Smarāṇa*: remembering and reflecting. Presumably this is the Gaṅgādaśa in whose *śola* Prabhu studied grammar; he lived in Vidyānagara, in Navadvīpa. He is said to be the *viśvaprakāśa* of Vasiṣṭha Muni.

28. Gaurasundara: the beautiful golden one, Caitanya; Purandara Ācārya: Caitanya's father, Jagannātha Miśra.

29-30. Dāmodara (not to be confused with Svartpa Dāmodara) was Saivya in the Vraja-līla. There will be related later on a story of how he reproached Caitanya rather strongly for befriending a boy who was the son of a beautiful *brāhmaṇa* widow; see 3.3.

31. Saṅkara was Bhadrā in the Vraja-līla. The nickname comes from an incident in which he took Caitanya's feet in his lap, for Caitanya's comfort.

32. I.e., when he first returned to Navadvīpa from Puri; see CBh 3.9.17 [= 3.8 GM ed.].

36. Śuklāmbara: a very devout Vaiṣṇava of Navadvīpa; whatever he got by begging he first offered to Kṛṣṇa and then took it as *prasāda*. The story is told in CBh 2.16.107-50 of how he was dancing one day at the *kṛtana* of Caitanya, with a bag for alms over his shoulder. Caitanya went to him and pulled out and ate fistfuls of rice which he had received by begging, while reminding Śuklāmbara of similar interaction in the previous ages.

37. While Nityānanda was staying at Paryāṭana Tīrtha, it was revealed to him that Caitanya would appear at Navadvīpa; he went to Navadvīpa, and when at first he did not meet Caitanya, he went to the house of Nandana Ācārya. Caitanya went there with his followers and met him (CBh 2.3.123-88). Another time, being angry with Advaita, Caitanya leapt into the Gaṅgā; Nityānanda and Haridāsa pulled him out, and to keep the matter quiet they took him secretly to the house of Nandana (CBh 2.17.30-65). From these episodes it is possible to interpret the “two Prabhus” as Caitanya and Nityānanda. But from another episode related by Vṛndāvana Dāsa (CBh 2.6.8-91), the phrase might mean Caitanya and Advaita, although less likely: on one occasion Caitanya sent Rāmāi Paṇḍita to Santipura to tell Advaita to tell his wife to prepare *pāṇa* for him, and to come to

the two Prabhus stayed hiding. 38 And the branch Śrī Mukunda Datta was a fellow student of Prabhu, at whose *kṛtana* Caitanya Gosvāmī danced. 39 Vasudeva Datta is the most respected servant of Prabhu; I could not tell his qualities if I had a thousand mouths. 40 As many *jīvas* as there are in the world, he wanted to take their sins upon himself; he wanted to suffer hell, on behalf of the *jīvas*.

41 The activities of the branch Haridāsa Thākura were wonderful; he took three lakhs of names, without faltering. 42 I speak only in survey; his qualities are infinite; Ācārya Gosvāmī fed him dishes [prepared] for *śrāddha*. 43 The wave of his qualities is like Prahlāda; even at the lashing of the Yavanas, he did not bat an eye. 44 When he gained perfection, taking up his body, Caitanya Prabhu danced in great joy. 45 Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described this *līla*; the rest of it, I shall show later on. 46 Branches of his branches were as many people as there were in Kulīnagrāma; Satyarāja and the rest are all receptacles of his grace.

Navadvīpa for the service. Advaita wanted to test Caitanya's claim to worship, and hid himself in Nandana's house, instructing Rāmāi to tell Caitanya that he had not come to Navadvīpa. Caitanya, because of his powers, knew all this, and Advaita was convinced.

40. The story is told in CC 2.15.158-178.

41. I.e., he repeated the names of Kṛṣṇa 300,000 times, presumably without stopping.

42. It is forbidden to give non-*brāhmaṇas* food which has been prepared for the *śrāddha*, the funeral, ceremonies. But one day Advaita, saying that because of his devotion he considered Haridāsa the best of *brāhmaṇas*, though he had been born a Muslim, gave him such food. Radhagovinda Nātha, giving the *Vaṇendra-brāhmaṇakula-śāstra* as authority, goes on to say that because of this the other *brāhmaṇas* considered that the family of Advaita was disgraced, and refused to take food at their house. As a result, Advaita and his family fasted. It happened that the next day it rained very hard, and the fires in all the houses in the village were extinguished, and the *brāhmaṇas* were unable to cook. It occurred to them that this was a divine judgment because of what they had done to Advaita, and they went to him and offered to accept what had been prepared the previous day. Advaita took them all to the cave where Haridāsa was living; and there a fire was burning. Acknowledging his greatness, they all praised him.

43. Prahlāda was the son of Hiranyakaśipu, and was a great Viṣṇu-*bhakta*. Hiranyakaśipu tried in many ways to get his son to abandon the way of *bhakti*, but he clung firmly to his faith. (*Mahābhārata* 2.61, 3.29; the story is also told in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*). Similar trials were undergone by Haridāsa, as told in CBh 1.11.67-155 [= 1.16 GM ed.], in which, by order of the Muslim *qazi*, he was whipped through twenty-two market places of the town because he would not renounce his faith; his *bhakti* toward Caitanya gave him the strength to endure the torture. For a complete translation of the story see: Tony K. Stewart, “The Exemplary Devotion of the ‘Servant of Hari’” in *The Religions of South Asia in Practice*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 564-77.

44. *Siddhi*: perfection, the ultimate state of realization, [here referring to Haridāsa's death. Caitanya picked up his body and danced with it on the beach at Puri. See CC 3.11; for other stories of Haridāsa see 3.3.48-259. TKS].

46. Haridāsa stayed in Kulīnagrāma for some time and brought many people into the Vaiṣṇava fold, including Satyarāja Khān, who, judging from his surname or title, may have been Muslim.



47 The branch Śrī Murāri Gupta is a storehouse of *prema*; at his humility, the heart of Prabhu was melted. 48 He accepted no donation, nor took any money from others, but by his own profession he supported his family members. 49 He was kindly, and cured illness—illness of the body and illness of the mind, both were destroyed by him. 50 Śrīman Sena was a chief servant of Prabhu; he knew nothing other than the feet of Caitanya. 51 Śrī Gadādhara Dāsa was the branch above all; he caused the name of Hari to [come forth from] the mouth of the *qazi*.

52 Śivānanda Sena was the intimate servant of Prabhu; he took all with him to the place of Prabhu. 53 Each rainy season, taking the followers of Prabhu with him, he went, guarding them on the path to Nīlācala. 54 Prabhu bestows his mercy on his *bhaktas* in these three *svārūpas*: *sakṣāt*, *āveśa*, and *āvirbhāva*. 55 In *sakṣāt*, all *bhaktas* see, without differentiation. In the body of Nakula Brahmācārī was the *āveśa* of Prabhu. 56 Pradyumna Brahmācārī, as his name was before Prabhu named him Nṛsiṃhaṇanda—57 in him was the *āvirbhāva* of Caitanya; such are the many unworldly natures of Prabhu. 58 Śivānanda Sena tasted all these *rasas*; all this bliss I shall expand upon later on. 59 The smaller branches of the Śivānanda branch were his retinue—his sons, servants, and the rest, all servants of Caitanya. 60 Caitanya Dāsa, Rāmadāsa, and Karpapūra were the three sons of Śivānanda and

47. Murāri Gupta was a *vaidya* by caste, and was a practitioner of medicine in Navadvīpa; he was one of the earliest followers of Caitanya, a very learned man, and wrote KCC in Sanskrit, which is more popularly known as Murāri Gupta's *Kāṇḍā*.

51. The story is told in CBh 3.5.395-411. Gadādhara was almost always absorbed in the *gopi-bhāva*. There was a Muslim *qazi* who "was beside himself in an anger like fire"; but when he saw Gadādhara he asked him the reason for his coming. He replied that because of the grace of Caitanya and Nityānanda, the name of Hari was on everyone's lips, except those of the *qazi*, and that he had come to cause the *qazi* to take Hari's name. "I shall save you from all your sins." The *qazi* smiled and said, "I'll do it tomorrow; now you go home." But Gadādhara Dāsa insisted that he do it now, and, perhaps to humor him, the *qazi* did. From that day, the actions of the *qazi* were gentle and charitable.

52-53. Each year at the time of the Car Festival of Jagannātha, the *bhaktas* of Bengal, including those from Kulnāgrāma, would journey to Puri to see Caitanya. Their steward on these journeys was Śivānanda.

54. *Sakṣāt*: manifest, an apparent form, which all can see. *Āveśa*: possession; Bhagavān sometimes enters into the pure heart of a *bhakta*, and takes control of him; he loses all awareness of what is happening externally, and when this happens his actions are no longer in his control (see commentary on 1.7.86-93). *Āvirbhāva*: appearance; sometimes Bhagavān is merciful to particular *bhaktas*, and reveals his own form visibly to them; they are able to see him, but no one else can.

58. I.e., Caitanya appeared in all three ways to Śivānanda.

60. Karpapūra, the youngest of the three sons, was named Paramānanda Dāsa. One day in Puri he composed a *śloka* on the Kṛṣṇa-līlā which filled (*pārṇa*) the ears (*kārṇa*) of Caitanya, whence his nickname, Kavikarpapūra. He also has several Sanskrit works to his credit, the most famous

leaders among the *bhaktas* of Prabhu. 61 Śrī Vallabha Sena and Śrīkanta Sena were related to Śivānanda, they were powerful *bhaktas* of Prabhu.

62 The beloved of Prabhu, Govindānanda was a *mahābhāgavata*; and the primary *kṛtāntya* of Prabhu was Śrī Govinda Datta; 63 The scribe of Prabhu, named Śrī Vijaya Dāsa copied many manuscripts for Prabhu; 64 Prabhu gave him the name Ratnabāhu. And Akiñcana Kṛṣṇadāsa was beloved of Prabhu. 65 The nut-seller Śrīdhara, beloved of Prabhu, was one with whom Prabhu laughed and joked every day. 66 and from whom Prabhu took daily the *thoḍa* and *moca* and fruit of the plantain tree, and drank water from his broken iron vessel. 67 There was the most beloved servant of Prabhu, Bhagavān Paṇḍita, in whose body Kṛṣṇa formerly was established; 68 and Jagadīśa Paṇḍita, and Hiranya Mahāśaya, to whom, in childhood, Prabhu full of mercy, gave grace—69 in their house on Ekādaśī day, he begged the food offered to Viṣṇu and ate it himself. 70 Two students of Prabhu—Puruṣottama and Sañjaya, two students of grammar—were both most respected; 71 and the branch Vanamālī Paṇḍita, is famed throughout the world; he saw that the golden pestle was in the hand of Prabhu. 72 Very beloved of Śrī Caitanya was Buddhimanta Khān; obedient from his birth, he is chief among the servants; 73 and Garuḍa Paṇḍita takes the blessed holy name; on him poison could not exert its strength, because of the strength of the name. 74 Gopīnātha Sīṃha was a servant of Caitanya, whom Prabhu smilingly called Akrūra; 75 and Devānanda was a stu-

being a work on poetics, *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha*, two hagiographical works on Caitanya, the KCCM and CCN (see Introduction, Sect. VI.1), and a variety of other works including the popular *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campu* and the previously mentioned GGUD. [It is somewhat puzzling that Kṛṣṇadāsa does not mention Kavikarpapūra's literary works when he is so clearly indebted to them, especially the CCN, as will become apparent later (see especially 2.2.19.109, 2.24.259, and 3.6.259; see also the *śloka* index for other citations). The possibility should be entertained that when he composed this section of the CC, Kṛṣṇadāsa was not familiar with the works of Kavikarpapūra. The implication would be that either Kṛṣṇadāsa started to compose the CC somewhat earlier, perhaps more than a decade, than usually speculated, or the works of Kavikarpapūra were inexplicably slow to circulate, the former possibility being somewhat more feasible considering the heavy traffic of text-carrying devotees between Puri, Navadvīpa, and Vṛndāvana. TKS]

65-66. The story is in CBh 1.8.178-213 [= 1.12. GM ed.]. One day during *kṛtānta* Caitanya went to Śrīdhara's house; he saw in the courtyard a broken iron vessel, an unclean vessel, and drank from it. *Thoḍa* is a plantain shoot, and *moca* the flower of the plantain.

69. During the childhood of Caitanya, Hiranya and Jagadīśa were preparing a food offering for Viṣṇu on the Ekādaśī day; Prabhu began to cry for the food, and the two, knowing the reason for it, brought him all the food and fed it to him; see CBh 1.4.16-40 [= 1.6. GM ed.].

71. *Maṣāla*: a kind of pestle for husking rice. The implication is that he was at the time in the *bhāva* of Baladeva, who often carries the pestle and a plow.

74. Akrūra was Kṛṣṇa's uncle.



dent of the *Bhāgavata*, who through the mercy of Vakreśvara gained from Prabhu the significance of *bhakti* in the *Bhāgavata*.

76 The Khaṇḍa-dwellers—Mukunda Dāsa, Śrī Raghunandana, Narahari Dāsa, Cirañjīva, and Sulocana— 77 all these are great branches, receptacles of the grace of Caitanya; they gave the flowers and fruits of *prema* to everyone and anyone. 78 The Kulīnagrāma dwellers—Satyārāja, Rāmananda, Yadunātha, Puruṣottama, Saṅkara, and Vidyānanda, 79 Vāṇīnātha Basu and the rest—as many as lived in the village, all were the servants of Caitanya, the wealth of Caitanya's heart. 80 Prabhu said, "Even the dogs which live in Kulīnagrāma are beloved of me, not to speak of others." 81 The fortune of the dwellers in Kulīnagrāma cannot be described; the Doms, while herding their swine, sing [the name of] Kṛṣṇa.

82 Anupama Vallabha, Śrī Rūpa, and Sanātana—these three are the best of all the branches to the west of the tree. 83 Of these, Rūpa and Sanātana are the great branches, and Anupama, Jīva, Rājendra, and the rest are smaller branches of them. 84 At the will of the gardener the branches grew large, and expanding they covered the whole of the western country, 85 up to the banks of the Sindhu River and the Himalaya, and all the *tīrthas* that there are—Vṛndāvana, Mathurā, and the rest. 86 The whole world was flooded by the fruit of the *prema* of these two branches, and tasting the fruit of that *prema* people became intoxicated. 87 The people of the west are all ignorant and act improperly; there the two propagated the pure performance of *bhakti*. 88 Shown by the *śāstras*, they rescued *tīrthas* which had been abandoned, and in Vṛndāvana they propagated the service of the *śrīmārti*.

89 The beloved servant of Mahāprabhu was Raghunātha Dāsa; abandoning everything, he made his home at the feet of Prabhu. 90 Prabhu gave him into the

76. Khaṇḍa or Śrīkhaṇḍa is a village in Burdwan district, about twenty-five miles northwest of Navadvīpa. The place was also called Vaidyakhāṇḍa. Śrīkhaṇḍa and Kulīnagrāma were the major centers of Vaiṣṇava activity, outside of Navadvīpa itself.

82. I.e., in Vṛndāvana-Mathurā, west of Bengal.

83. Rūpa and Sanātana were great leaders of the Vaiṣṇavas; Anupama, though he was their brother and a great *bhakta*, died young, and did not contribute as much as did the others. Jīva was his son. The name Rājendra is a problem; there is a tradition that he was the son of Sanātana, but this is not attested in any reliable source; [Haridāsa Dāsa in his *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhāna* cites several references making Rājendra the nephew of Sanātana. TKS]

85. Sindhu River: Indus River.

87. Such sectarian statements bear out the suggestions of the texts of the Vallabhacārits, that the various Vaiṣṇava groups did not always get on well together. As to who was primary, it depends on whose texts are read. See 1.1.2 commentary.

88. Rūpa served the image called Govinda, and Sanātana that called Madanamohana; these images, as we shall see, had fallen into disuse; they were reestablished by the Gosvāmins.

90. *Gupta-seva*: secret service, which Rādhāgovinda Nātha describes as common washing of

hands of Svarūpa, and with Svarūpa he performed secret service to Prabhu. 91 He performed service intimately for sixteen years, and when Svarūpa disappeared, he went to Vṛndāvana. 92 Having seen the feet of the two brothers at Vṛndāvana, he wanted to abandon his body by jumping from a cliff on Govarddhana. 93 Having decided upon this, he came to Vṛndāvana; and having come he made his obeisance to the feet of Rūpa and Sanātana. 94 But the two brothers did not allow him to die, but kept him near them, like their own third brother. 95 The two brothers heard endlessly from his mouth the many *līlas*—inner and outer—of Mahāprabhu. 96 He abandoned food and water and talk about all other things, and he ate only two or three *palas* of *maṭha*. 97 He made a thousand prostrations, he took a *lakh* of names, and every day he made obeisance to two thousand Vaiṣṇavas. 98 Day and night he mentally served Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and spent a full watch speaking of the actions of Mahāprabhu. 99 He offered the three prayers morning, noon, and evening, and bathed endlessly in the Rādhakuṇḍa. And he gave respectful embraces to the Vraja-dwelling Vaiṣṇavas. 100 For seven and a half watches he performed the *sādhana* of *bhakti*; he spent four *daṇḍas* in sleep, and on certain days not even that. 101 To hear the regulation of his *sādhana* is wonderful. And that Raghunātha Dāsa was my *prabhu*. 102 How all these joined Prabhu, I shall give the description later. 103 Śrī Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was one branch, the best of all, who used to converse about *prema* with Rūpa and Sanātana.

104 Saṅkarāṇya Ācārya was a branch of the tree, and Mukunda, Kaṣṭhātha, and Rudra were branches of his branch. 105 Śrīnātha Paṇḍita was a receptacle of the mercy of Prabhu, seeing whose worship of Kṛṣṇa the three worlds are subdued. 106 Jagannātha Ācārya was a beloved servant of Prabhu; at the order of Prabhu he

the feet, etc., but done at night. There is a possibility that Svarūpa was a Vaiṣṇava Tantric, a Sahajīya (see PHM 48 n.); if so, the *gupta-seva* may well have been something decidedly more esoteric. It is true that it was to the care of Svarūpa and Rāmananda, and presumably Raghunātha Dāsa also, that Caitanya fell when in his last years he could not control himself in fits of frenzy, and that these friends guarded him at night. [Alternately, "gupta" may simply denote an act or set of actions that were hidden from view, i.e., not public, as would be appropriate for intimate devotees. TKS]

92. "Seen the feet," i.e., paid his respects.

95. These interpretations Raghunātha had learned from Svarūpa, who, it is constantly said, "knew the secret meaning of the *līla* of Caitanya." According to Rādhāgovinda Nātha, the outer *līlas* were those manifest in Nīlācala, the inner those eternal, unmanifest *līlas* in Vraja.

96. *Maṭha*: balls of a milk and curd preparation; *pala*: a unit of weight. Eight *tolas* make a *pala*, a very small amount.

98. *Prahara*: see commentary to v. 15 above.

99. Rādhakuṇḍa: a tank at Vṛndāvana.

100. *Daṇḍa*: the sixtieth part of a day, about twenty-four minutes.



went to live by the Gaṅgā. 107 Kṛṣṇadāsa Vaidya, Śekhara Paṇḍita, Kavicandra, and the *kṛtantiya* Śaṣṭhivara, 108 Śrīnātha Miśra, Subhānanda, Śrīrāma, Iśana, Śrīnidhi, Śrī Gopikānta, Bhagavan Miśra, 109 Subuddhi Miśra, Hṛdayananda, Kamalanayana, Maheśa Paṇḍita, Śrīkara, Śrī Madhusudana, 110 Puruṣottama, Śrī Galima Jagannātha Dāsa, Śrī Candraśekhara Vaidya, Dvija Haridāsa, 111 Rāmadāsa Kavicandra, Śrī Gopāla Dāsa, Bhāgavatācārya, Śaraṅgadāsa Ṭhākura, 112 Jagannātha Tīrtha, Vipra Śrī Janakīnātha, Gopāla Ācārya, Vipra Vaṇīnātha, 113 Govinda, Mādhava, Vasudeva—three brothers, at whose *kīrtana* Caitanya and Nitya danced— 114 and Rāmadāsa Abhirāma, a mass of *sakhyā-prema*, who picked a bamboo of sixteen links, and made a flute of it.

115 At the command of Prabhu, Nityānanda went to Gauḍa, and with him three men came, by the order of Prabhu: 116 Rāmadāsa, Mādhava, and Vasudeva Ghoṣa; and Govinda remained with Prabhu, very happy. 117 And there were Bhāgavatācārya, Cirañjīva, Śrī Raghunandana, Mādhavācārya, Kamalākanta, Śrī Yadunandana; 118 and the receptacles of the very great mercy of Prabhu, Jagai and Mādhai—two brothers, eyewitnesses to [the appropriateness of] his name “Savior of the Fallen.” 119 I have mentioned briefly the *bhaktas* in Bengal—the number of Caitanya-*bhaktas* is unending, and cannot be counted. 120 All these *bhaktas* were with Prabhu at Nīlācala, and with varieties of delight served Prabhu in both places.

121 Those who were the *bhaktas* of Prabhu only at Nīlācala, let me say briefly a few words about them. 122 Of all those *bhaktas* who were with Prabhu at Nīlācala, two were chief, [who knew] the innermost secrets of Prabhu— 123 Paramānanda Puri and Svarūpa Dāmodara. And there were Gadādhara, Jagadānanda, Śaṅkara, Vakreśvara, 124 Dāmodara Paṇḍita, Haridāsa Ṭhākura, Raghunātha Vaidya, and Raghunātha Dāsa. 125 These great *bhaktas* were the early companions of Caitanya, and remaining at Nīlācala they served Prabhu. 126 And many *bhaktas* were living in the Gauḍa country, who every year came to see Prabhu at Nīlācala.

127 Now let me enumerate those *bhaktas* who first met Prabhu at Nīlācala. 128 There is one great branch—Sārvabhauma Bhāṭṭācārya; and his sister’s husband Śrī Gopīnātha Ācārya. 129 And Kaśī Miśra, Pradyumna Miśra, and Bhavānanda Rāya—meeting [the latter of] whom Prabhu gained great happiness. 130 Having embraced him, Prabhu said to him these words, “You are Paṇḍu, your sons are the five Paṇḍavas— 131 Rāmananda Rāya, and Gopīnātha Paṭṭanāyaka, and Kalānidhi,

110. Śrī Galima Jagannātha Dāsa: Rādhāgovinda Nātha defines *galima* as “one who is eloquent.”

118. See the commentary on 1.8.17 above.

120. They lived in Bengal, but visited Caitanya at Puri (Nīlācala) once a year.

and Sudhānidhi, and Nāyaka Vaṇīnātha. 132 These your five sons are receptacles of my love; Rāmananda is divided from me in body only.” 133 The Rāja Pratāparudra, Oḍra Kṛṣṇānanda, Paramānanda Mahāpatra, and Oḍra Sivananda, 134 Bhagavan Ācārya, Brahmananda Bhārati, Śrī Śikhi Mahiti, and Murāri Mahiti, 135 and Mādhavi Devī, the sister of Śikhi Mahiti: her name is counted among the maid-servants of Śrī Rādhā. 136 The pupil of Iśvara Puri, Brahmacārī Kaśīśvara, and his most beloved follower, by name Śrī Govinda. 137 At the time of his death, both these received his order; and they came to the place of Prabhu at Nīlācala and met him. 138 Because of their relationship to [his own] *guru*, [Prabhu] honored them both, and honoring his instructions, they both gave him service. 139 Iśvara Puri gave Govinda as his personal servant, and while going to see Jagannātha, Kaśīśvara would precede him, 140 and Gosvāmī passed through the mass of people untouched; Kaśī by force made him a path through the people. 141 Rāmāi and Nandāi both were servants of Prabhu, and with Govinda they served him endlessly. 142 Every day Rāmāi filled twenty-two pots with water, and Nandāi served according to the instructions of Govinda. 143 The pure *kultna brahmaṇa* named Kṛṣṇadāsa he took with him when he went on his trip to the south. 144 Balabhadra Bhāṭṭācārya was chief in *bhakti*, who was the *brahmacārī* of Prabhu on the trip to Mathurā. 145 And Baḍa Haridāsa, and Choṭa Haridāsa, two *kṛtantiyas*, remained by the side of Mahāprabhu. 146 There were Rāmabhadraācārya, and Oḍra Simheśvara, Tapana Ācārya, and Raghu and Nīlāmbara, 147 Śiṅgabhaṭṭa, and Kāmabhaṭṭa, and Dantara Śivānanda, and Kamalananda, the most beloved servant of Prabhu, formerly in Gauḍa. 148 And Acyutananda, the son of Advaita Ācārya stayed at Nīlācala, taking refuge at the feet of Prabhu. 149 The hairless Gaṅgadāsa, and Viṣṇudāsa—all these lived with Prabhu at Nīlācala.

150 In Vārāṇasī there were three *bhaktas* of Prabhu—Candraśekhara Vaidya, and Tapana Miśra, 151 and Raghunātha Bhāṭṭācārya, the son of Miśra. When Prabhu

132. [The first meeting of Caitanya and Rāmananda, according to Kṛṣṇadāsa, led to the revelation that Caitanya was both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in a single body (see 2.8). Rāmananda plays a significant role in the Nīlācala-*līlā* of Caitanya. TKS]

133. Oḍra: Oriya, one who lives in Orissa.

139. Or: “gave Govinda, his personal servant.” [Govinda served as personal servant during his stay in Nīlācala. Vṛndāvana Dāsa refers to him as the guard or doorkeeper (CBh 1.7.2 [=1.10 GM ed.]). It is alleged by some that this Govinda was Caitanya’s personal servant on his pilgrimage south and whose memories of that trip are recorded in the hotly disputed *Kaḍaṭ* of Govinda Dāsa. Kṛṣṇadāsa, however, names another servant, a *kultna brahmaṇa*, Kṛṣṇadāsa, as the accompanying man (see below v. 143; 2.9.passim). TKS]

144. Balabhadra accompanied Caitanya on his Mathurā trip, begging food for him and generally serving him; see 2.17-18.



came to Kāśī, after having seen Vṛndāvana, 152 he stayed for two months at the house of Candrasekhara. He took his food for two months at the house of Tapanā Miśra. 153 As a child, Raghunātha served Prabhu, cleaning up the leavings of his food and massaging his legs. 154 When he grew up he went to Nīlacala, to the place of Prabhu; he lived there eight months, and served him food on certain days. 155 Receiving the order of Prabhu, he came to Vṛndāvana, and when he arrived, he stayed near Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin. 156 At his place Rūpa Gosvāmin listened to the *Bhāgavata*; by the mercy of Prabhu he was intoxicated with the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa.

157 Thus the number of the *bhaktas* of Caitanya has been enumerated; I have written only sketchily; it cannot be described in full. 158 For on each branch there are crores and crores of branches, pupils and pupils of their pupils, branches on the branches. 159 All of them are filled with the fruits and flowers of *prema*; they flood the three worlds with the water of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 160 The power of each branch is of infinite greatness; if one had a thousand mouths he could not describe the limits of it. 161 So in brief have been described the *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu; even the thousand-headed one cannot speak of them all.

162 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

153. Raghunātha Bhāṭṭācārya, son of Tapanā Miśra; see v. 151 above.

## Ādi Līlā Chapter 11

Śloka 1.

After bowing to all the bees around the lotus-feet of Nityānanda, drunken on the honey of *prema*, I shall write down the names of some of the foremost among them.

1 Glory, glory to Mahāprabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; Glory, glory, to Śrī Advaita, glory to the blessed Nityānanda.

Śloka 2.

I show praise to the hosts, who are the branches of the spotless moon Avadhūta, the wishing tree of good *prema* for Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

2 From the heavy trunk of the tree of Śrī Nityānanda grew many branches and their branches. 3 The branches grew, watered by the will of the gardener, and laden with fruits and flowers of *prema*, they covered the earth. 4 Who can count the uncountable and unending numbers; to purify myself, let me count the chief among them. 5 Śrī Vīrabhadra Gosvāmī was the great branch of the trunk; how many are

Śloka 2. *Avadhūta-indu*: The pure moon, Nityānanda, the *avadhūta* ascetic.

2-3. [The image of Caitanya the gardener tending the tree of *bhakti* is carried over the previous two chapters and continues through 1.12. TKS]

5. As the story is told in various texts, including Narahari Cakravartī's *BhR* 12.3870-3947 (see *PHM*, 48-50), Sūryadāsa Paṇḍita, a brother of Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita, had two daughters named Jāhnavā Devī and Vasudhā Devī. Nityānanda married both of them and went to live in Khaḍgadhā. Vīracandra or Vīrabhadra was the son of Vasudhā; after Nityānanda died, Jāhnavā became a powerful figure in the movement, and very possibly a Sahajīyā (*PHM*, 96-102). In *BhR* 13.249-64 it is said that at the wish of Jāhnavā, the two daughters of Yadunandana Ācārya of Jhāmātapura, were married to Vīracandra. Nityānanda also had a daughter, named Gaṅgā, and she was married to Mādhava Ācārya. Vīrabhadra, *BhR* says, had three sons. The Jhāmātapura MS reads "a branch like a trunk," which may be preferable given the image of the banyan.



his branches, cannot be written. 6 Being *Īśvara*, he is called a great *Bhāgavata*; though he is beyond Vedic *dharma*, still he acts according to the *dharma* of the Vedas. 7 Inwardly he is *Īśvara*, outwardly he is without arrogance; he is the main pillar in the *maṇḍapa* of *bhakti* for Caitanya. 8 Up to today, by the greatness of his mercy, all the people of the world sing of Caitanya and Nityānanda. 9 I take the memory of that Virabhadra Gosvāmī, by whose grace all desired things are fulfilled.

10 Śrī Rāmadāsa and Gadādhara Dāsa are *bhaktas* of Caitanya Gosvāmī who remain by [Nityānanda's] side. 11 When he commanded Nityānanda to go to Gauḍa, Mahāprabhu sent these two with him. 12 And to these two there are added two more: Mādhava and Vāsudeva Ghoṣa. 13 Rāmadāsa is the main branch, with quantities of *sakhyā-prema*; he took a bamboo of sixteen sections for his flute. 14 Gadādhara Dāsa was full of *ānanda* in the *gopī-bhāva*; Nityānanda performed the *danakeli* in his house. 15 Śrī Mādhava Ghoṣa was chief among the *kīrtanīyas*, at whose song Śrī Nityānanda Prabhu danced. 16 In his songs Vāsudeva made descriptions of Prabhu, and sticks and stones would melt, when they heard it. 17 There is the unworldly *līlā* of Murāri Caitanya Dāsa, who slapped a tiger and who played with a snake. 18 However many people of Nityānanda there were—all were friends in Vraja, with horns and reeds and in the dress of *gopas*, on their heads peacock feathers. 19 Raghunātha Vaidya was a great teacher and a gentleman, the sight of whom aroused *prema-bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa; 20 and Sundarānanda, was a branch

6. Rādhagovinda Nātha says: One of the *vyāhas* of Saṅkarṣaṇa (i.e., Nityānanda) was Payobhīṣāyī Nārāyaṇa; he was incarnated as Virabhadra. As he is undivided in *viṅgha* from Caitanya, he is *Īśvara*.

7. Even though he is *Īśvara* and therefore dependent only on self and not on society and custom, still he has the Vaiṣṇava virtues: humility, modesty, etc. *Maṇḍapa*: an open pavilion erected for ceremonies and rituals, which recalls here the image of the wild-fig with its thick canopy.

14. *CBh* 3.5.372-94; Nityānanda acted out the *dāna-līlā*, in which Kṛṣṇa demands a payment of love from Rādhā before he ferries her across the river. [This Gadādhara Dāsa is not to be confused with Gadādhara Paṇḍita, whose own lineages are noted in the next chapter (1.12.77-88), even though both figures do share certain characteristics (e.g., preference for *gopī-bhāva*, etc.). TKS]

16. Vāsudeva Ghoṣa was one of the excellent early *pada-kartās* (lyric-writers) on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and Caitanya themes.

17. *CBh* 3.6.89 [= 3.5.725 GM ed.] has Caitanya Dāsa as another name for Murāri Paṇḍita. That text (*CBh* 3.5.425-33) says that one day, completely absorbed in *prema* and unconscious of the outside world, he was playing with a snake and a tiger; they did him no harm. He rode upon the tiger, slapping it, and took the snake into his lap.

18. *Vetra*: reeds, for herding the cattle. *Sakhā*: friends. [This appears to be an oblique reference to Nityānanda's chief disciples who were twelve in number, the *dvādaśa gopāla*, all of whom are listed here. TKS]

of Nityānanda, the beloved servant, with whom Nityānanda joked in the *bhāva* of Vraja. 21 There was Kamalakara Pippalai, whose ways were wonderful, whose wonderful *prema* is famous throughout the world, 22 and Sūrya Dāsa Sarkhel and his brother Kṛṣṇadāsa, who had deep faith in Nityānanda, the storehouse of *prema*. 23 Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita, whose *bhakti* was wild in *prema*, holds great power to give and to take Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 24 He presented to Nityānanda his class and *kula* and caste, and made Caitanya and Nityānanda the lords of his life. 25 Purandara Paṇḍita, most loved of Nityānanda Prabhu—like a crocodile he swims in the sea of *prema*. 26 Parameśvara Dāsa, whose sole refuge is in Nityānanda—whenever meditates on him gains Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*. 27 Jagadīśa Paṇḍita is the savior of the world; like a rain cloud, he rains the nectar of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 28 Dhananājaya Paṇḍita is a beloved servant of Nityānanda, always indifferent to the world, always full of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 29 And there was Maheśa Paṇḍita, the generous herdsman of Vraja; drunk with *prema* he danced to the playing of the *ḍhaka* drums.

30 In Navadvīpa, there is Puruṣottama Paṇḍita Mahāśaya, who becomes greatly intoxicated by the name of Nityānanda, 31 and Balarāma Dāsa, the taster of the *rasa* of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa, most maddened with the name of Nityānanda, 32 and Yadunātha Kavīcandra, the great *bhāgavata*, in whose heart Nityānanda always dances. 33 Kṛṣṇadāsa, of *brāhmaṇa* family, was born in Rādhā, a most dedicated servant of Śrī Nityānanda. 34 Kālā Kṛṣṇadāsa is chief among the great Vaiṣṇavas, who knows nothing other than the moon Nityānanda. 35 Śrī Sadaśiva Kavīrāja was greatly to be revered, and his son Śrī Puruṣottama Dāsa, 36 who from his birth was absorbed in the feet of Nityānanda, and eternally makes the *balya-līlā* with Kṛṣṇa. 37 His son was Śrī Kānu Ṭhakura Mahāśaya, whose body remains full of the nectar of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.

38 Uddharaṇa Datta was the best of the great *bhāgavatas*; in all the *bhāvas* he served the feet of Nityānanda. 39 Ācārya Vaiṣṇavānanda, whose former name was Raghunātha Purī, was chief among the *bhaktas*. 40 Viṣṇudāsa, Nandana, and Gaṅgādāsa were three brothers, and in their house Nityānanda once stayed.

22. This Sūryadāsa was presumably the father in law of Nityānanda (above, v. 5); that his name is given here as Sarkhel would indicate that he was a servant of the Muslim king of Bengal. Nityānanda was an Avadhūta, therefore casteless and able to accept the daughters of one who had served the Muslims.

24. *Kula*: family or family honor; see Inden, *MRBC*, 11-22. Gaurīdāsa was the brother of Sūryadāsa, and they were *brāhmaṇas*. The implication here seems to be that although his brother had lost his caste and social status by serving Muslims, Gaurīdāsa had not done so. He gave it up voluntarily, flouting the laws of society, by allowing his nieces to be married to a casteless Avadhūta.

36. *Balya-līlā*: boyhood; the *bhāva* was that of one of Kṛṣṇa's friends, the *gopas*.

40. Nityānanda: Nityānanda.



41 The servant of Nityānanda was Paramānanda Upādhyāya, and Śrī Jīva Paṇḍita, who sang the glories of Nityānanda. 42 And Paramānanda Gupta was a Kṛṣṇa-bhakta of great intelligence, in whose house Nityānanda formerly lived. 43 Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Manohara, and Devānanda were four brothers, the servants of Nityānanda. 44 Bihārī Kṛṣṇadāsa, the life of Nityānanda Prabhu, knew nothing other than the feet of Nityānanda. 45 And there were Nakāḍi, Mukunda, Sūrya, Mādhava, and Śrīdhara, Rāmānanda Basu, Jagannātha, and Mahādhara. 46 Śrīmanta, Gokula Dāsa, Hariharānanda, Sivai, Nandai, and Avadhūta Paramānanda. 47 Vasanta, Navamī Hoḍa, Gopāla, Sanātana, Viṣṇai, Kṛṣṇānanda, Sulocana. 48 Kāṁsārī Sena, Rāma Sena, Rāmacandra Kavirāja, and Govinda, Śrīraṅga, and Mukunda—three [other] Kavirājas. 49 There were Pīṭāmbara, Mādhavācārya, and Dāmodara Dāsa, Śaṅkara, Mukunda, Jñānadāsa, and Manohara. 50 Narttaka Gopāla, Rāmabhadra, and Gaurāṅga Dāsa, Nṛsiṃha Caitanya, and Mīnaketa Rāmadāsa. 51 There was the son of Nārāyaṇī, Vṛndāvana Dāsa, who wrote the *Caitanya Maṅgala*. 52 In the *Bhāgavata*, Vedavyāsa described the Kṛṣṇa-līlā; the Vyāsa of the Caitanya-līlā is Vṛndāvana Dāsa.

53 The best of all the branches is Vīrabhadra Gosvāmī; how many are his branches—there is no end to them. 54 Who can count the unending people of Nityānanda; I have mentioned a few of them for the purification of myself. 55 And all these branches are full of ripened fruits of *prema*; whomever they see, they give to him, and flood everyone. 56 Profuse *prema* was given to all, and their attempts are unending to give *prema*, and while giving they clasp Kṛṣṇa powerfully. 57 In brief I have mentioned these people of Nityānanda; even the thousand-mouthed one could not count them all.

58 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

48. Kavirāja: practitioner of Ayurvedic medicine.

51. *Caitanya Maṅgala*: *Caitanya Bhāgavata* (CBh).

52. See 1.8.29-43.

## Ādi Līlā Chapter 12

Sloka 1

All the bees around the lotus feet of Advaita carry either *sāra* or *asāra*;  
I leave aside those who carry *asāra*, and praise those who carry the *sāra*  
from the life of Caitanya.

1 Glory, glory to Mahāprabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, glory, glory to Nityānanda and the blessed Advaita.

Sloka 1. *Sāra*: meaning, essence; *asāra*: lack of meaning. For certain reasons, some of the followers of Advaita took up the way of knowledge, the *jñāna mārga*, while others continued with *bhakti*. It is possible to speculate that Advaitācārya's name came from his having been a teacher of monistic doctrine, the *vedānta*, before taking up *bhakti*; this is not the orthodox interpretation, however. Vṛndāvana Dāsa's CBh 2.19.6-176 explains the whole thing in this way: because Advaita had been a student of Mādhavendra Puri, Caitanya honored him greatly. This distressed Advaita, who considered himself a servant of Caitanya. Thus Advaita devised a scheme which he felt would earn him chastisement at Caitanya's hands. As below, vv. 37-39, he thought to denigrate the way of *bhakti*, and thereby offend Caitanya, so began to teach the *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* and propound the way of *jñāna*. He said, according to the CBh, "What power does Viṣṇu-bhakti hold, apart from *jñāna*? . . . Viṣṇu-bhakti is the mirror, but *jñāna* is the eye; what is the use of the mirror for eyeless people?" And so on. When Caitanya heard of this, he was very angry, and he came, with Nityānanda, to Śāntipura, where Advaita lived. CBh 2.19.124-76 continues: Advaita was sitting with some pupils, expounding the superiority of *jñāna*. When they saw Caitanya, "the glory of Viśvambhara being like a crore of suns, fear rose up in their minds." Caitanya then questioned Advaita as to the position he held on *jñāna*, and Advaita replied that *jñāna* was superior to *bhakti*. Then "great anger arose in Śāctānandana, and he dragged Advaita from his seat." Receiving this punishment, "Advaita was full of highest joy." Caitanya also, in his anger, revealed his divine form. Then some of his pupils realized that it had all been a trick on Advaita's part, and returned to the path of *bhakti*; others, however, had been convinced, and remained following the *jñāna*-path, and no longer acknowledged Caitanya as *svayaṁ bhavagān*. Because of this, it is said, Advaita abandoned them. Whether or not one accepts this explanation, it is clear that there was a split in the ranks of Advaita's followers, some of them leaving the *bhakti-mārga* to follow *jñāna*, and that Advaita himself, for whatever purposes, was an apostate.



## Sloka 2.

He who has the form of a second trunk of the divine tree of Caitanya, of him, Śrīmad Advaitacandra, we praise those crowds who form his branches.

2 A second limb of the tree is Ācārya Gosvāmī, and there is no describing all those crowds who form his branches. 3 Irrigated by the water of the mercy of the gardener Caitanya, nourished by that water, the limb grows day by day. 4 On that limb how many fruits of *prema* grow, and with that fruit of Kṛṣṇa-*prema* the world is flooded. 5 That water is infused through the limb into the branches; the fruits and flowers grow, and the branches are extended. 6 At first the followers of Ācārya were of one opinion; later, because of fate, they were [divided into] two. 7 Some followed the instructions of Ācārya, others were independent; according to destiny, they imagined their own opinions. 8 Those who followed the opinions of Ācārya—their opinion is *sāra*; those who transgressed his instructions—they are *asāra*. 9 There is no need of naming these *asāra* people; I make one mention of them only to make clear the distinction, 10 as in measuring a pile of rice the grain is separated from the husks, and afterwards the husks thrown away to improve [the rice].

11 Acyutānanda was the great branch, the son of Ācārya; from his birth he served the feet of Caitanya. 12 “The guru of Caitanya Gosvāmī was Keśava Bhārati”—hearing this speech of his father, he was greatly saddened. 13 “You give such instruction about the guru of the world; the country is destroyed by such instructions of yours. 14 Caitanya Gosvāmī is the guru of the fourteen worlds. That his guru was another—this is not in any *śāstra*.” 15 As a boy of five years he spoke this essence of perfection and when he heard it Ācārya was greatly pleased. 16 Another son of Ācārya is Kṛṣṇa Miśra; Caitanya Gosvāmī dwelt in his heart.

3. *Māli*: gardener; [the image of Caitanya the tree of *bhakti* is carried over from the three previous chapters. TKS.]

6-10. See the commentary to *śloka* 1 above.

12-15. According to *CBh* 3.4.137-87, the story is that one day, when Acyuta was five years old, a *saṁnyāsī* came to the house of Advaita and in the course of conversation asked who the guru of Caitanya was; Advaita answered, “Keśava Bhārati.” Acyuta was greatly distressed, feeling that since Caitanya himself was guru of the fourteen worlds, he could not himself have had an earthly guru. [Advaita, appropriately chastised, recognizes that his son is a member of Caitanya’s personal entourage (*pārṣada*); *CBh* 3.4.186. This explains why Acyutānanda is counted as a member of Caitanya’s personal branches of the tree of *bhakti* (see *CC* 1.10.148), as well as his father’s. Vṛndāvana Dāsa also reports that even earlier Acyutānanda had recognized Caitanya as *svayaṁ bhagavān*, much to everyone’s amazement; *CBh* 3.1.208-15. TKS]

17 Another son of Ācārya was named Gopāla: hear his actions, infinitely wonderful. 18 In the Guṇḍīca temple, before Mahāprabhu, he danced in the *kṛtana* in the happiness of great *prema*. 19 In his body many *bhāvas* arose [during his] wonderful dance, and the two Gosvāmīs cried “Hari!” their hearts filled with joy. 20 While he was dancing, Gopāla became unconscious; he fell on the earth, no sense in his body. 21 Sadly the Ācārya took his son onto his lap, and to save him uttered the *mantra* of Nṛsiṁha. 22 The Ācārya uttered many *mantras*, but he did not regain consciousness; at the misery which had befallen Advaita the Vaiṣṇavas began to weep. 23 Then Mahāprabhu, putting his hand over his heart, [said,] “Rise up, Gopāla; say ‘Hari, Hari!’” 24 And feeling Prabhu’s touch and hearing the sound of his voice, Gopāla arose; and all, in great joy, shouted Hari’s name. 25 Ācārya had another son—Śrī Balarāma; and another, a branch like a son, named Jagadīśa.

26 The servant of Ācārya was called Kamalākānta Viśvāsa; all the daily affairs of Ācārya were his realm. 27 He wrote a letter to Nīlācala, and sent it to Prataparudra. 28 The Ācārya knew nothing about that letter; by some circumstance it came to the place of Prabhu. 29 In that letter it was written, “The Ācārya has been established as divinity. 30 Because of fate he has incurred a little debt; to make good his debt I want three hundred *ṭaṅkā*.” 31 Reading the letter, the heart of Prabhu was saddened; but smiling outwardly, the moon-faced one said, 32 “The Ācārya has been established as *Īśvara*. In this there is no harm—Ācārya is the divine *Īśvara*. 33 But by begging, *Īśvara* has been humiliated; thus I shall punish him and teach

18. The Guṇḍīca *mandira* is the temple in Puri in which Jagannātha resides when he is taken out of the main temple during the Car Festival.

25. [There are several possibilities here. Rādhāgovinda Nātha attributes four sons to Advaita, i.e., Acyutānanda, Kṛṣṇa Miśra, Gopāla, and Balarāma. The fifth, Jagadīśa, is “like a son” (*putra-svarūpa*). But, Rādhāgovinda Nātha notes, some editions of the text read “*āra putra rūpa*” (not “*svarūpa*”) and thereby attribute six sons to Advaita, adding Rūpa and Jagadīśa. The two older MSS consulted both read “*āra putra rūpa*.” Haridāsa Dāsa in his *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhāna* concurs with the number six and adds corroborative evidence from two later texts, *Īśāna Nāgarā’s Advaita Prakāśa* (ch. 15) and Nityānanda Dāsa’s *Prema Vilāsa* (ch. 24). He further notes that there are significant chronology problems internal to the *Advaita Prakāśa*, which cast doubt on the attribution, a doubt that seems especially warranted [see Tony K. Stewart and Rebecca Manning, “In the Name of Devotion: Acyutacaraṇa Caudhuri and the Hagiographies of Advaitācārya,” *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1996-97): 103-26]. *Īśāna*, who emerges in the tradition as a minor but relatively intimate companion of Advaita’s family, should have been in a position to know, were the text authentic. Perhaps significant is *Īśāna*’s absence from the list of Advaita’s companions in this chapter of the *CC*. With respect to Nityānanda Dāsa’s *PV*, many editions do not even include the chapter in question. TKS]

26-30. Kamalākānta was in charge of the daily affairs of Advaita; presumably he wanted to save Advaita the worry of the debt, and therefore wrote without telling Advaita of it. Prataparudra was then *maharāja* in Puri (Nīlācala). *Ṭaṅkā* is *ṭaka*: rupee.



him this." 34 He gave this instruction to Govinda, "From today do not allow that madman Viśvāsa to come here." 35 Hearing of this punishment, Viśvāsa was very sad; but hearing of the punishment of Prabhu, the Ācārya was very delighted. 36 He said to Viśvāsa, "You are most fortunate. Prabhu Bhagavan has punished you. 37 Formerly Mahāprabhu honored me greatly; because of this I was very sad in my heart, and so began to plan. 38 I expounded the *vaiṣiṣṭha*, holding *mukti* to be the ultimate. Prabhu, in anger, railed against me. 39 Receiving this punishment I was greatly joyful. That punishment which the fortunate Śrī Mukunda received, 40 that punishment which Śrī Śaṅkara, the most fortunate received—is it possible for anyone less intimate to receive that grace?" 41 Saying this the Ācārya gave him hope, and in great joy came to the side of Mahāprabhu. 42 He said to Prabhu, "I do not understand this *līlā* of yours. You made Kamalā a greater receptacle for your grace than me. 43 Such grace you have never given to me; what offence have I done at your feet?" 44 Hearing this, Prabhu began to laugh, and, delighted, he had Kamalākānta called. 45 Ācārya said, "Why do you give *darśana* to him? He has put me into trouble in two ways." 46 Hearing this, the heart of Prabhu was delighted, for each knew the inner meaning of the other. 47 Prabhu said, "You mad-

39. See above, commentary on śloka 1. According to Vṛndāvana Dāsa's CBh 2.10.172-258, one day Caitanya had summoned all the *bhaktas* to see him, with the sole exception of Mukunda Datta. Śrīvāsa said to Caitanya, "Why do you exclude Mukunda? He loves you greatly, and the songs which he sings give you great pleasure. He is very hurt." Caitanya replied, "Mukunda is not firm in his dedication. When he is in the company of monists, he holds the position of monism; and when he is with *bhaktas*, he proclaims the superiority of *bhakti*. Therefore I shall never see him again." Mukunda was listening to the conversation, and resolved to kill himself; and weeping, he asked Śrīvāsa to ask Caitanya when he would be able to have *darśana* of him again. Caitanya replied, "After a crore of births." Hearing this, Mukunda began to dance with joy, that he would see Caitanya again; seeing this, Caitanya smiled, and ordered that Mukunda be brought at once.

40. The story is in CBh 2.22.12-58. Caitanya's mother Śaṅkara felt that she had lost her first son Viśvarūpa because he was continually visiting Advaita's house, talking of religious things, and that because of this he had taken *saṁnyāsa*. Gradually, as Viśvambhara grew up, the pain of this loss faded from her mind. But as Viśvambhara grew older he too began to visit Advaita as his brother had done, and fear again began to develop in Śaṅkara's mind. She began to say, "He is called Advaita (undivided) but he divides me from my sons." Annoyed by such remarks, Viśvambhara withheld *prema* from her. Later she gained the forgiveness of Advaita for her offense, and Caitanya granted her *prema*. The paradoxical joy that the *bhaktas* feel when punished stems from the idea that any real passion is efficacious, and anger is infinitely better than indifference, for anger means that love exists, at least potentially.

45. I.e., first he sent the letter without telling me about it; and secondly in the letter he spoke of my divinity.

46. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that this means that Advaita was not really angry, and that Caitanya knew it.

man, why do you do these things? That action destroyed *dharma* and is the shame of the Ācārya. 48 Never accept the wealth of a king; if you eat the food of worldliness, your heart becomes depraved. 49 When your heart becomes depraved, there is no memory of Kṛṣṇa, and without memory of Kṛṣṇa, life is fruitless. 50 There is shame in the eyes of men, and *dharma* and renown are lost; know this well, and never do such things." 51 This teaching was to all, and all took it to their hearts; and in his heart Ācārya Gosvāmī gained great joy. 52 Only Prabhu understood the meaning of the Ācārya; and the deep speech of Prabhu, Ācārya understood. 53 On this subject there is much to be discussed; but I cannot write it all, for fear of the size of this book.

54 A branch of Advaita was Śrī Yadunandana Ācārya, and his branches and their branches are too numerous to be described. 55 He was the vessel of the grace of Vasudeva Datta; in all *bhavas* he took refuge at the feet of Caitanya. 56 Bhāgavata Ācārya and Viṣṇudāsa Ācārya, Cakrapāṇi Ācārya and Ananta Ācārya, 57 Nandinī, and Kāmadeva, and Caitanya Dāsa, Durlabha Viśvāsa, and Vanamālī Dāsa, 58 Jagannātha Kara, and Bhavanātha Kara, Hṛdayānanda Sena, and Bholanātha Dāsa, 59 Yādava Dāsa, Vijaya Dāsa, Janārdana Dāsa, Ananta Dāsa, Kanu Paṇḍita, and Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, 60 Śrīvatsa Paṇḍita, Brahmacārī Haridāsa, Puruṣottama Brahmacārī, and Kṛṣṇadāsa, 61 Puruṣottama Paṇḍita, Raghunātha, Vanamālī Kavīcandra, and Vaidyanātha, 62 Lokanātha Paṇḍita, and Murāri Paṇḍita, Śrī Haricaraṇa, and Madhava Paṇḍita, 63 Vijaya Paṇḍita and Śrīrama Paṇḍita; how many names shall I take of the uncountable branches of Advaita?

64 The gardener supplied water to the Advaita-limb, and with that water the branches prospered, and grew fruits and flowers. 65 Some branches demonstrated an execrable disrespect toward the gardener. They did not honor him who gave them birth, who nourished them; 66 they were ungrateful, and toward them the limb became angry. 67 Being angry, the limb did not nourish them with water; and for want of water the branches became weak and dried up and died. 68 A body barren of Caitanya is like a withered stick; even though he lives, he is dead, and when he dies, he is punished by Yama. 69 This punishment is given not only to these, but to those who have their faces averted from Caitanya, those who are evil people. 70 Whether he be a *paṇḍita*, or an ascetic, or a householder, or a sage, this is the way of him who has his face averted from Caitanya. 71 But those who ac-

48. *Manu* 4.91 and Gopālā Bhaṭṭa's HBhV 11.456.

64. *Māt-datta*: giver or provider as gardener, Caitanya.

65-67. Advaita became angry with those of his followers who had turned away from Caitanya and followed the *jñāna-mārga*. There is the possibility also, judging from the letter of Kamalākānta, that there were some among his followers who gave Advaita primacy over Caitanya.



cepted the views of Acyutānanda, those followers of the Ācārya are great *bhāgavatas*. 72 The views of Acyuta are the best of all, and all other views are like ashes. 73 They are the vessels of the grace of the Ācārya; easily they gain the feet of Caitanya. 74 A crore of my obeisances to the followers of the Ācārya, who, like Acyutānanda, had Caitanya as their life. 75 So I have spoken of the followers of Ācārya Gosvāmī, describing in brief the three primary branches of the trunk. 76 There is no numbering the branches and their branches; I speak, merely surveying the horizon.

77 Śrī Gadādhara Paṇḍita is the very foremost among the branches; let me enumerate one or two of his branches. 78 The best of the branches are Dhruvānanda, and Śrīdhara Brahmācārī, Bhāgavata Ācārya, and Haridāsa Brahmācārī, 79 Ananta Ācārya, Kavi Datta, Miśra Nayana, Gaṅgāmantri, Māmu Ṭhākura, and Kaṇṭha-bharaṇa. 80 There were Bhūgarbha Gosvāmī and Bhāgavata Dāsa, both of whom came and settled at Vṇḍāvana. 81 Vāṇīnātha Brahmācārī was greatly revered, and Vallabha Caitanya Dāsa, full of Kṛṣṇa-prema. 82 There were Śrīnātha Cakravartī, Uddhava Dāsa, Jitā Mitra, and the wood-cutter Jagannātha Dāsa, 83 Śrī Hari Ācārya, Sadipurīsa Gopāla, Kṛṣṇadāsa Brahmācārī, and Puṣpagopāla, 84 Śrīharṣa, Raghu Miśra, Lakṣmīnātha Paṇḍita, Raṅgavāṭī Caitanya Dāsa, Śrī Raghunātha. 85 Strongest of faith among the branches was Śivānanda Cakravartī, who dwelled at the feet of Madanagopāla [in Vraja]. 86 Amogha Paṇḍita, Hastigopāla, Caitanya Vallabha, Yadu Gaṅguli, and Maṅgala Vaiṣṇava. 87 So in brief I have spoken of the people of the Paṇḍita Gosvāmī; thus could be enumerated many more branches and their branches. 88 All the people of the Paṇḍita are most blessed *bhāgavatas*, and the best beloved of all their hearts is Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

89 So I have enumerated the branches of these three limbs; by the remembrance of all of them, the bonds of the world are released. 90 By the recollection of all of them, the feet of Caitanya are gained; by memory of all of them, all desires are fulfilled. 91 Thus bowing down to the feet of all of these, I speak in sequence of the life of the Caitanya-gardener. 92 The sea of the nectar of the *līlā* of Gaura is shoreless and without bottom; who can dare to bathe in it? 93 By the very scent of its sweetness the heart grows greedy, thus standing on the shore, I taste only a drop.

94 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

75. I.e., the branches of Caitanya himself (ch. 10), of Nityānanda (ch. 11), and Advaita (ch. 12.1-76).

## Ādi Līlā Chapter 13

Śloka 1

May that Caitanya Deva be gracious to me, by whose grace this unworthy person gains the ability instantly to describe his *līlā*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Gaurācandra, glory to Advaitācandra, glory to Nityānanda. 2 Glory, glory to Gadādhara, glory to Śrīnivāsa, glory to Mukunda, Vasudeva, glory to Haridāsa. 3 Glory to Svarūpa Dāmodara, glory to Murāri Gupta; by the rising of all these moons, the darkness has been dispelled. 4 Glory to the *bhakta*-moons of Śrī Caitanya-candra; by the radiance of all of them the three worlds are illumined. 5 Thus, in the beginning of the book, I have given an introduction; now let me speak of the gradual development of the Caitanya-*līlā*. 6 At first I shall state this in the form of *sūtras*, and afterwards I shall expand upon them.

7 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya descended at Navadvīpa, and for forty-eight years his sport was apparent. 8 1407 of the *śaka* era witnessed his birth, and in 1455 he disappeared. 9 For twenty-four years Prabhu lived as a householder, always praising Kṛṣṇa. 10 At the end of twenty-four years he took *saṁnyāsa*, and for twenty-four years he lived at Nīlācala. 11 Of this, six years [were spent] in wandering, sometimes in the south, sometimes in Gauḍa, sometimes to Vṇḍāvana. 12 For eighteen years he remained at Nīlācala, and caused all to float in the nectar of name and *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 13 The *līlā* of Prabhu in the householder stage is called the

2. [Śrīnivāsa is, as here, occasionally called Śrīnivāsa, not to be confused with the next generation's leader of the same name, who was one of a trio of "missionaries" responsible for organizing the disparate lineages into a loosely coherent movement. TKS]

7. *Prakāṣa*: apparent, manifest. The Caitanya-*līlā*, like all *līlās*, is eternal, and it is only in *avatāra* that the earth is able to catch a glimpse of that eternity.

8. 1407 *śaka* is 1486 AD; 1455 *śaka* is 1533 AD.

13. *Gṛhastha*: householder.



*adi līlā*; *madhya* and *antya* are the two names of the *śeṣa līlā*. 14 All the activities of Prabhu in the *adi līlā* have been woven together in *sātra*-form by Murāri Gupta. 15 And the *śeṣa līlā* of Prabhu has been woven together within a book, in *sātra*-form, by Svarūpa Dāmodara. 16 Seeing and hearing the *sātras* of these two men, [other] Vaiṣṇavas composed narratives. 17 Childhood, boyhood, adolescence, and youth—there are these four parts; and thus there are four subdivisions of the *līlā* in the *adi khaṇḍa*.

Sloka 2.

I greet the full moon night of Phālguna, full of all excellent qualities, when with the names of Kṛṣṇa, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya descended.

18 So in the evening of the full-moon night in Phālguna, Prabhu was born. At that time, by divine power, there was an eclipse of the moon. 19 The people were greatly delighted, and called out “Hari Hari!” Then Caitanya Prabhu was born, giving birth [also] to the Name. 20 From his birth to his childhood, boyhood, adolescence, and youth, under many pretexts Prabhu caused people to take the name of Hari. 21 Under the pretext of his childhood, Prabhu wept much; but hearing the names “Kṛṣṇa” and “Hari,” his crying stopped. 22 Thus the women said “Hari, Hari” to him, and friends all came to see. 23 All the women laughing called him Gaurahari, and thus his name became Gaurahari. 24 In his childhood

16. [“Vaiṣṇavas” presumably refers to authors such as Kavikarṇapūra and Vṛndāvana Dāsa, both of whose works he used extensively. The KCC of Murāri Gupta, in its modern printed form, does include more than the early life of Caitanya, but it is clear that other authors, e.g., Kavikarṇapūra, relied on it primarily for that early chronology; Murāri was, of course, the only biographer to witness Caitanya’s early life. Svarūpa, on the other hand, was perhaps Caitanya’s closest associate in Nīlācala, and the obvious source for much of Kṛṣṇadāsa’s own writing, through Raghunātha Dāsa and perhaps the *Kaṇḍa* of Svarūpa himself; see the commentary to 1.4.51.8 and 1.4.51.44; see also Introduction, Sect. VI.1. TKS]

13-17. [The biographies recognize two basic divisions of Caitanya’s life, one two-fold, the other three-fold. In the former, the *adi* (beginning) phase covers birth to renunciation, while *śeṣa* covers the remainder of his life. In the latter, the divisions depend on the emphasis of the biographer. For Vṛndāvana Dāsa’s CBh, the *adi* follows Caitanya to his ecstatic experience at Gāyā, *madhya* covers the Nadiya-līlās up to his renunciation, with *antya* tracing his trip to Puri with only brief mention of his final years. For Kṛṣṇadāsa, *adi* (beginning = 24 years) follows Caitanya to his renunciation, *madhya* (middle = 6 years) covers his pilgrimages and instruction to Rūpa and Sanātana, while *antya* (end = 18 years) covers the remainder of his life in Puri. TKS.]

19. Because of Caitanya’s birth, and because of the eclipse, the people shouted the name of Hari—this was giving birth to the Name.

23. Gaurahari: The golden-colored Kṛṣṇa.

24. Childhood is generally considered to be up to age five; boyhood up to age ten; adolescence up to age fifteen; and youth after that.

he was taught to write; in his boyhood he did not marry. 25 He married when he was in his first youth, and everywhere caused people to take the name of Kṛṣṇa. 26 In his adolescence he studied, and taught pupils; and everywhere explained the Kṛṣṇa-name. 27 The essential truth of the *sātras*, *vṛttis*, *pāñjis*, and the commentaries was in the name of Kṛṣṇa, and his students were delighted at this wonderful power. 28 To whomever he saw, he said “Speak the name of Kṛṣṇa!” and he caused the whole of the town of Navadvīpa to float in the name of Kṛṣṇa. 29 In the days of his youth he began *saṅkīrtana*; day and night he danced in *prema*, his *bhaktas* with him. 30 He wandered from *nagara* to *nagara*, making *kīrtana*, and caused the three worlds to float, by giving *prema-bhakti*. 31 Twenty-four years it was thus in the town of Navadvīpa; he caused all people to take Kṛṣṇa-*prema* through the name. 32 And after twenty-four years he took *saṅnyāsa*, and taking his *bhaktas* he went to live at Nīlācala.

33 In that time at Nīlācala, for six years, he danced and sang and eternally gave the gift of *prema-bhakti*. 34 To Setubandha and throughout Gauḍa, and to Vṛndāvana he went, preaching the name and *prema*. 35 This is called the *madhya līlā*, and is the chief repository of *līlā*. The last eighteen years have the name *antya līlā*. 36 And within this, for six years with his *bhaktas* he caused people to take *prema-bhakti*, in the delight of song and dance. 37 Twelve years at the end he remained at Nīlācala; under the pretext of tasting it himself, he taught the condition of *prema*. 38 Day and night he trembled with *viraha* of Kṛṣṇa; he behaved like a madman, and his speech was raving. 39 As Rādhā raved at the sight of Uddhava, he raved so night and day. 40 Together with Svarūpa and Rāmānanda, he tasted the songs of

25. There is no real indication that he was intensely religious until two years before his *saṅnyāsa*. Before that, it seems, expressions like “everywhere explained the Kṛṣṇa-name” are merely pious.

26. It seems unlikely that at the age of fifteen he would be prepared to teach; but Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that at this age he had his own *ṭola*, and that this is borne out by 1.16.2.

27. His subject was grammar, and these are all texts of that subject: *pāñji*, for example, refers to a commentary on the grammar text *Kalāpa*, according to Rādhāgovinda Nātha. Presumably what Kṛṣṇadāsa means here is that he interpreted these texts from a Vaiṣṇava point of view by using grammatical examples from *bhakti* literature, using grammatical logic to establish a religious position, etc.

30. *Nagara* to *nagara*: here probably from “section to section” of Navadvīpa, rather than “city to city.”

37. *Chala*: pretext; this is a difficult word in this context. It does not mean that Caitanya himself was only pretending to taste the *prema*, in order to teach, that he did not really himself experience it. It rather means “by indirection”; he showed people what the manifestations of the experience were, rather than preaching it to them. Furthermore, this teaching was only the secondary purpose of the *avatāra*; the primary one was the experience. This is the “pretext.”

38. *Viraha*: the burning pain of separation, usually from one’s beloved.

39. When Kṛṣṇa was staying at Mathurā and sent Uddhava back to Vraja, Rādhā, meeting



Vidyapati, Jayadeva, and Caṇḍīdāsa. 41 All the types of *prema*, in separation from Kṛṣṇa, he tasted fully, in accordance with his own desires. 42 What wretched *jīva* is able to describe the infinite Caitanya-*līlā* in full? 43 If Ananta himself counted it in *sūtras*, even with his thousand mouths he could not reach the end of it. 44 Svārūpa Dāmodara and Murāri Gupta have described the major parts of the *līlā* by writing in *sūtras*. 45 Following them, Vṛndāvana Dāsa has expanded on their *līlā-sūtras*, describing them in detail. 46 The Vyāsa of the Caitanya-*līlā* is Vṛndāvana Dāsa, and he wrote on the *līlā* very sweetly. 47 On those parts which he omitted, for fear of the size of [his] book, I shall write a little. 48 He tasted the nectar of the *līlā* of Prabhu; I take a little of the leavings of his meal.

49 Thus let me write the *sūtras* of the *ādi līlā*; hear O *bhaktas*! I write in brief; it cannot all be written. 50 Vrajendrakumāra, for the fulfillment of a certain wish, decided to become an *avatāra*. 51 First he caused to appear those who were his elders; let me mention them in brief—writing in detail is not possible. 52 Śrī Śacī and Jagannātha, Śrī Mādhava Purī, Keśava Bhārati, and Śrī Iśvara Purī, 53 Advaitācārya and Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita, Ācāryanidhi, Vidyānidhi, and Haridāsa Thākura. 54 And there was Śrī Upendra Miśra, the dweller in Śrīhaṭṭa, a Vaiṣṇava, a *paṇḍita*, a wealthy man, and the foremost in all virtues of truth. 55 The seven Miśras his sons were seven lords among *ṛṣis*: Kāmsāri, Paramānanda, Padmanābha, Sarveśvara, 56 Jagannātha, Janārdana, and Trailokyanātha. Jagannātha settled in Nadiyā, by the banks of the Gaṅgā. 57 Jagannātha, the best of Miśras, whose title was Purandara, was an ocean of good qualities, in the form of Nanda and Vasudeva. 58 His wife's name was Śacī, a true wife, a *pativrata*, whose father was a Cakravartī named Nīlāmbara. 59 Thākura Nityānanda was born in Rāḍha. And Gaṅgādāsa Paṇḍita, Murāri Gupta, and Mukunda, 60 and uncounted *bhaktas* he caused to descend; and finally Vrajendrakumāra came down.

Uddhava, raved with the sorrow of her *viraha*; this is the *bhramara gītā*, the "song of the bee" (BhP 10.47).

51. [This is the beginning of the *avatāra* of the realm and entourage (*dhāma*) which accompanies Kṛṣṇa everywhere, usually effected by Baladeva as Ananta Śeṣa (see below vv. 72-73). TKS]

54-56. Upendra Miśra was born in Dhakadākṣīnagrāma of Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) district; he had seven sons: Kāmsāri, Paramānanda, Padmanābha, Sarveśvara, Jagannātha, Janārdana, and Trailokyanātha. Jagannātha, desiring to live on the banks of the Gaṅgā, moved to Nadiyā, where Caitanya was born.

57. Purandara: primary, the best. In the *Dvāpara-līlā*, Jagannātha had been Nanda, a storehouse of good qualities.

58. Śacī was Yaśodā in the *Dvāpara-līlā*; *pativrata*: a woman who upholds her own and her husband's *dharma* by observing all vows, etc.

59. In the village of Ekacaka, in modern Birbhum district, according to Rādhagovinda Nātha. Rāḍha is the name given to the western part of modern West Bengal state.

61 Before the appearance of Caitanya, many *bhaktas* came to the place of Advaitācārya. 62 Ācārya Gosvāmī would speak on the *Gītā* and *Bhāgavata*, expounding the greatness of *bhakti* and condemning the [paths of] *jñāna* and *karma*. 63 In all the *śāstras*, he said, Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* is explained; *jñāna-yoga*, and *karma-yoga* no one respects. 64 And the Vaiṣṇavas who were with him were much pleased with his stories of Kṛṣṇa, his worship of Kṛṣṇa, and his *nāma-saṁkīrtana*. 65 But seeing all the people with faces averted from Kṛṣṇa, seeing people immersed in worldly affairs, he was very sorrowful. 66 He reflected on a source of salvation for the people, how all these people could be saved. 67 "If Kṛṣṇa himself descends and propagates *bhakti*, then the people will be saved." 68 So the Ācārya prayed that Kṛṣṇa himself appear; he performed Kṛṣṇa-*pūjā*, with *tulasī* and Gaṅgā-water. 69 He summoned Kṛṣṇa with a loud outcry, and Vrajendrakumāra was attracted by the shout.

70 In the womb of Śacī, the wife of Jagannātha Miśra, eight daughters had been born in succession, and all had died at birth. 71 In *viraha* for his children, Miśra's heart was very sad, and he prayed at the feet of Viṣṇu for a son. 72 So a son was born, and named Viśvarūpa; he was possessed of all great virtues, the Baladeva-*dhāma*. 73 The *prakaśa* [form] of Baladeva was Saṁkarṣaṇa in Paravyoma, and he is the cause both efficient and material of the universe. 74 We see nothing else but him in the universe, thus Viśvarūpa was his name.

Sloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.15.35.

Nothing is surprising in the eternal Bhagavān, the lord of the universe, on whom this universe is woven, warp and woof like the threads of a piece of cloth.

75 Thus Prabhu called him, "elder brother"; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, these two are Caitanya and Nityānanda. 76 So getting a son, the hearts of the husband and wife were greatly delighted, and they especially served the feet of Govinda.

77 In 1486 *śaka*, at the end of the month of Māgha, Kṛṣṇa entered into the bodies of Jagannātha and Śacī. 78 Miśra said to Śacī, "I see other than the usual things,

73. All that was said (ante, 1.5) about the theological significance of Nityānanda as Balarāma Saṁkarṣaṇa here applies to Viśvarūpa. As Caitanya was Kṛṣṇa, so his blood brother Viśvarūpa was Balarāma; but after Viśvarūpa took *saṁnyāsa* and disappeared, the functional brother of Caitanya-Kṛṣṇa became Nityānanda.

74. Viśvarūpa: "whose form is the universe."

78-83. [Rādhagovinda Nātha has these lines marked as singlets; the older MSS consulted do not. TKS]



79 your body is full of light, [as if] Lakṣmī has settled there. 80 Everyone around pays great respect, 81 and to the house they send wealth, and clothing, and food." 82 Śaṅk said, "I see, above in the sky, 83 people in the forms of the gods, praising." 84 Jagannātha Miśra said, "I saw a dream; a container of radiance entered into my heart. 85 From my heart it went to your heart, and now I understand, that some greatly-to-be-revered person will be born." 86 Saying these things, the two remained, greatly pleased in their hearts, and they made special service to the *śalagrāma*. 87 Time went on and on, and the pregnancy was in the thirteenth month; but there was still no delivery, and Miśra was apprehensive. 88 Nīlāmbara Cakravartī made a calculation, "In this month, at an auspicious moment, a son will be born."

89 In 1407 *śaka*, in the month of Phālguna, on the night of the full moon, in the evening, the auspicious moment came. 90 It was at the sign of the Lion, the entrance of the sun into the sign of the Lion, and the planets were on the ascendant, and in the sixth and eighth houses, with all signs auspicious, 91 the stainless Gaura, the golden moon, appeared; was there any need for a stained moon? 92 Realizing this, Rāhu swallowed the moon, and the three worlds were filled with the [sounds of the] name "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Hari!" 93 Filling the world, the people called out "Hari, Hari!" and at that moment the golden Kṛṣṇa himself descended to the earth. 94 Delighted were the hearts of all the people of the world, and Yavanas laughed together with the Hindus, saying "Hari." 95 Crying "Hari!" the women gave the *hulāhuli* sound, and the *devas* in heaven, in great joy, danced and sang. 96 The ten directions were bright, and the water of the rivers pure, and all things moving and unmoving were transported with joy.

97 In Nadiyā Udayagiri,  
the full-moon Gaurahari

86. *Śalagrāma*: the black stone sacred to Viṣṇu.

90. Even without the precise meanings of these technical astrological terms, it is easy to tell that the time of birth was highly auspicious. No text, Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out, gives the day of Phālguna when Caitanya was born, but it is easy enough, on the basis of the above information, to calculate it from the astrological texts. In the journal *Prabāṣi* for Pausa, 1336 BS, Yogeśvara Rāya writes that an eclipse of the full moon occurred in Nadiyā on Saturday, the twenty-third of Phālguna in 1407 *śaka*.

92-93. The GM edition has an extra couplet between these two, which however is redundant: "The earth was filled with the sound 'Hari, Hari!' Astonished, the people reflected on this in their minds."

95. *Hulāhuli*: the ululating trill that women make on auspicious occasions, such as weddings.

97. Udayagiri: "the mountain of rising"; it is considered that the horizon to the east, where the sun and moon rise, is a mountain, and over the horizon of Nadiyā Gauracandra rose.

by his mercy has appeared.  
Sin and darkness were destroyed,  
the three worlds rejoiced,  
and earth filled with the sound of Hari's name.  
At that time, in his own house,  
98 Advaita Rāya rose up  
and danced, his heart filled with joy.  
With Haridāsa, he shouted out  
in an ecstasy of *kīrtana*;  
why they danced, nobody could tell.  
99 Seeing the eclipse, they laughed,  
and quickly ran to the Gaṅgā's ghat,  
and in joy bathed in the river.  
On the pretext of the eclipse,  
in the happiness of their own hearts,  
they distributed many gifts to *brāhmaṇas*.  
100 The world was full of joy;  
seeing it, his mind was astonished,  
and because of these hints, Haridāsa said,  
"Such is your ecstasy,  
such is the joy in my own mind—  
I see that in such things there is a sign."  
101 And Ācāryaratna, and Śrīvāsa,  
hearts filled with joy,  
went to bathe in the Gaṅgā.  
Their hearts intoxicated with happiness  
they made Hari-*saṅkīrtana*,  
and many gifts they gave with joy.  
102 In this way all the *bhaktas*,  
in whatever country they were living,  
gained that joyfulness of mind.  
They danced and made *saṅkīrtana*,  
their minds enraptured,  
and on pretext of the eclipse, gave gifts.

99. "Pretext" again here means that there were reasons other than the eclipse why they were giving gifts and generally celebrating; they would in any case have performed certain rituals because of the eclipse.

100. Haridāsa Ṭhakura.



- 103 *Brāhmaṇas* and good people and women,  
with platefuls of many things,  
came bringing gifts.  
Seeing the form of the boy,  
with a radiance like raw gold,  
they gave their blessings, in great joy.
- 104 *Sāvitṛī*, *Gaurī*, *Sarasvatī*,  
*Śacī*, *Rambhā*, *Arundhatī*,  
and how many [other] goddesses,  
filling vessels with many goods,  
and dressed like *brāhmaṇa* women,  
all came to see.
- 105 The *devas* in the sky,  
the *gandharvas*, *siddhas*, and *cāraṇas*,  
with dances of praise, all sang and played.  
The dancers, musicians, and *bhāṭas*,  
whose play was in *Navadvīpa*,  
all came and danced, in the throes of love.
- 106 Some came, some went,  
some danced, some sang,  
no one could keep from talking.  
Sorrow and grief were all dispelled,  
people were filled with great delight.  
*Miśra* was intoxicated with joy.
- 107 *Ācāryaratna* and *Śrīvāsa*  
came to the side of *Jagannātha Miśra*,  
and having come, cautioned him,  
and had him perform the birth-rites  
which were ordained;  
then *Miśra* distributed many gifts.

104. *Rādhāgovinda Nātha* says that they came as women and not as goddesses because if they had come as goddesses the human aspect of the *līlā* would have been destroyed; and they came as *brāhmaṇa* women because the birth was in a *brāhmaṇa* house; others were not allowed.

105. *Gandharvas* and *cāraṇas* are both kinds of heavenly musicians. *Bhāṭa* is also a musician, though it had meant, and possibly at this time still meant, a panegyricist, a eulogiser of a king. "Play" is literally that: *nāṭa*.

- 108 As many people as there were  
in the house gained much;  
he gave expensive gifts to all *brāhmaṇas*.  
And to as many dancers, singers, *bhāṭas*,  
and humble people as were there,  
he distributed riches and honored all.
- 109 The *brāhmaṇa* woman, wife of *Śrīvāsa*,  
whose name was *Malinī*,  
together with the wife of *Ācāryaratna*,  
[brought] vermilion, turmeric, oil, paddy,  
bananas, and coconuts—and the women,  
worshiping, offered these with joy.
- 110 The wife of *Advaita Ācārya*, an honored woman,  
revered throughout the world  
whose name was *Sītā Thākuraṇī*,  
taking instruction from *Ācārya*,  
went with presents,  
to see this crest-jewel of infants:
- 111 Golden waist-ornaments and  
foot-ornaments of silver coins,  
golden armlets and bracelets,  
divine conch-shell ornaments for his arms,  
curved anklets made of silver,  
and necklaces made of golden coins,
- 112 tiger claws overlaid with gold,  
strings of silken thread for his waist,  
all kinds of ornaments for hands and feet,  
vari-colored silken cloth,  
a woven cloth with silken border,  
and much wealth in gold and silver coins,
- 113 and *dūrba* grass and rice and *gorocana*,  
turmeric, saffron, and sandal—  
a vessel filled with such auspicious things.

109. These are traditional gifts for a new-born child. Presumably these two women also went to assist *Śacī*.

113. *Gorocana*: a cloth dyed with yellow ochre and worn around the head; *dolā*: a litter or hanging palanquin that "swings," covered with curtains or veils on all sides.



- Mounting her litter, covered by cloth,  
she came with her maid servants  
and a basket filled with clothes and ornaments.
- 114 With arms full of goods  
of various kinds and presents,  
she arrived at the house of Śacī.  
She saw the beautiful form of the boy,  
manifested Kān of Gokula,  
only the color was its complement.
- 115 His whole body was beautifully formed,  
radiant as a golden image,  
all his limbs were full of auspicious signs.  
Seeing the divine lustre of the boy,  
she was filled with affection,  
and her heart melted with a mother's love.
- 116 On his head she put the *darba* grass  
and rice, and many blessings,  
"May the two brothers live long."  
In her mind sprang a fear  
of *ḍākinīs* and *śākinīs*,  
and out of this fear she named the boy "Nimāi."
- 117 On the day of the bath of mother and son,  
she gave cloth and ornaments,  
paid homage to Mīśra with his son.  
With the honoring of Śacī and Mīśra,  
she was greatly delighted in her mind  
and Sītā Thākuraṇī returned to her house.
- 118 Thus receiving Lakṣmīnātha as a son,  
the wishes of Śacī and Jagannātha  
were all fulfilled.

114. *Kān*: one of the pet names of Kṛṣṇa; also *Kānu*, etc.

115. *Vātsalya*: a mother's love, one of the primary emotional *bhāvas*.

116. *Viśvarūpa* and the new-born child Viśvambhara. Sītā, the wife of Advaita, gave the child the nickname Nimāi, which can mean "bitter, salty, or insignificant," in fear of the dangerous spirits called *ḍākinī* and *śākinī*. It was a custom, and remains so among some people in Bengal today, to give the child an unattractive name or nickname, so that the evil spirits will overlook it, or consider it was worthless as its name indicates, e.g., Tincowri.

118. Lakṣmīnātha: the lord of Lakṣmī, thus indirectly the lord of Rādhā, i.e., Kṛṣṇa, i.e., Caitanya.

- Their room was filled with wealth and rice,  
their bodies with the respect of people  
and day by day their joy [increased].
- 119 Mīśra was a Vaiṣṇava, peaceful,  
not lustful, pure, self-controlled,  
with no desire for the enjoyment of wealth.  
But such was the power of his son,  
that much wealth flowed to him,  
and in love for Viṣṇu he gave gifts to *brahmaṇas*.
- 120 Having prepared the horoscope, delighted,  
Nīlāmbara Cakravartī  
secretly said to Mīśra,  
"The signs of a great man,  
appear separately on his body and in his stars—  
I see that he will save the world."
- 121 Thus did Prabhu in the house of Śacī  
descend by his mercy;  
toward him who hears this,  
Gaura Prabhu, full of kindness,  
becomes benevolent,  
and he gains his feet.
- 122 He who gains birth as a man,  
but does not listen to the qualities of Gaura,  
makes that birth vain,  
He who gains the river of immortal nectar,  
yet drinks from the well of poison,  
may as well die [as soon as] born.
- 123 Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda,  
Ācārya Advaitacandra,  
Svarūpa, Rūpa, and Raghunātha Dāsa—  
the blessed feet of all of these  
I take as my own wealth upon my head.  
So sings Kṛṣṇadāsa of the *līlā* of his birth.

120. See 1.14.5 and commentary and 1.14.31.3 and commentary.

121. *Kailā avatāre*: descended.



## Ādi Līlā Chapter 14

Sloka 1.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 20.1:

I worship that Caitanya, by whose remembrance even difficult things somehow become easy; by forgetting him the easiest tasks become difficult.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas. 2 The *sūtra* of the birth-līlā of Prabhu has been stated, as the son of Yaśodā became the son of Śacī.

3 The development of the birth-līlā has been remarked, and now let me speak the *sūtras* of his childhood.

Sloka 2.

I greet the entrancing *līlā* of the childhood of Caitanya Kṛṣṇa; even though that childhood-līlā is like an earthly *līlā*, it is mingled with the acts of God.

4 In the childhood-līlā, when at first he lay with his face turned upward, he showed to his father and mother the signs on his feet. 5 In the house the two saw the prints of light feet, and on them shone the flag, thunderbolt, conch, disc, and fish. 6 To see this astonished them both; they were not able to ascertain whose

4. This is the *sūtra*; it will be elaborated in vv. 5-10.

5. All signs of Viṣṇu; it is said that there were nineteen signs on the feet of Caitanya: flag, lotus, conch, goad, *yava* (a particularly auspicious line), *svastika*, *ārdharekha* (another type of auspicious line), octagon, bow, triangle, *kalasa* (a rounded mark, like a cupola), half-moon, a circle (representing sky), fish, a mark shaped like a cow's foot, a mark like a *jambu*-fruit, discus, conch, and umbrella.

footprints were in the house. 7 Mīśra said, "Balagopāla is here, with the stone. His *mūrti* being in the house, he plays, I know, in fun." 8 And at that moment Nīmāi awoke crying, and Śacī took him into her lap and fed him from her breast. 9 While he was drinking from the breast, she saw her son's feet; and seeing those signs on his feet she had Mīśra called. 10 And when he saw, the mind of Mīśra was overjoyed, and secretly he had Nīlāmbara Cakravartī called. 11 Seeing the signs, Cakravartī said smiling, "Previously, after calculating the horoscope, I wrote it down; 12 thirty-two signs, the marks of a great man, there are. On the body of this child I saw all those signs.

Sloka 3. *Samudrika* 3:

Having five that are long; five fine; seven are red, six are raised; three are short, wide, and deep; a great man is characterized by thirty-two.

13 His hands and feet are marked with the signs of Nārāyaṇa; this child will save all people. 14 He will propagate the Vaiṣṇava-dharma, and from that will be the salvation of the two families. 15 Arrange a great festival; have all the *brāhmaṇas* summoned; today is an excellent day—we shall have the name-giving. 16 This one will be the upholder and protector of all people; his name shall be Viśvambhara, for that reason." 17 Hearing this, the joy grew in the hearts of Śacī and Mīśra, and bringing *brāhmaṇa* men and *brāhmaṇa* women, they had a great festival.

18 Then, within a few days, Prabhu was crawling about on his knees, and then he showed many wonderful things. 19 Under the pretext of crying, he caused people

7. Evidently there was in the house an image of Balagopāla, the child Kṛṣṇa as a cowherd, together with a *śalagrāma*, the black stone sacred to Viṣṇu.

Sloka 3. There are thirty-two signs. (a) Long are: nose, arms, jaw, eyes, and knees; (b) short or delicate (*sūkṣma*: fine) are: skin, hair, fingers, teeth, and body hair; (c) blood-colored are: corners of the eyes, soles of the feet, palms of the hands, roof of the mouth, lips, tongue, and nails; (d) raised are: breast, shoulders, nails, nose, pelvis, and face; (e) short are: neck, thighs, penis; (f) broad are: pelvis, forehead, and chest; and (g) deep are: navel, voice, and understanding or wisdom.

14. The father's and the mother's families.

15. Nīlāmbara has evidently calculated astrologically the auspicious day for the name-giving; varying with the custom of individual families, the ceremony usually takes place on the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or hundredth day after birth.

16. *Viśva*: the universe; *bhara*: upholding, bearing.

18. Many wonderful things: Kṛṣṇadāsa does not elaborate, since Vṇḍāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 1.3 goes into some detail. An example (*CBh* 1.3.64-76 [= 1.4 GM ed.]): Caitanya used to crawl around getting into everything, completely without fear; he would seize fire, snakes, whatever he got his hands on. One day while he was playing a snake wrapped its tail around him and began to constrict; but Caitanya lay upon the snake (like Nārāyaṇa upon Śeṣa), laughing; people came running



to say the name of Hari. The women all said "Hari," and Gauradhama smiled. 20 Then after a few days he was walking on his feet, and mixing with the other children, he played various games. 21 One day Śaṅkha brought *khoi* and *sandēśa* sweets; filling a box with it, she gave it to him and said, "Sit and eat this." 22 So saying Śaṅkha went to do her work in the house. Hiding himself, the boy began to eat mud. 23 Seeing this, Śaṅkha came running, crying "*Haya haya!*" and snatching away the mud, she asked, "Why are you eating dirt?" 24 And weeping the child said, "Why are you angry? You gave me mud to eat; what is my fault? 25 *Khoi*, *sandēśa*, rice, are transformations of dirt; this is dirt, that is dirt; what is the difference between them? 26 Consider: the body is earth, food is earth; unthinkingly you blame me; what can I say?" 27 Finally, astonished, Śaṅkha said to him, "Who has taught you philosophical argument and to eat earth? 28 Food is a changed form of earth, and if you eat it the body is nourished; but if you eat earth you become ill, and the body wastes away. 29 I fill the clay jug, which is earth in a changed form, and bring water in it; but when you put it in a lump of dirt, the water is absorbed." 30 So to hide himself, Prabhu said to her, "O mother, why did you not teach me this at first? 31 Now I know that, and I shall not eat dirt; when I am hungry, then I shall drink from your breast." 32 So saying he climbed up into the lap of his mother, and sucking her breast smiled happily. 33 In this way, under various pretexts he showed his divinity, and afterwards hid it by making apparent his childishness.

34 Three times he ate the food of a *brāhmaṇa* guest, and afterwards, secretly, he saved the *brāhmaṇa*. 35 A thief took Prabhu, who was outside; and climbing up

from all around shouting "*Garuḍa*" (the cosmic bird, enemy of snakes), and drove the snake away. Caitanya immediately began to crawl after it to play some more, but his father and mother picked him up and brought him home, and chanted *mantras* for his safety.

21. *Khoi* is a kind of fried grain or paddy; *sandēśa* is a sweet made from milk.

27. *Jñāna-yoga*: translated here as "philosophical argument." What follows is another slap at the Vedāntins, who would, as we have seen, argue that *brahma* is changed by the process of creation.

30. I.e., to hide his true identity as Kṛṣṇa.

34. *CBh* 1.3.166-315 [= 1.5.16-165 GM ed.]. One night a *brāhmaṇa* on pilgrimage stopped as a guest at the house of Jagannātha Mīśra. He was meditating on his *iṣṭa-mantra* over the food which had been cooked, when suddenly he noticed that Nīmāi had appeared from somewhere and was eating what had been prepared. The *brāhmaṇa* shouted out, and Jagannātha came and punished the child, and when the *brāhmaṇa* had been appeased, he again prepared a meal; again Nīmāi came and ate it, and again was punished by his father. Three times this happened; the third time, Nīmāi had been put to sleep in the house, and Jagannātha was standing guard at the door with a stick in his hand; the young Nīmāi appeared to the *brāhmaṇa* in the unusual form of the eight-armed Kṛṣṇa (which included Balagopāla, Vrajendrakumāra, and Mahāviṣṇu) and blessed him.

on his shoulder he deluded him into returning. 36 On the pretext of illness, in the house of Jagadīśa and Hiranya, he ate the food which had been offered to Viṣṇu, on Ekādaśī day. 37 Taking all the boys to the houses of neighbors in the neighborhood, he stole and ate various things; and he beat the other boys. 38 The boys pleaded their case to Śaṅkha, and hearing it Śaṅkha scolded her son. 39 "Why do you steal? Why do you hit the other boys? Why do you go to the houses of others; is there nothing in [your own] house?" 40 Hearing this, Prabhu grew angry, and went inside the house, and broke all the crockery that was in the house. 41 Then Śaṅkha took him into her lap and soothed him; ashamed, Prabhu knew his own faults. 42 Once when Prabhu hit his mother with the palm of his hand, he wept when he saw her fall unconscious. 43 The women said, "Bring a coconut and give it to her; then your mother will be well again." 44 So he went outside and produced two coconuts, and seeing this wonder everyone was astonished.

35. *CBh* 1.3.108-143 [= 1.4 GM ed.]. One day two thieves, wanting the rings on Caitanya's fingers, came and took him away to their own place, while he was playing outside. Due to Nīmāi's power, they lost their way, and after wandering around lost for a long time, they again arrived at Jagannātha's house, mistaking it for their own.

36. *CBh* 1.4.16-40 [= 1.6 GM ed.]. When as a child he used to cry, people would say the name of Hari to him. One day he was crying, pretending to be ill, and people said the name to him, but his crying did not stop. After they had tried everything, Nīmāi said to them, "If you want to save my life, go to the house of Jagadīśa and Hiranya; today is Ekādaśī day, and they have prepared an offering for Viṣṇu, but they themselves are fasting. Get me that food, and I shall be well." The people all thought him mad, but when Jagadīśa and Hiranya were told of it, they wondered how he could know all this, and concluded that he must be divine. So they brought the offerings and fed them to Nīmāi.

37-39. [The young Viśvambhara's mischievousness is described in *CBh* 1.4.41-84 [= 1.6 GM ed.], and in 1.5-7, *passim* [= 1.7-10 GM ed.]. TKS]

40-41. [The "pot-breaking" episodes occur with some regularity. See *CBh* 1.3.30-40 [= 1.4 GM ed.]. Two variants of this episode are found above in vv. 21-31 (see commentary) and below in vv. 68-71 (see commentary); see also below the commentary on vv. 42-44. TKS]

42-44. [The "coconut cure" episode appears first in Murāri Gupta's *KCC* 1.6.11-30 as part of the "garbage heap" episode: Caitanya sits in a heap of broken pots and garbage, which naturally appalls his Mother, Śaṅkha, who scolds him. He retorts with a lecture on the true nature of purity and impurity, how the self is one and cannot be defiled by the elements; but Śaṅkha will have none of it. She whisks him away to bathe, but a short time later there he sits again. She scolds him a second time, whereupon the angry and impatient Viśvambhara hurls a brick or shard at her, knocking her unconscious. Distressed, he cries, while the women gather around to assist. To distract the obviously distraught child, one woman instructs him to fetch two large, ripe coconuts to cure her. Using his divine powers, he produces the items, much to everyone's amazement, by which time Śaṅkha has recovered. Kavikarṇapūra in his *KCCM* 2.68.68-85 tells the same story. See below vv. 68-71 and commentary. TKS]



45 Sometimes, with the other children, he took a bath in the Gaṅgā; girls came there to worship the deity. 46 Having taken their baths in the Gaṅgā, they began their *pāṇa*, and Prabhu came and sat among the girls. 47 He said to the girls, "Worship me, and I shall give you a boon. Gaṅgā and Durgā are my maid-servants, Maheśa is also my servant." 48 So he put sandalwood and a flower-garland on himself, and snatched and ate the offerings—*sandeśa*, rice, bananas. 49 In anger the girls said, "Listen, you Nimāi, you are our village-relative, you are brother of us all. 50 It is not proper to behave thus toward us; do not take the things prepared for the deity, do not behave so wrongly." 51 Prabhu said, "This boon has been given to you all; the husbands of all of you will be of the greatest beauty. 52 [They will be] wise men, clever, youthful, and very wealthy. Each of you will have seven sons, long-lived and full of wisdom." 53 Hearing this boon the girls were inwardly delighted; but outwardly, in false anger, they scolded him. 54 Some girls fled, taking the offerings away, and Prabhu, angry, called to them and said, 55 "If you are not so kind as to give me those offerings, you will get old men for husbands, and each of you shall have four co-wives." 56 Hearing this, they all became somewhat apprehensive, [and some thought], "Who knows, perhaps he is possessed of some deity." 57 So they brought the offerings and placed them before him, and having eaten the offerings, he granted them each the boon that they desired. 58 In this way he showed his impatience to all the people, and no one had any sorrow, while all gained happiness.

59 One day the daughter of one Vallabhācārya, Lakṣmī by name, came to worship the *devatā*, having taken a bath in the Gaṅgā. 60 Seeing her the mind of Prabhu was filled with attraction; and the sight of Prabhu aroused love in the mind of Lakṣmī. 61 Love arose naturally in both, though certainly concealed by the *bhava* of children. 62 And seeing each other the minds of both were delighted; both

45-57. [The text gives no details, but presumably the girls have come to the banks of the Gaṅgā to do *pāṇa* to Lord Śiva in order to secure a proper marriage and good husband. Girls traditionally fashion mud *liṅgas* to perform this *pāṇa*. By making them do *pāṇa* to him in lieu of Śiva, Viśvambhara asserts his divinity and grants them their desire, all of course in the guise of an apparently mischievous prank. TKS]

58. *Capālya*: impatience, mischief, fickleness, restlessness, [here perhaps with the overtone of the unpredictable play of divinity (*līlā*) and a desire to get about his business as *avatāra*, to follow his true nature, i.e., as God rather than man. TKS]

61. Lakṣmī in the former *līlā* was of course Lakṣmī, and Caitanya was Kṛṣṇa, her husband. Thus love was natural to them; in *svatūpa* they were already married. [There is another explanation of this immediate and mutual betrothal supplied by Murāri in KCC 1.12.13-17: Lakṣmī had been an *apsarā* banished from heaven for committing some grievous act. But after the curse had been levied, its sentence was softened by adding the condition that she would marry Viṣṇu himself,

manifested it under the pretext of *deva pāṇa*. 63 Prabhu said, "Worship me, I am Maheśvara. If you worship me you will get whatever you desire." 64 Lakṣmī put flowers and sandalwood on his body, and offering a garland of jasmine she bowed down to him. 65 Receiving her *pāṇa*, Prabhu began to smile, and reciting a *śloka* he expressed his *bhāva*:

Śloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.22.25:

O virtuous women, worship of me is your known purpose, and I am especially glad of this purpose; it shall be fulfilled.

66 After the two had performed *līlā* in this way, they went home; who can understand the deep Caitanya-*līlā*?

67 Witnessing the mischief of Caitanya everyone in *prema* went to see Śaṅk and Jagannātha and complained. 68 One day Śaṅk Devī scolded her son; she went to seize him, but the boy fled away. 69 In a garbage pit, on top of abandoned pots, Prabhu Deva Viśvambhara was sitting happily. 70 Śaṅk came and said, "Why have you touched this foul stuff; go and bathe in the Gaṅgā and purify yourself."

i.e., Caitanya, after which she would be released from her curse, which is why she dies. This early rationale, which is reminiscent of stories in the popular purāṇic and *maṅgala-kāvya* literature, is dropped by other biographers in favor of the later interpretation mentioned above. TKS]

63. [Caitanya explicitly identifies himself as Śiva here (whereas it was only implicit in vv. 45-57). Presumably Lakṣmī is also preparing to do a *pāṇa* similar to the one mentioned above. TKS].

64. *Mallikā*: Arabian jasmine, *Jasminum sambac*.

67-71. CBh 1.5.70-203 [= 1.7 GM ed.] elaborates on Caitanya's boyhood: After Viśvarūpa had taken *saṁnyāsa*, Jagannātha reflected that it was his learning and meditation on the impermanence of the world that had led him to take the step. He therefore decided that if he were to prevent the boy Nimāi (Viśvambhara) from following in his brother's footsteps, he would have to stop Nimāi's education right then. He did so. Nimāi, who had quieted down somewhat while he was going to school, became more mischievous than ever, breaking things in his own house and the houses of others, sneaking out at night and locking the door from outside, stealing bananas from the groves, and all kinds of things. But his parents, still very hurt by the departure of their elder son, said nothing. One day he had gone to the refuse dump, and was sitting there smearing his body with the soot from old cooking-pots. His companions went and told Śaṅk; she came and was astonished at what she saw; she told Nimāi to bathe, not only to clean himself, but because ritual purification was necessary for touching the cooking utensils of others, including undoubtedly non-*brāhmaṇas*. Nimāi replied, "How should I know this? You don't give me any education, and as a result I know neither right nor wrong; I do not know what is pure and what is impure." Then Śaṅk discoursed for some time on the differences between pure and impure things; but Nimāi replied, "The place I am sitting is a pure place; Śvara has not created things pure and impure; that certain things are pure and certain things impure is merely custom and the Vedic teaching. Furthermore, you have prepared offerings in these pots—they had in fact contained *naivedya* or food offered to the deity—how then can they be impure?" See above the commentary on vv. 42-44.



71 Hearing this he spoke to his mother of *brahma-jñāna*; his mother was astonished, but she still made him bathe in the Gaṅgā.

72 Sometimes Śacī lay down with her son, and she saw that divine people had come and filled the earth. 73 Śacī said, "Go, my son, and call your father"; and when he heard his mother's instruction, Prabhu went outside. 74 As he went, the string of bells on his ankles jingled; and hearing this the minds of mother and father were astounded. 75 Miśra said, "This is a most wonderful thing; how do we hear the sound of the anklets coming from the bare feet of the child?" 76 Śacī said, "I saw another wonderful thing. Celestials in great numbers had come and filled our courtyard. 77 They were all shouting aloud, and I could not understand them; I thought that they were praising someone." 78 Miśra said, "Let it be; there is no need for concern. Let Viśvambhara be well; this is my only wish."

79 One day Miśra, seeing the whimsicality of his son, scolded him much, and instructed him in *dharma*. 80 In the night he saw a dream—a *brāhmaṇa* came to Miśra and spoke angrily to him, 81 "Miśra, you know nothing of the real truth about your son. You beat and scold him, considering him only your son." 82 Miśra said, "Whether he be *deva* or *siddha* or *muni*, however great he is, he is only my son. 83 The duty of a father is to teach and rear his son; if I do not teach him, how will he learn the meaning of *dharma*?" 84 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "If your son is the greatest of divinities, he has the knowledge of which a *siddha* is by nature possessed; teaching is meaningless." 85 Miśra said, "If my son is Nārāyaṇa [himself], still the *dharma* of a father is to instruct his son." 86 In this way the two debated *dharma*; such was the pure parental love of Miśra that he knew nothing more. 87 Hearing this, the *brāhmaṇa* went away delighted. And Miśra awoke, much bemused. 88 He spoke of this dream in the places of his friends and relatives, and when they heard it they were all puzzled.

71. *Brahma-jñāna*: that which is the world is *brahma*, and because it is *brahma* it cannot be impure: Nīlā had said that he knew everything to be non-dual, that pure and impure are conventions only. There is no benefit in following custom alone; See Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 3.4.

74-75. [The story is told in Murāri Gupta's *KCC* 1.6.34-35 and repeated in Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 1.3.144-56 and Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* 2.86-89. Once, when his parents were in another room, they heard the distinctive and in this case especially mellifluous sounds of the strings of ankle bells (*nāpura*) jingling on Viśvambhara's feet. The wonder was that Viśvambhara's ankles were bare. The suggestion, of course, is that it was Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, who often wore such articles. TKS]

76-78. [See Murāri's *KCC* 1.6.32-33. TKS]

79-88. [The story is first told in Murāri's *KCC* 1.7.13-17; see also Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* 2.103-107. This dream is reminiscent of an encounter and argument Nanda had regarding his treatment of Kṛṣṇa. TKS]

82. *Siddha*: "perfected one," one who has attained the ultimate, usually through yogic practice.

89 In such a way did Gauracandra perform his childhood-*līlā*, and day by day the joy of the father and mother grew. 90 And after some days Miśra put the chalk into the hand of his son, and in a very short time he had learned the twelve compound consonants. 91 So developed the *sūtra* of the childhood-*līlā*; this Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described in detail. 92 Thus I have written the *sūtras* of this *līlā* in brief; I have not elaborated them, for fear of repetition.

93 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.



Ādi Līlā  
Chapter 15

Sloka 1.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī's *Haribhaktivilāsa* 7.1:

I love that Caitanya Prabhu, by merely offering flowers at whose lotus-feet  
an evil minded person becomes pure minded.

1 Glory glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory  
to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 Enumerating the *sūtras* of the boyhood-līlā, in the years of the boyhood of  
Prabhu the foremost is study.

Sloka 2.

Beginning with the learning of Caitanya up until his marriage, the  
extremely broad boyhood-līlā is wonderful.

3 He studied grammar at the place of Gaṅgādaśa Paṇḍita; hearing them only [once]  
he could recite the *sūtras* and *vyttis*. 4 In a little time he became learned in the  
*pañjīs* and *ṭīkās*, and very soon, though himself new, he conquered [the other] stu-  
dents. 5 Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described in his *Caitanya Maṅgala* this līlā of Pra-

3-4. *Sūtras*, etc.: see 1.13.27.

5. *CBh* 1.6.1-204 [=1.9 GM ed.]. There are many delightful episodes to be found there but  
little would be gained from giving them fully. As an example, however, here is an incident, rather  
typical, which Vṛndāvana Dāsa relates in *CBh* 1.6.24-64 [=1.8 GM ed.] in his charming way. Among  
other things, it shows that boys have not changed much. Miśra said, "I want to give my son to you.  
You will make him read and hear all that you know." And Gaṅgādaśa said, "My fortune is very  
great. I shall teach him all that is in my power." When he saw the boy, Gaṅgādaśa was overjoyed,  
and he kept him by his side, like his own son. Gaṅgādaśa explained much, with learning; and when  
he heard it once, Ṭhakura [i.e., Caitanya] retained it. And sometimes he refuted the arguments of  
his *guru*, and sometimes confirmed them. Of the thousands and thousands of students who stud-  
ied there, none had such power to find mistakes. And when he saw the extraordinary intelligence,

bhu's. 6 One day he bowed at the feet of his mother and said, "Mother, give a gift  
to me." 7 His mother said, "I shall give you whatever you ask of me." Prabhu  
said, "Do not eat on Ekādaśī day." 8 Śact said, "You have spoken well, I will not  
eat food." And from then she began to observe the Ekādaśī.

9 Then Miśra, seeing that Viśvarūpa was a youth, began to think of choosing a  
girl with whom to marry him. 10 Hearing this, Viśvarūpa left the house and fled  
away; he became a *saṁnyāsin* and went to visit the places of pilgrimage. 11 When  
they heard of this, the hearts of Śact and Miśra were grieved; but Prabhu comforted  
his mother and father, 12 "It is good, that Viśvarūpa has taken *saṁnyāsa*; he has  
saved his mother's and his father's *kulas*. 13 I shall serve you for both of us." And

he honored him as the best of all his pupils. . . . So every day, reading and listening, he went with  
his fellow students to the bank of the Gaṅgā. In Navadvīpa there was no end to the number of  
students, and after studying, at midday they all went to bathe in the Gaṅgā. One teacher had a  
thousand students, and they were eternally shouting at one another. And as at an early age, Prabhu's  
nature was mischievous, he would argue with the students. Some said, "What kind of intelligence  
does your *guru* have?" And others said, "See whose student I am!" In this way, little by little, they  
would abuse one another, and then they would throw water, and finally sand at one another, and  
then they would get into fights, those who were able, and they would throw mud and filth at one  
another, and strike each others' bodies. Some, giving the *rāja's* prayer (i.e., calling for help), would  
grab others, and some, being beaten, would flee to the other side of the Gaṅgā. Such an uproar did  
all the students make, that the water of the Gaṅgā was full of mud and filth. The women were not  
able to come to carry water, and the *brāhmaṇas* and good people were unable to bathe. Prabhu  
Viśvambhara Rāya was very mischievous, and in this way he would go every day to one ghat or  
another. At every ghat he found no end of students, and at each place Ṭhakura would get involved  
in an argument. At each ghat Prabhu would swim in the Gaṅgā, and at one ghat would play for  
two or four *daṇḍas*. There were some authoritative students, and they would say, "Why do you  
argue and fight?" And they asked, "Let us see who has what kind of intelligence, who knows the  
*vyttis* and *pañjīs* and *ṭīkās*." And Prabhu replied, "Good, this is a good thing, ask me whatever is in  
your mind." And some said, "Why are you so conceited?" And Prabhu said, "Ask me whatever  
you want to." And those students said, "Explain the *Dhātu-sūtra*." And Prabhu said, "Pay atten-  
tion, while I expound it." Prabhu was Bhagavān, full of all powers, and so he expounded that which  
was proven by the *sūtra*. When they heard his exposition, everybody praised him, and Prabhu said,  
"Now listen, while I refute it." And again he expounded, pointing out its mistakes, and said, "Now,  
do you consider that established?" And they were all astonished, and agreed, and Prabhu said, "Now  
listen, while I confirm what I have just refuted." And again Gauracandra expounded, and in all  
ways the authoritative students were delighted, and embraced him.

6-8. Ekādaśī is a day to be observed by the *bhaktas* of Viṣṇu (Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 12.7).  
This and other Vaiṣṇava *vrātas* will be discussed below; see 2.24.253 and commentary. [The story  
is first told by Murāri in his *KCC* 1.7.18-20; see also Kavikarṇāpura's *KCCM* 2.108-110. TKS]

9-13. [The story of Viśvarūpa's renunciation is poignantly related by Vṛndāvana Dāsa in *CBh*  
1.5.9-92 [= 1.7 GM ed.]. TKS]

12. *Kula*: "family honor or position"; Caitanya is saying that by this act of taking *saṁnyāsa*, his  
brother has brought added respect to the families of both parents.



when they heard this, the hearts of mother and father were soothed. 14 One day, having eaten *tāmbūla* which had been offered [to the deity], Prabhu fell to the ground unconscious. 15 In great agitation his mother and father put water on his face; then, being well, Prabhu told a most wonderful story. 16 "Viśvarūpa took me away from here, and he said to me, 'You must take *saṁnyāsa*.' 17 I said, 'My mother and father are without a protector. I am a boy. I know nothing of *saṁnyāsa*. 18 I shall be a householder and serve my mother and father, and because of this Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa will be pleased.' 19 Then Viśvarūpa sent me here, saying 'Crores of obeisances to my mother.'" 20 In this way did Gaurahari make many kinds of *līlā*; what was the cause of the *līlā*—this I cannot understand. 21 After some days, Miśra went to the other realm, and the hearts of mother and son were overcome with grief. 22 Friends and relatives came and consoled the two; and Īśvara performed the rites for his father, according to injunction.

23 After some days Prabhu began to think, "I have become a householder, and now I want [to follow] the *grha-dharma*. 24 Without a wife, there is no attraction in the *grha-dharma*." So thinking, he decided to marry.

*Sloka 3. Udvāha-tattva 7:*

They do not call the house *grha*; the wife is called *grha*; for with a wife all the ends of man are obtained.

25 By chance one day, Prabhu was coming back from studying, and saw the daughter of one Vallabhācārya on the path to the Gaṅgā. 26 The previously effected emotion arose in both of them. By chance Vanamālī the matchmaker came to the

14. *Tāmbūla*: pan or betel, a leaf in which spices are wrapped. The incident only suggested here is a precursor of what is to come, when in the last stages of his life Caitanya taken by fits of fainting at the merest suggestion of the presence of his deity.

21. I.e., he died; it is not clear of what cause. [The story is found in *CBh* 1.6.105-23 [=1.8 GM ed.], TKS]

22. Īśvara: Caitanya. According to the Vaiṣṇava *śāstras*, the particular act of the *śrāddha* or funeral ceremonies is the offering to Viṣṇu of rice; *HBhV* 9.84. *HBhV* 9.87 [quoting *Padma Purāṇa*] also says that "by rice offered to Viṣṇu, other deities are worshiped; present rice offered to Viṣṇu to the ancestors (*pitr*). But if the day of the *śrāddha* falls on the Ekādāśī day, it should not be celebrated on that day, but on the next day or the fifteenth day; *HBhV* 12.29 [quoting *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*].

*Sloka 3.* [See 1.7.81ff and commentary for the Vaiṣṇava version of the traditional life-goals, *puruṣārthas*. TKS]

26. "Previously effected": i.e., they had also been in love in the previous *līlā* (see also the commentary on 1.14.61). Vanamālī was the name of the *ghaṭaka*, the matchmaker who calculates the advisability of a marriage, and establishes the auspicious time for it; he also arranges the match by

house of Śacī. 27 With a sign [of assent] from Śacī, the relationship was established, and the son of Śacī was married to Lakṣmī. 28 Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described this in detail; so the *sūtras* of the boyhood-*līlā* have been recounted. 29 In his boyhood the *līlā* was of many kinds, and Vṛndāvana Dāsa has detailed it all. 30 The *Caitanya Maṅgala* is well-known among all people, so only a synopsis has been indicated here.

31 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

serving as go-between for the two families. *CBh* 1.7.52-54 [= 1.10.52-54 GM ed.] has: "At the wish of Īśvara, a *brāhmaṇa* by the name of Vanamālī, that day went to Śacī . . . and said to the mother, 'Why do you not consider the marriage of your son?'"

27. *Sambandha*: relationship, an agreement between the two families, regarding dates, dowry, etc. The *CBh* 1.7.52-77 [= 1.10.52-77 GM ed.] tells us that at first Śacī did not agree to the marriage, saying that Nīmāi should first finish his study; but when Vanamālī met Nīmāi on the path and told him of this, Nīmāi returned home and gave a sign to his mother that it was appropriate. Unable to refuse him, but not quite agreeing, she gave her consent.

28. *CBh* 1.6 [= 1.8 GM ed.]. The narrative of Vṛndāvana Dāsa is extremely interesting from the point of view of detail and local color, and is written in a very lively and delightful style. But it is itself a large work, and we fall back on Kṛṣṇadāsa's own excuse for leaving out much of it: this book would grow too long.



## Ādi Līlā Chapter 16

Sloka 1.

I worship Caitanya Prabhu, whose nectar-stream of mercy, even though it floods the universe, always appears to be going to the lowly.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

Sloka 2.

He who is worshiped by Lakṣmī, who has come embodied to the householder stage, and by the Goddess of Speech, in the guise of victory over the Digvijayī, may that youth Caitanya be victorious.

2 Thus the *sūtra* of the *līlā* of his youth is developed, when he began to teach pupils: 3 He was always teaching—hundreds and hundreds of pupils—and hearing his explanations the minds of all were astonished. 4 All *paṇḍitas* in all the *śāstras* were defeated, but because of his piety and humility none of them was saddened. 5 With his pupils he did various mischievous things, and with much sport he played in the water of the Jāhnavī.

6 After some days Prabhu went to Vaṅga; wherever he went, he caused people

Sloka 1. *Nitagaiva bhātī*: "going to the lowly."

Sloka 2. The *śloka* of course has a double meaning: Caitanya worshiped by his wife Lakṣmī in this *līlā*, and as Kṛṣṇa worshiped by Lakṣmī in the former *līlā*. Digvijayī is "one who conquers the directions" or conquers the world; it was applied to scholars who were so skilled in argument that they could defeat all others, and did so in their peregrinations.

4. That Caitanya was humble, in pretense or any other way, does not seem to fit the description given by Vṛndāvana Dāsa (see ante, commentary on 1.15.5).

5. Jāhnavī: The Gaṅgā.

6. Vaṅga: east Bengal. The term Vaṅga in ancient times applied to the deltaic region in the

to make *nāma-saṅkīrtana*. 7 Their minds were astonished by the power of his learning, and pupils by the hundreds came and began to study with him. 8 In that country there was a *brahmaṇa* named Tapanā Mīśra; he was not able to ascertain what is to be attained nor the way to attain it. 9 In many *śāstras* are many positions, and the mind is confused; the best way of attainment and what is to be attained is not certain. 10 In a dream a *brahmaṇa* said to him, "Hear, O Tapanā; go to Nīmāi Paṇḍita. 11 He will ascertain for you what is to be attained and how to attain it; he is the apparent *Īśvara*; there is no doubt." 12 Having had this dream, Mīśra came to the feet of Prabhu, and submitted to him the whole story of the dream. 13 Prabhu was pleased, and spoke of the *sādhya* and *sādhana*. "Make *nāma-saṅkīrtana*"—this was the advice he gave. 14 His wish was to stay at Navadvīpa with Prabhu. [But] Prabhu instructed him, "You go to Vārāṇasī. 15 There you will meet me." And getting this instruction, Mīśra went to Kāśī. 16 I cannot understand this incomprehensible *līlā* of Prabhu—why he sent him to Kāśīpurī, causing him to leave his own company. 17 In ways such as these he did great service to the people of Vaṅga: giving them the Name he made them *bhaktas*, and he taught them, as a *paṇḍita*.

18 In this way Prabhu did many *līlas* in Vaṅga; and meanwhile in Navadvīpa, Lakṣmī was greatly sad, in *viraha*. 19 The serpent of *viraha* bit Lakṣmī, and due to

east, but it is possible here that he returned to his ancestral home in Sylhet. It is interesting that up to this point in Kṛṣṇadāsa's narrative he has not propagated *nāma-saṅkīrtana* in Navadvīpa. [The story of his trip east is found in nearly all the biographies that Kṛṣṇadāsa knew: Murāri Gupta's *KCC* 1.11.5-1.12.6; Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 1.10.48-150 [= 1.14 GM ed.]; Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* 3.82-119. Murāri's version has caused no small amount of sectarian anxiety because he reports that Caitanya undertook the trip only to make money; *KCC* 1.11.5. TKS]

8. Tapanā Mīśra lived on the banks of the Padma River. *Sādhya*: what is to be attained, i.e., heaven, union with *paramātmā*, union with *brahma*, etc.; *sādhana*: the way to attain it, i.e., the way of knowledge, or the way of discipline, etc. [*CBh* 1.10.115-48 [= 1.14 GM ed.] details this dream and discussion. TKS].

11. *Sakṣāt*: apparent, manifest.

16. *Atarkya*: incomprehensible, i.e., that which cannot be gotten at by philosophical or logical discussion. Rādhāgovinda Natha points out that some MSS read "*ananta*," or "infinite." [The old Baṅgīya Sahitya Pariṣat MS (Cittarañjana Dāsa Collection, no. 92 [dtd. 1537 *śaka*]) reads "*antara*" or "inner." TKS]

18. *Viraha*: the searing pain of separation, usually from one's beloved.

19. [Murāri Gupta's *KCC* 1.11.21-28 says that while Lakṣmī was alone in the house, a snake came in and bit her on the foot. Śaṅk learned of this, and tried many remedies and antidotes to the poison, but none of them worked. Giving up hope, with some of the neighbor women she took her to the bank of the Gaṅgā, and while they sang *kīrtana*, Lakṣmī died, her mind firmly focused on Kṛṣṇa. TKS]



the poison of the serpent of *viraha*, she went to the other world. 20 Inwardly Prabhu knew this, because he was indwelling, and he returned to [his own] country, knowing the grief of Śaṅkṛ. 21 He came to his house, bringing much wealth and many people, and by his knowledge of the truth of things, he freed Śaṅkṛ from her grief. 22 With his pupils again he engaged in the activities of learning; by the power of learning he conquered all, in manifest impudence. 23 Then he married Viṣṇupriyā Ṭhākuraṇī, and he conquered the Digvijayī. 24 Vṛndāvana Dāsa has explained all this, but he did not expand on the faults and good points of their disputation.

20-21. [Caitanya's response to his mother's grief has been variously reported, but all accounts agree that he took the news of his wife's death very calmly and assuaged his mother's grief with instruction on the impermanent nature of life and on Īśvara's will. See *CBh* 1.10.165-83 [= 1.14 GM ed.]. Murāri in *KCC* 1.12.13-17 has Caitanya explain that Lakṣmī was only an *apsarā* (see commentary on *CC* 1.14.61). Kavikarṇapūra in *KCCM* 3.123-24 underscores Caitanya's calm and detachment by noting that he smiles at the news, and following Murāri's lead has Caitanya explain that Lakṣmī was not just a woman, but that she had come from heaven, etc. Jayānanda in his *JCM* 2.62.1-9 portrays Caitanya joyously dancing in *kṛtana* at the news, losing himself in the bliss of the love of Kṛṣṇa, an example of his style which has caused some believers and scholars to censure Jayānanda and generally discount his biography. TKS.]

22. *CBh* 1.10.184-207 [= 1.15.1-24 GM ed.]. He used to do many things to irritate people, including imitating the dialect of the people of Sylhet living in Navadvīpa; see *CBh* 1.10.161, 198-207. But, according to the texts, at least, he was so bright and good at debate that there was no way to get back at him.

23. Viṣṇupriyā was the daughter of Sanātana Mīśra. As Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out, there is an interesting question here. From the *CC* text and from others, it seems clear that Caitanya already had premonitions or intentions of *saṁnyāsa* even before the death of Lakṣmī (e.g., he sent Tapana Mīśra to Kāśī, saying that he would see him there soon); why then did he marry a second time? Although it might come under the category of cruel and unusual punishment, Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests that since a wife is necessary for the *grhastha* stage, and since abandonment of that *grhastha* stage is what *saṁnyāsa* is all about, it was simply because he intended to take *saṁnyāsa* that he married. [Vṛndāvana Dāsa offers a lavish description of the wedding to Viṣṇupriyā in *CBh* 1.10.218-401 [= 1.15.38-220 GM ed.], as does Murāri in *KCC* 1.13.1-1.14.33. Kavikarṇapūra provides a relatively lengthy account in *KCCM* 3.127.44. That Kṛṣṇadāsa glosses this second marriage in a singlet is perhaps suggestive of sectarian dissension or rivalry between the community in Vraja and that in Navadvīpa where Viṣṇupriyā had a substantial following. TKS.]

24. The story of Caitanya's victory over the Digvijayī is in *CBh* 1.9.19-205 [= 1.13 GM ed.]. [The following story provided by Kṛṣṇadāsa is an excellent example of his scholastic powers, but more importantly, his thorough understanding of rhetorical techniques. Throughout the *CC*, Kṛṣṇadāsa will invoke the story of one of his hagiographical predecessors, usually Vṛndāvana Dāsa, Murāri Gupta, or Kavikarṇapūra (the latter often unattributed) and then provide missing detail in the form of sophisticated and highly technical literary, philosophical, and theological arguments. These "expansions" are often the arguments contained in specific texts composed by his *gurus* in Vṛndāvana, e.g., the instructions to Sanātana and Rūpa found in 2.19-24, which summarize many points from Rūpa's *BhRS* and *UNM*, among others. With this technique Kṛṣṇadāsa establishes the authority of the *CC* beyond question and at the same time "expands" or "corrects" his predecessors in such a way as to unify the biographical tradition. TKS.]

25 Making obeisance to him, let me speak of that part. Hearing it, the Digvijayī had contempt for himself.

26 On a moonlit night, Prabhu was sitting with his pupils on the banks of the Gaṅgā, in a discussion of knowledge. 27 At the same time, the Digvijayī came there, and having paid reverence to Gaṅgā, he met with Prabhu. 28 Prabhu, with consideration, sat him down, but the Digvijayī said, with scorn in his heart, 29 "You teach grammar. Your name is Nīmāi Paṇḍita. Everyone says that you are full of qualities in regard to the elementary *śāstras*. 30 And among grammars, as I understand it, you teach *kalāpa*; I have heard the conversation of your pupils, as they quibble meaninglessly." 31 Prabhu said, "I do teach grammar; I have that much conceit. If my pupils do not understand, [it is because] I cannot teach them [properly]. 32 You are learned in all the *śāstras* and in poetry; I am a child among all these—a new student. 33 I should like to hear something of your skill in poetry; if you please, describe the Gaṅgā [in verse]."

34 Hearing this, the *brahmaṇa* began to make the verses, and in a *ghaṭī* proudly composed one hundred *śloka*s celebrating the Gaṅgā. 35 Hearing it, Prabhu paid him much honor, "There is no other poet like you on earth. 36 Who has the power to understand the *śloka*s of your poem—you and Sarasvatī [only] know well the meaning. 37 If you explain in your own words the meaning of one *śloka*, then we will all be most happy." 38 Then the Digvijayī asked which *śloka* [he would like] explained; and Prabhu recited one of the one hundred *śloka*s:

*Śloka* 3. [Digvijayī's *śloka*]:

The greatness of Gaṅgā is this:

that she gleams eternally and intensely,  
that she, lovely, born from the  
lotus-feet of Śrī Viṣṇu,  
her feet worshiped like a second Śrī Lakṣmī  
by gods and men,  
resides full of wonderful virtues  
on the head of Bhavānī's husband.

29. *Bālyā-śāstra*: elementary (lit., "childhood")-*śāstra*; everyone studied grammar as a boy, as a basis for the study of other *śāstras*.

30. Of the various kinds of grammar, *kalāpa* is supposed to be the simplest.

34. A *ghaṭī* is twenty-four minutes.

*Śloka* 3. *Mahattvaṁ gaṅgāyāḥ satatam idamābhāti nitarāṁ  
yadeṣa śrīviṣṇoścaraṇakamalotpattisubhaga /  
dvitīya śrīlakṣmītriva suranarairarccyacaraṇa  
bhavānībhartturya śīrasi vibhāvadyadbhutaṅga //*



39 "Explain this *śloka*." When Prabhu requested that, the Digvijayī was dumbstruck and asked Prabhu, 40 "I recited the *śloka*s as quick as the wind; how could you remember one *śloka* among them?" 41 Prabhu said, "The gift of the gods to you was the gift of poetry; so by the gift of the gods, some can hold things in their memory."

42 Then the *brāhmaṇa*, being favorably impressed, explained the *śloka*. Then Prabhu said, "What are the qualities and the faults of the *śloka*, tell me." 43 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "There is no hint of imperfection in the *śloka*; its qualities are *upamā-alaṅkāra* and *anuprāsa*." 44 Prabhu said, "If you do not take offence, tell me what the flaws in this *śloka* of yours are." 45 The poetry of your genius pleases the gods; if you discuss it well and thoroughly, then we can understand its qualities and flaws. 46 So expound the *śloka* thoroughly." The poet said, "What I have said is the essence of the Vedas. 47 As a grammarian, you do not study *alaṅkāra*; what will you know of the essence of poetry?" 48 Prabhu said, "That is why I have asked you; if you explain it, then you can make me understand about qualities and flaws. 49 I have not studied *alaṅkāra*, but I have listened; and because of that I see many qualities and flaws in the *śloka*." 50 The poet said, "Speak then, and let me see; what are its qualities and flaws?" Prabhu said, "Listen, then, and let me speak; do not be angry. 51 There are five flaws in this *śloka*, and five *alaṅkāras*; let me speak of them in order; hear, and then discuss."

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flaw. 66 As of a beautiful body adorned with ornaments, by a single spot of leucoderma it is spoiled.

*Sloka 5. Bhārata's Nāṭyaśāstra:*

As a beautiful body, richly adorned, is made ugly by one spot of leucoderma, so is a poem, though full of *rasa* *āṅkara*, if there is a blemish.

67 Now hear a discussion of the five *āṅkara*s. There are two *śabdāṅkara*s, and three *arthāṅkara*s. 68 The *śabdāṅkara*s: the alliteration that is in the three *padas*; and in the word *Śrī Lakṣmī* there is *punaruktavada*. 69 In the first foot there are five instances of 'ta-kāra'; in the third foot there are five 'rephas' established; 70 in the fourth foot four 'bha-kāras' are manifested, and these are the alliteration *śabdāṅkara*s. 71 By the word 'śrī' and the word 'lakṣmī' one matter is stated; it appears as near-repetition, but it is not repetition. 72 In the meaning 'śrīyukta lakṣmī,' or 'Lakṣmī possessing śrī' is a difference of meaning; it is a suggested *punaruktavada*, a kind of *śabdāṅkara*. 73 'Lakṣmītriva' is an *arthāṅkara*, a manifestation of *upama*; and there is another *arthāṅkara*, known as *virodhā*. 74 That lotuses grow in the Gaṅgā is well known to all; but 'the birth of the Gaṅgā in a lotus' is greatly contradictory. 75 'The rising of the Gaṅgā from the lotus-feet of this Viṣṇu' is a very astonishing *virodhāṅkara*. 76 'The manifestation of the Gaṅgā by the *acintya-śakti* of Īśvara'—in this there is no contradiction, there is only apparent contradiction.

67. See above, commentary on v. 43.

68. *Punaruktavada*: in a single utterance two words that are used which seem to have the same meaning, but on analysis turn out not to have the same meaning; "seeming repetitiveness."

69-70. *Kāra*: suffix meaning letter or syllable; *repha*: the letter "r" in simple conjunct form.

70. *Anuprāsa*: alliteration.

71. I.e., *Śrī* is another name for *Lakṣmī*. But "śrī" also means "beautiful"; thus *Śrī Lakṣmī*, as in v. 72, as a compound can be interpreted as *Lakṣmī* who possesses (*yukta*) beauty.

73. The Sanskrit is "dvitīya śrīlakṣmītriva" or "as a second *Śrī Lakṣmī*." The meaning is: as gods and men worship the feet of *Lakṣmī*, so they worship the feet of *Gaṅgā*; thus *Lakṣmī* and *Gaṅgā* are alike in respect to worship. This is *upama*, simile. For *virodhābhāsa*, see below, v. 74.

74. *Virodhā*: contradictory, in that it contradicts the commonly accepted meaning, not that either interpretation is wrong.

75. *Virodhābhāsa* is thus "a sense of contradiction" or "seeming contradiction"; for, as *Kṛṣṇadāsa* points out in v. 76., there is no real contradiction, if one places the theological interpretation upon it.

*Sloka 6.*

A lotus is born in the water, never water from the lotus. But the astonishing thing is that in *Murabhi* the contrary of this is true, that the great *Gaṅgā* issued from his lotus-feet.

77 The greatness of the *Gaṅgā* is to be established; the process of its establishment, its arising from the lotus-feet of *Viṣṇu* is the *anumāna-āṅkara*. 78 Basically there are these five flaws and five *āṅkara*s; if there were a minute analysis, many others would be [disclosed]. 79 Your genius is the grace of the gods in the gift of poetry to you; but poetry which is unanalyzed certainly retains the obstruction of flaws. 80 If one makes poetry after analyzing it, it is most stainless; and if it possesses *āṅkara*s, its meaning glitters."

81 Hearing this speech of *Prabhu*, the *Digvijayī* was astonished; he was struck dumb, and his inspiration was paralyzed. 82 He wanted to say something, but no response came; being puzzled, he pondered the matter within himself. 83 'A student boy has obliterated my wisdom; I know that *Sarasvatī* is angry with me. 84 That explanation which he has made is not within the power of any human; *Sarasvatī* herself has spoken through the mouth of *Nimāi*.' 85 Thus reflecting, he said, "Hear, *Nimāi Paṇḍita*, hearing your exposition, I am astonished. 86 You have not studied *āṅkara*, nor are you practiced in the *śāstras*; how is it that you can articulate all these meanings?" 87 Hearing this, *Mahāprabhu* was very playful, and knowing his heart, he said mischievously to him, 88 "In discussion of the *śāstras* I know neither good nor bad; *Sarasvatī* caused me to speak; I spoke her words." 89 Hearing this, the *Digvijayī* decided, "The *Devī* defeated me by means of this child. 90 Today I shall petition her, with *mantras* and meditation, to tell me why she brought me such humiliation through this child. 91 Truly, *Sarasvatī* caused me to compose an imperfect *śloka*, and she hid my wisdom at the time of discussion of it."

92 Then the pupils began to laugh; but forbidding them all, *Prabhu* said to the poet, 93 "You are a great *paṇḍita*, the crest jewel of great poets, from whose mouth such poetry can come. 94 Your poetry is like the stream of the *Gaṅgā*; I have never seen a poet like you anywhere. 95 *Bhavabhūti*, *Jayadeva*, and *Kalidāsa*—in the poetry

*Sloka 6. Murabhi: Viṣṇu.*

77. "To be established," i.e., the subject of the *śloka* is the greatness of the *Gaṅgā*, and it has been established as "arising from the lotus feet." This is induction, *anumāna*, and is considered an *arthāṅkara*.

83. *Sarasvatī*: the goddess of learning.



of all of these are found flaws. 96 A discussion of qualities and flaws—this is but little to be admired; but the power which gives rise to poetry—that is to be praised. 97 Do not mind my childish frivolity—I am not equal to one of your pupils. 98 Now go home; tomorrow we shall meet again, and I shall hear from your mouth a discussion of *śāstras*.”

99 So the two went each to their own homes, and in the night the poet worshiped Sarasvatī. 100 In a dream Sarasvatī instructed him, and he knew Prabhu to be the manifest *Īśvara*. 101 In the morning he came and took refuge at the feet of Prabhu; Prabhu was merciful to him, and he broke his bonds. 102 The fortunate Digvijayī had fulfilled his life; by the power of his learning he gained the feet of Mahāprabhu. 103 All these *līlās* Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described; only a few special parts have been described here. 104 The *līla* of Caitanya Gosvāmī is a stream of nectar, and at the hearing of it all the senses are satisfied.

105 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the ‘nectar of the acts of Caitanya,’ the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

100. [CBh 1.9.127-49 [= 1.13 GM ed.] provides details of this dream exchange with Sarasvatī. The goddess explains that she was not free to speak through the Digvijayī because she recognized that Caitanya was her lord, Sarasvatī-pati. She then explains to him just who Caitanya is and commands him to go worship at Caitanya's feet. TKS]

## Ādi Līla Chapter 17

### Śloka 1.

I bow down to that Caitanya, by whose grace even the Yavanas become well-minded and utterers of the Kṛṣṇa-name, whose wondrous desires are spontaneous.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and glory to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas. 2 I have enumerated the *sātras* of the *līla* of his adolescence; now let me gradually develop the *sātras* of the *līla* of his youth.

### Śloka 2.

In the time of his youth, Gauracandra played by the giving of the name and *prema*, by *kīrtana*, dancing, enjoyment, fine dress, beauty, and learning.

3 His body was the decoration of the body entering into youth, with beautiful dress, clothing, garlands and sandalwood. 4 In the arrogance of his learning he counted no one; he taught, defeating all the *paṇḍītas*. 5 Feigning madness he manifested

3. The decoration of the body: this is an old figure of speech: when a thing is so beautiful that there is nothing to compare with it, its only possible comparison is itself.

5. [This refers to an important episode recorded by Vṛndāvana Dāsa in CBh 1.8.67-83 [= 1.12 GM ed.]. Although he was not ready to reveal his divinity and his role as *avatāra*, Caitanya could not always contain his *prema*. To disguise this divine love, he pretended madness, *vayā* or “wind-disease”: “67 One day Prabhu's body fell into a stupor of *vayā* and manifested all of the signs of *prema-bhakti*. 68 Suddenly Prabhu prattled in glossolalia; he rolled on the ground, he laughed and fell down, banging against the house. 69 He emitted a roaring *humkāra* and slapped his arms [like a wrestler], prepared to fight anyone who was before him. 70 Then in a flash his body went limp and the people who witnessed this fainting fit grew concerned.” Neighbors, recognizing the wind-disease of madness (*vayā*) applied Ayurvedic medicines—Viṣṇu oil and Nārāyaṇa oil—which caused



*prema*, and with his *bhaktas* he did many different things. 6 Then Prabhu made a trip to Gaya, and met with Īśvara Purī. 7 After his *dikṣā* he manifested *prema*, and, again returning to his [own] country, the activities of *prema*. 8 He gave the gift of *prema* to Śaṅkṛ, then met Advaita, and Advaita gained the vision of his cosmic form. 9 Then Śrīvāsa performed the *abhiṣeka* of Prabhu, and seated on the cot Prabhu manifested his divinity. 10 Then Nityānanda Svarūpa came, and meeting Prabhu he gained the sight of his six-armed form. 11 First Īśvara showed to him his six-

Caitanya to shudder and jerk and finally admit he was Īśvara (vv. 77-78), before coming to. (See also the text and commentary on CC 1.7.86-93; 2.8.135; 2.18.174; and 2.23.31.) TKS]

6. He went to Gaya to make an offering to Viṣṇu in the name of his dead father; CBh 1.12.28-29 [= 1.17 GM ed.]. Īśvara Purī was a student of Mādhavendra Purī; he had once before come to Navadvīpa, and had begged at Śaṅkṛ's house; he had met Caitanya on that occasion; see CBh 1.7.198-255 [= 1.11.69-127 GM ed.].

7. Caitanya received the ten-syllabled *Gopāla-mantra* from Īśvara Purī; CBh 1.12.106 [= 1.17 GM ed.]. Many stories are told in this chapter of the CBh of the *prema* which followed his initiation; it is also said in that text that Caitanya took many *bhaktas* with him on his trip to Gaya (1.12.11).

8. Ante, commentary on 1.12.40; previously Caitanya had, from anger, withheld *prema* from Śaṅkṛ; presumably this means that at this time she became a believing Vaiṣṇava. The revelation to Advaita was much like Kṛṣṇa's showing Arjuna his supernal form in *Gītā* 11. The story is told in CBh 2.6.74-85: Advaita sees Caitanya as Kṛṣṇa, and "all around him, gods full of radiance, all saying 'Kṛṣṇa,' and great *nāgas* with seven hoods, spreading their hoods and praising him..." [Later Advaita specifically requests that revelation of BhG 11, which he receives in CBh 2.24.45-55. TKS]

9. *Abhiṣeka*: the ritual bathing of an image. The story is told in CBh 2.9: one day Caitanya and Nityānanda went to the house of Śrīvāsa, and there all the *bhaktas* gathered for *kṛtāna*; Caitanya, after dancing for a time, seated himself on Viṣṇu's cot, or bed on which the image was put to rest. Another time also he did this, and we are told that on that occasion all the *bhaktas* knew him as Viṣṇu himself, and stood before him with palms together in reverential gesture. Caitanya told them, "Sing my *abhiṣeka*-song"; they did, and brought Gaṅgā water and camphor, and Advaita bathed him, reciting the *puṣpa-sūkta* from the *Rg Veda* 10.90.

10. CBh 2.3-4 tells that when Nityānanda was very young, his *guru* got permission from Nityānanda's parents to take the boy with him on his travels. They visited many places of pilgrimage, and finally after many years came to Vṛndāvana. There, it is said, he learned that Kṛṣṇa had become incarnate in Navadvīpa, and so he journeyed to that place. Nityānanda became a guest in the house of Nandana Ācārya. Before he arrived, Caitanya told the *bhaktas* that he had seen in a dream that a great man was coming there, a man "of vast body, a huge staff on his shoulder... a blue cloth on his head, an earring in his left ear." Two *bhaktas* then went and searched in all the houses for such a person, but returned empty-handed; Caitanya smiled and said, "Come with me," and he led them to the house of Nandana, where of course they found Nityānanda. Caitanya told Śrīvāsa to recite a *śloka* of Kṛṣṇa, and when he heard it Nityānanda fell fainting to the ground. He soon revived, but was mad with *prema*, roaring, laughing, weeping, and exhibiting all the other signs of such possession. No one was able to control him, but Caitanya embraced him, and they conversed quietly. CBh 2.5.88-92 tells us that it was on the occasion of Vyāsa-pājā, when Nityānanda was placing a garland over Caitanya's head, that his six-armed form was revealed.

11-13. This is a gradual revelation, since the two-armed form is the *svarūpa*. Kṛṣṇa had six

armed [form], holding the six: conch, disc, club, lotus, bow, and flute; 12 then his four-armed form, his body bent in three places; with two hands he played the flute, with two he held the conch and disc. 13 Then with only two arms, his flute to his mouth, his body dark, clothed in yellow, Vrajendranandana. 14 Then Nityānanda Gosvāmī worshiped Vyāsa; Nityānanda, absorbed, held the pestle. 15 Then Śaṅkṛ saw Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the two brothers; then Prabhu saved Jagāi and Mādhāi. 16 Then for seven *praharas* Prabhu was absorbed in *bhāva*, and everywhere the devotees saw his attributes. 17 At the house of Murāri he was under the control of the Varāha, the Boar; and mounting up on his shoulders Prabhu danced in the courtyard. 18 Then he ate the rice of Śuklāmbāra, and he explained the meaning of the *śloka* "*harernāma*":

*Śloka* 3. *Brhannāradya Purāṇa* 38.126:

There is only the name of Hari, the name of Hari, the name of Hari; there is no other way, no other way, no other way, in the Kali age.

19 In the Kali age, the *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa is in the form of the name; from the name there is the salvation of the whole world. 20 To establish it firmly, "*harernāma*" is repeated three times; to cause dull people to understand, the "*eva*" syllable is given.

arms in the *Dvāraka-līlā*, four in his *Mathurā-līlā*, and two in the *Vraja-līlā*. As Kṛṣṇa plays the flute, his body is bent at the neck, waist, and knee. [This progressive revelation is not recorded by Vṛndāvana Dāsa, but is found in Murāri's *KCC* 2.8.26-29 and again in 2.9.7-12, both of which are revealed to Nityānanda. TKS]

14. On the full moon of Āśāḍha, *saṁnyāsins* perform *Vyāsa-pājā*, which honors the *guru*; CBh 2.5.8. Nityānanda was of course the *avatāra* of Balarāma, whose symbol is the pestle; *aveśa*: absorbed, here means in the *bhāva* of Balarāma; CBh 2.5.34-44.

15. CBh 2.8.28-74. One night Śaṅkṛ saw in a dream that Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and Caitanya and Nityānanda, all four, were eating a food offering. The next day Nityānanda came for his midday meal, and Śaṅkṛ saw Caitanya and Nityānanda, sitting together, as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. For the Jagāi and Mādhāi episode, see ante, commentary on 1.8.17, and CBh 2.13.1-325.

16. CBh 2.9.

17. [One day Caitanya went to the house of Murāri Gupta, and when Murāri bowed to him, Caitanya said "Boar, boar" and entered the Viṣṇu temple in the courtyard; and when he saw before him the waterpot used to sprinkle the image, he lifted it up in his teeth (as the boar-*avatāra* supported the world on its tusks); CBh 2.3.18-53. On another occasion Caitanya was in the *bhāva* of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, climbed upon Murāri's shoulders, saying "Garuda" (i.e., the name of the great bird, vehicle of Viṣṇu); and Murāri took on the *bhāva* of Garuḍa, and danced with Caitanya on his shoulders; CBh 2.20.78-98. TKS]

18. Ante, 1.10.36 and CBh 2.16.107-50.

*Śloka* 3. See 1.7.3.3; 2.6.3.19.

20. The third phrase of the *śloka* is "*harernāmaiva*"; "*eva*" is here used as an emphatic particle.



21 The word "only" is again an instrument of emphasis, in it is the prevention of *jñāna*, *yoga*, *tapas*, *karma* and the rest. 22 Who honors other [paths], he is not saved: [thus] "nāhi nāhi nāhi"—with three "eva" syllables. 23 Being humble as grass, he will take the name of Hari incessantly; he will be modest, and honor others. 24 The Vaiṣṇava will be patient as a tree; though he be beaten and cursed, he will say nothing. 25 As a tree says nothing even when it is cut. A tree does not beg for water, even when it dries and shrivels up in the sun. 26 In this way the Vaiṣṇava shall beg nothing from anyone. He shall eat goods unsolicited, or vegetables and fruit. 27 He shall always take the name, by the benefit of which [he shall be] happy; doing this kind of activity is the nourishment of *bhakti-dharma*.

Sloka 4. Rupa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 32 [quoting Kṛṣṇa Caitanya]:

He who knows himself as humbler than the grass, who is more forbearing than a tree, who feels no pride but gives honor to other men, he should practice always the *Hari-kīrtana*.

28 I say with arms uplifted, hear, all people! having strung it on the *sūtra* of the name, wear this *śloka* on the neck. 29 According to the orders of Prabhu, do as this *śloka* says, and surely you will gain the feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

30 So Prabhu always in the house of Śrīvāsa each night for one year made *saṁkīrtana*. 31 Closing the door he would make *kīrtana* in the highest absorption; the disbelievers would come to laugh, but not gain entrance. 32 Hearing the *kīrtana* from the outside they fumed and burned with rage, and many discussed how to give sorrow to Śrīvāsa. 33 One day a *brāhmaṇa* named Gopāla Cāpāla, the chief among the disbelievers, a foul-mouthed man and talkative, 34 brought all the paraphernalia for worship of Bhavānī, and in the night he placed them smeared at the door of Śrīvāsa. 35 On a banana leaf he placed china roses, turmeric, vermilion,

22. *Nistāra*: literally "saved," to save from drowning (in the sea of *saṁsāra*, in this case). The *śloka* has "nāstyeva," three times, and "eva" is again emphasis.

23-29. This is based on the most famous of the eight *ślokas* of Caitanya, the "*śikṣaṣṭaka*." See 3.20.16-21; the complete *śikṣaṣṭaka* is included in 3.20.

Sloka 4. See 3.6.śl.3; 3.20.śl.5.

28. The second meaning of *sūtra*, i.e., "string," is here employed.

33-36. These verses cause a great deal of trouble to some, who say that wine could not possibly be a part of the ritual of Bhavānī, but it is possible that she is a Tantric goddess, and in such a case wine would certainly be a part of the paraphernalia. It is not entirely clear what Gopāla had in mind. These items, especially the wine, would be offensive enough to a Vaiṣṇava. But it is also possible that he wanted to create the impression that the worship going on in Śrīvāsa's courtyard every night was Tantric and to be scorned.

red sandalwood, and rice; 36 and he put beside these a pot of wine, and went home. In the morning, Śrīvāsa saw these things, 37 and he summoned all the important people, and smiling said to them all, 38 "Each night I perform *Bhavānī-pūjā*; see my greatness, O true-natured *brāhmaṇas*." 39 Then all these gentle people were astounded, "What evil-doer has done this thing?" 40 And bringing a sweeper they had it all cleaned up, and with water mixed with cowdung they purified the place. 41 Three days afterwards Gopāla Cāpāla had leprosy all over his body, and streams of blood flowed. 42 And all over his body the worms grew, and ate him incessantly; the pain was unendurable, and his heart burnt with sorrow. 43 He remained sitting at a ghat on the Gaṅgā, underneath a tree, and one day he saw Prabhu and said to him, 44 "I am your maternal uncle, by village relationship; O nephew, I have been stricken with leprosy. 45 Your *avatāra* is to save all people; I am suffering greatly—save me." 46 Hearing this Mahāprabhu's heart grew angry, and under the control of anger he said to him menacing words, 47 "O sinner, O calumniator of *bhaktas*, I shall not save you; for a crore of births I shall cause you to be eaten by worms in this way. 48 You had *Bhavānī-pūjā* performed for Śrīvāsa; a crore of births are yours in Raurava hell. 49 This *avatāra* of mine is to destroy the disbelievers, and destroying them I shall propagate *bhakti*." 50 So saying, Prabhu went to take his bath in the Gaṅgā; the sinner suffered horribly, but did not die. 51 When Prabhu had taken *saṁnyāsa* and went to Nilācala, he came to Kuliyāgrāma. 52 Then that sinner took refuge [at the feet] of Prabhu; being gracious, he gave him beneficial instructions, 53 "You have committed an offence against Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita. Go to him; if he is gracious to you, 54 then you will be released from [the consequences of] this sin, if you do not do such things again." 55 Then the *brāhmaṇa* came and took refuge with Śrīvāsa, and by his mercy was released from his sin.

56 Another *brāhmaṇa* came to watch the *kīrtana*; the door was closed, and he was unable to go inside. 57 So being sorrowful the *brāhmaṇa* turned and went home. One day he met Prabhu by the Gaṅgā, and said, 58 "I have gained much misery of heart; I shall curse you." And with a foul-mouthed curse he tore his sacred thread, 59 "May your worldly happiness be destroyed." Hearing this curse the mind of Prabhu was greatly delighted. 60 He who, faithful, hears the story of the curse

44. I.e., not a real uncle, but one who because of age, etc., and living in the same neighborhood (*pāra*) of the town, is treated as an uncle in social situations.

48. The name Raurava comes from *ruru*, the name of the awful beast who with teeth and claws tears the flesh of those suffering in this hell.

51. I.e., on a pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana, after he had lived for some time in Puri, he passed through Bengal, and through the village of Kuliyā.

54. *Pāpa*: sin, i.e., action or thought that cuts against the flow of *dharma* or the will of Bhagavān.



of Prabhu, is saved from the curse of a *brāhmaṇa*. 61 He gave his grace as punishment to Mukunda Datta, and dispelled all his depression of mind. 62 Prabhu had *bhakti* toward Ācārya Gosvāmī as his *guru*, at which the Ācārya was greatly disturbed. 63 In deception he began to expound the *jñāna-mārga*; under the control of anger Prabhu berated him. 64 Then Ācārya Gosvāmī was overjoyed, and being ashamed Prabhu granted him his grace. 65 Hearing from the mouth of Murāri Gupta the multitude of the qualities of Rāma, he wrote on his forehead the name Rāmadāsa. 66 He drank water from the iron vessel of Śrīdhara; to all his *bhaktas* he gave whatever they desired. 67 He gave his grace to Haridāsa Ṭhākura, and he broke the offence of his mother to the Ācārya.

68 To the *bhaktas* Prabhu spoke of the greatness of the name; hearing it, a student accused him of overstatement. 69 Hearing the name called "eulogy," Prabhu became very sad, and he prohibited everyone, "Do not look upon the face of that one." 70 With all the fellow pupils he went to bathe in the Gaṅgā. He expounded the greatness of *bhakti*. 71 "*Jñāna, karma, yoga, dharma*—these do not control Kṛṣṇa; the source of the control of Kṛṣṇa is one—the *rasa* of *prema-bhakti*."

61. See ante, commentary on 1.12.39. [See also CBh 2.10.174-202. TKS]

62-64. See ante, commentary on 1.12.51.1.

65. I.e., on Murāri's forehead, for there is a double meaning here: Rāmadāsa, "servant of Rāma," is Hanumān. Murāri was a *bhakta* of Rāma, and in the previous *līlā* was Hanumān; see CBh 2.10.5-32. [See also Murāri's own account in KCC 2.7.7-18. TKS]

67. CBh 2.10.36-108. Caitanya said to Haridāsa, "When the Muslims were dragging you through the streets whipping you, I felt the pain, and I descended from Vaikuṇṭha to strike them down. But I could do nothing, because you were thinking good things about your abusers. So I laid myself on your back and absorbed the beating; see, here are the marks still on my body. Because I could not bear your pain, I quickly became incarnated." Hearing this, Haridāsa fainted; and ever afterwards he in humility kept expressing his own lowliness. See the commentary to 1.10.43 for more on the story.

CBh 2.22 tells this story: after Viśvarūpa had taken *saṁnyāsa*, Śaṅkṛ got it into her mind that Advaita had advised him to do so. Caitanya also was in the habit of going and coming in Advaita's house, and Śaṅkṛ was very afraid that the Ācārya would persuade her second son as well to abandon the world, so she nursed an anger for him (v. 107-115). Caitanya knew of this, and persuaded her that such an anger was an offence, and that she must go to take the dust of Advaita's feet to cleanse herself; she went, but Advaita, seeing her as Yaśoda, refused to let her bow to him. But while expounding on Śaṅkṛ as the *avatāra* of Yaśoda, he lost consciousness, and Śaṅkṛ took the dust of his feet.

69. This is a *nāma-aparādha*, an offense against the name.

70. This was probably a ritual bath, to wipe away the association with the student who had offended against the name.

71. *Vaśa*: literally "control." Kṛṣṇa is of course as dependent upon his *bhaktas* for his experience of *rasa* as they are upon him: Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā are incomplete when apart from one another. See 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 2.23.26.

Śloka 5. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.14.20:

O Uddhava, only that very powerful *bhakti* toward me is able to compel me; I am not [compelled by] *yoga, saṁkhyā, dharma*, Vedic study, *tapas*, and renunciation.

72 He said to Murāri, "You have won over Kṛṣṇa"; and hearing this Murāri began to recite a *śloka*:

Śloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.81.16:

Where am I poor and evil; where is Kṛṣṇa Śrīniketana? Knowing me for a bad *brāhmaṇa*, I am still embraced by [his] arms.

73 One day Prabhu and all his *bhaktas*, having performed *saṁkīrtana*, were wearied, and sat down. 74 Prabhu planted a mango seed in the courtyard, and immediately a tree was born and began to grow. 75 While they were watching the tree bore fruit; many fruits ripened, and all were astonished. 76 Prabhu quickly gathered two hundred fruits; washing them, he offered them to Kṛṣṇa. 77 Their color was red and yellow, and they had neither pit nor skin; and if he ate one fruit, the stomach of a man was filled. 78 Seeing this, the son of Śaṅkṛ was greatly pleased, and he fed them all before he ate. 79 There was neither pit nor skin, and they were full of juice like nectar; if he ate one fruit, one's belly was filled with the juice. 80 In this way there was fruit every day, throughout the full year; the Vaiṣṇavas ate the fruit, to the delight of Prabhu. 81 The son of Śaṅkṛ performed all these *līlas*; except for the *bhaktas*, other people knew nothing of it. 82 In this way, for twelve months, at the end of the *kīrtana*, Prabhu made each day a great feast of mangoes. 83 While Prabhu was having *kīrtana* the rain clouds came; but according to his own desire he prevented them [from raining].

Śloka 5. See 2.20.5L13; 2.25.5L31; 3.4.5L2. [Compare Murāri's treatment of this verse in his KCC 2.7.20-21. TKS]

Śloka 6. See 2.7.5L4. The *śloka* is not entirely clear apart from its context, which is this: There was a *brāhmaṇa* who in childhood was a friend of Kṛṣṇa; they studied and played together, and were fast friends. Later, when Kṛṣṇa was king in Dvārakā, the *brāhmaṇa* was very poor, so poor that at the end of a day of begging he could not feed himself or his family. His wife told him one day that he should go and ask help of Kṛṣṇa, and, with trepidation, he went. When Kṛṣṇa saw him he ran to him and embraced him. Śrīniketana: the abode of Lakṣmī, also of course of wealth and prosperity (śrī).

83. [This story can be found in Murāri's KCC 2.3.18-27; it was raining, lightning and thundering one day when the devotees wished to perform *kīrtana*. Caitanya began to clap the cymbals and suddenly the clouds dispersed, the sun shone, and the various celestial figures gathered to watch the ensuing spectacle. TKS]



84 One day Prabhu gave his instructions to Śrīvāsa, "Read the *Bṛhatsahasranāma*; I want to hear it." 85 While reading he came to the praises of the name Nṛsiṃha; hearing it Prabhu the Gauradhāma was possessed. 86 Under the possession of Nṛsiṃha he took a club into his hand and ran to the city to beat the disbelievers. 87 Seeing him, possessed by Nṛsiṃha, full of great radiance, the people left the road and fled in great fear. 88 Seeing the fear of the people, Prabhu regained consciousness, and going to the house of Śrīvāsa he threw away his club. 89 In great dejection Prabhu said to Śrīvāsa, "People were afraid, I have offended them." 90 Śrīvāsa said, "He who takes your name, has a crore of his offences destroyed. 91 There was no offence, but you have saved the people; he who saw you has escaped *saṁsāra*." 92 Saying such things, Śrīvāsa served him, and being soothed Prabhu came to his own house.

93 On another day a Śiva-bhakta sang the qualities of Śiva; he danced in the courtyard of Prabhu, and played the *ḍamaru* drum. 94 The son of Śaśi was possessed by Maheśa, and climbing on his shoulder he danced a long time. 95 Another day a beggar came to beg; seeing the dancing of Prabhu he also began to dance. 96 With Prabhu he danced in highest joy; Prabhu gave *prema* to him, and he floated in the *prema-rasa*. 97 Another day an astrologer, learned in all things, came; paying respect to him. Prabhu asked, 98 "Who was I in my previous birth? Calculate and tell [me]." Hearing the words of Prabhu, the all-knowing one began to calculate. 99 Having calculated, the all-knowing one saw in his meditation a being full of great radiance, the infinite Brahman-worlds of Vaikuṇṭha, the refuge of all these. 100 The *parama-tattva*, the *para-brahma*, the *parama-īśvara*: seeing this form of Prabhu, the all-knowing one was perplexed. 101 He could say nothing; he remained silent. Prabhu again asked him, and he began to speak. 102 "In your previous birth you were the refuge of the world; the full Bhagavān, full of all the divine qualities. 103 As you were formerly, so you are now; you are eternal bliss, difficult to know—that is your true form." 104 Prabhu smiled and said, "You know nothing; formerly I was by caste a *gowala*. 105 I was born in the house of a *gopa*, a tender of cows. Because of that merit I have now become a *brāhmaṇa* boy." 106 The all-knower said, "I saw that in my meditation; but in it seeing your divinity, I was astonished.

84. *Bṛhatsahasranāma*: the passage of the *Mahābhārata* giving the thousand names of Viṣṇu.

84-92. [The story can be found in Murāri's KCC 2.11.6-12. TKS]

85. [Gauradhāma: the replete form (*dhāma*) of the Golden One, Caitanya (Gaura). *Dhāma* here is decidedly difficult to translate, for it includes *svayaṁ bhagavān* and his realm and entourage; see the commentaries to 1.1.45, 1.5.14, 16. TKS]

93. *Ḍamaru* is the small two-headed drum played by Śiva and by his worshipers.

93-94. CBh 2.8.96-103.

107 In that *rāpa* and in this one I see one form; but sometimes I see a difference—this is by your *māyā*. 108 Whoever you are, you are; I make obeisance to you." Prabhu rewarded him with *prema*.

109 One day Prabhu was sitting in the Viṣṇu-*maṇḍapa*, he called out, "Bring wine, bring wine!" 110 Nityānanda Gosvāmī knew the possession of Prabhu, so he brought a vessel of Gaṅgā water and placed it before him. 111 Having drunk the water he danced, absorbed; all saw the *līlā* of the plowing of the [new channel of the] Yamunā. 112 His gait, as if he were drunk on wine, imitated Baladeva; Ācārya Śekhara saw him in the form of Rāma. 113 Vanamālī Ācārya saw the golden plow; all together danced, inspired and absorbed. 114 In this way the dancing lasted for four *praharas*; and in the evening, after bathing in the Gaṅgā, all went home.

115 When Prabhu gave the order to the people of the city, they began to make *kīrtana* from house to house. 116 "I bow to Hari, I bow to the Yādava Kṛṣṇa, to Gopāla, Govinda, Rāma, and Śrī Madhusūdana." 117 *Samkīrtana*, with cymbals and *mṛdaṅga* drums, rang out, and nothing could be heard except for the sound "Hari Hari!" 118 And hearing it, all the Yavanas became enraged, and coming to the *qazi* they registered a complaint. 119 In the evening, in anger the *qazi* came to a house and broke the *mṛdaṅga* drum and began to say to the people, 120 "For so long a time no one has acted like a Hindu; by whose power do you now act with such enthusiasm? 121 Let no one make *kīrtana* anywhere in the whole city; today I shall pardon it, and am going home. 122 But if such *kīrtana* comes to my attention again, I shall punish everyone and destroy his caste." 123 So saying, the *qazi* went, and the people of the city, in great sorrow, brought their concerns to Prabhu. 124 Prabhu gave this instruction, "Go and make *kīrtana*; today I shall destroy all Yavanas." 125 And going home, all the people made *kīrtana*; but because of fear of the *qazi* it was not spontaneous, and their hearts were uneasy. 126 Prabhu knew

109-111. [This story can be found in CBh 2.25.156-57 [= 2.26.66-67 GM ed.]. Compare BhP 10.15.25-30, 33. A similar incident occurs in Nityānanda's *Vyāsa-pāñi* in CBh 2.5.34-44. TKS]

111-14. The mythological reference is to BhP 10.65 wherein Balarāma, drunk, plows a new channel for the Yamunā. [See Murāri's KCC 2.14 for Caitanya's enactment of this episode. TKS]

112. Ācārya Śekhara: Candrasekhara Ācārya. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that some MSS read "Ācārya Gosvāmī," which could be Advaita.

115. This is the *nagara-kīrtana*, a procession with drums and cymbals and the repetitive chanting of the name; the procession moves through the streets of the city, increasing as it goes.

118. The *qazi* was the judge, an officer of the Muslim ruler; at this time, according to at least one tradition, the *qazi* was Cānd Qazī, and was a son of the daughter of the Nabab, Husein Shah.

120. *Hinduyāni*: Hindu.

122. I.e., he would force the Hindu to do something for which his caste would expel him: eat beef, for example.



in his heart the fear within them all, and quickly summoning the people he began to say, 127 "Throughout the city today we shall make *kīrtana*; in the evening decorate the whole city. 128 In the evening, light lamps in all the houses; see which *qazi* can prohibit me." 129 So saying, Gaura Rāya came in the evening, and made *kīrtana* in three groups. 130 In the first party Haridāsa was dancing, and in the middle one danced Ācārya Gosvāmī in highest joy. 131 And in that last group Gauracandra danced, and with him danced Prabhu Nityānanda. 132 Vṛndāvana Dāsa in his *Caitanya Maṅgala* has described all this extensively, by the power of the grace of Prabhu.

133 In this way they wandered through the city making *kīrtana*, and in their wandering they came to the *qazi*'s door. 134 The people made a great uproar and commotion; by the power of Caitanya the people were mad with love. 135 At the sound of the *kīrtana* the *qazi* hid himself in the house, and hearing the tumult he did not come outside. 136 Rude people laid waste the house and the flower-garden of the *qazi*; but Vṛndāvana Dāsa has explained all this in detail. 137 Mahāprabhu sat at his door; sending a well-behaved person he summoned the *qazi*. 138 From a distance the *qazi* came, with bent head; sitting the *qazi* down, Prabhu paid him respect. 139 Prabhu said, "I have come as your guest; seeing me you hide—what kind of performance is this?" 140 The *qazi* said, "You have come in anger; I have remained hidden to pacify you. 141 Now you have been pacified, and I have come to meet you. 142 By village relationship Cakravartī is my *cāca*; village relationship is stronger than blood-ties. 143 Nīlāmbara Cakravartī is your mother's father, and by that relationship you are my nephew. 144 A maternal uncle always endures the anger of his nephew, and a nephew does not take offence at his maternal uncle." 145 In this way they spoke together with innuendoes, and no one could understand the inner meaning.

146 Prabhu said, "I have come to your place regarding a question." The *qazi* replied, "Tell me what is on your mind." 147 Prabhu said, "You drink cows' milk; the cow is your mother; the bull makes food to grow, in that he is your father. 148 You kill and eat your mother and father; what *dharma* is this? By what power do you do this kind of evil thing?" 149 The *qazi* said, "As you have Vedas and

132. The *kīrtana* sessions and confrontation with the *qazi* are greatly elaborated in *CBh* 2.23.

136. [See especially *CBh* 2.23.360-415. TKS]

142. Nīlāmbara Cakravartī, the maternal grandfather of Caitanya. *Cāca*: father's younger brother.

147. The bullock, presumably, which pulls the plow.

*purāṇas*, so we have a *śāstra*, the book called the Qur'ān. 150 In that *śāstra* it is said that there is a division between *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti mārgas*. In the *nivṛtti-mārga* the killing of any living thing is forbidden. 151 In the *pravṛtti mārga* the killing of cows is allowed. If they are slaughtered according to the instructions of the *śāstra*, there is no fear of sin. 152 In your Vedas there are discussions of the slaughter of cows, and accordingly very great *munis* killed them." 153 Prabhu said, "The Vedas prohibit the slaughter of cows; thus the Hindus do not do so. 154 If one is able to revive it, then one may kill a living thing; in the Vedas and *purāṇas* there are such instructions. 155 Thus the *munis* killed old cows, but with a Veda-mantra they brought them back to life. 156 And the old cows were again made youthful; in this there was no injury, but a great favor. 157 In the Kali age no *brāhmaṇas* have such power, and thus now no one slaughters cattle.

Śloka 7. *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, *kṛṣṇajñanmakhaṇḍa* 185.180:

Horse-sacrifice, cow-sacrifice, *saṁnyāsa*, offering of *śrāddha* to the ancestors with meat, and the begetting of sons by the husband's younger brother—these five things one must shun in the Kali age.

158 You are not able to revive, you can only kill; you cannot be saved from hell. 159 For as many thousands of years as there are hairs on the body of a cow do killers of cows rot without respite in Raurava hell. 160 The makers of your *śāstras* were mistaken; not knowing the true meaning of the *śāstras* they gave such instructions." 161 Hearing this the *qazi* was struck dumb, and could not say a word. Having considered the matter, he acknowledged defeat and said, 162 "What you say, O *paṇḍita*, is true; our *śāstras* are modern, and do not bear examination. 163 Our *śāstras* are imagined—I know all that; but I honor them in conformity with my *jāti*. 164 Easily in the Yavana-*śāstras* [can be found] discussion built on unstable foundation."

Smiling, Mahāprabhu again asked him, 165 "Let me put another question to you; hear me, you are my maternal uncle; tell me the true meaning of this, and do not deceive me by tricks. 166 In your city there is always *saṁkīrtana*, a tumult of

150. *Nivṛtti*: obstruction, stoppage; the *nivṛtti-mārga* is that way of life which is not biased toward the fulfillment of the senses; *pravṛtti* "propensity" is that which leans toward sense-fulfillment.

151. The *qazi* is of course arguing also from the Hindu point of view: in sacrifices animals can be killed. This type of slaughter is not sensory in object.

163. *Jāti*: not here "caste," but the more generalized "genus"; he means Islam. *Kalpita*: imagined, contrived, composed.



instrumental music, songs, and dances. 167 You are the *qazi*, the chief of the opposition to Hindu *dharma*; that you do not hinder it now, that I cannot understand." 168 The *qazi* said, "Everyone calls you Gaurahari; let me address you by that name. 169 Listen, O Gaurahari; if you were alone, then I would tell you the answer to your question." 170 Prabhu said, "These people are my intimate friends; speak openly, and have no fear." 171 The *qazi* said, "When I went to the house of the Hindu, and broke the *mṛdaṅga* drum and forbade *kīrtana*, 172 on that night a fearful lion, with the body of a man, the face of a lion, roaring most terribly, 173 leapt upon my bed, laughing frightfully and grinding his teeth. 174 He dug his claws into my breast and said in a deep growl, 'I shall tear open your chest in payment for my *mṛdaṅga*. 175 You forbade my *kīrtana*, I shall destroy you!' And I was very much afraid, and closed my eyes, trembling. 176 Seeing my fear the lion said to me more compassionately, 'I have overcome you in order to instruct you. 177 You did not make much trouble on that day; I have forgiven you, and shall not take your life. 178 If you do such things again, I shall not endure it; I shall strike down you and all your family, and I shall destroy the Yavanas.' 179 When he had said this the lion left, and I was afraid. See, the marks of his claws are on my heart." 180 So saying the *qazi* bared his chest, and seeing and hearing this all the people were struck dumb with wonder.

181 The *qazi* said, "This I have not told to anyone. That day one of my servants came to me 182 and said, 'I went to forbid the *kīrtana*'; a spark of fire suddenly touched my face, 183 and burnt my whole beard and left blisters on my face. And whatever servant went, the same happened to him. 184 Seeing this I remained very much afraid—'Forget the *kīrtana*; stay sitting in the house.' 185 Then in the city there will be *kīrtana* whenever it is desired; when they heard this all the *mlecchas* came and petitioned: 186 'In the city the *dharma* of the Hindus will grow unchecked, and except for the sound of 'Hari' nothing else will be heard.' 187 And some *mlecchas* said, 'The Hindus say 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa!' and laugh and weep and dance and sing and roll in the dust. 188 The Hindus make a great commotion, saying 'Hari Hari'; if the Badshah hears of it, you will reap the fruits.' 189 Then I asked those Yavanas, 'The Hindus say "Hari." You know that is their nature. 190 But why do you, a Yavana, incessantly take the name of a Hindu god?' 191 The *mleccha* said, 'I was mocking the Hindus.' Some are called Kṛṣṇadāsa, some are Rāmadāsa,

167. *Hindudharma*.

172. This was the *avatāra* Nṛsiṃha.

188. Badshah: probably Husain Shah, though the term usually refers to the emperor in Delhi.

192 some are Hari-dāsa, and they all say "Hari Hari"; I thought that they were going to steal the treasures from somebody's house. 193 And from that time my tongue says "Hari Hari"; I do not want it, but it says it—what can I do? 194 Another *mleccha* said, 'Hear, I am like this too; from the day when I mocked the Hindus 195 my tongue forms the Kṛṣṇa-nāma; I cannot prevent it; I do not know what *mantras* or magic the Hindus know.' 196 Hearing these things I sent them all home; and at the same time some disbelieving Hindus came. 197 Having come they said, 'Nimāi has broken the *dharma* of the Hindus; that *kīrtana* which he is promulgating, we have never before heard. 198 We perform the *jāgaraṇa* of Maṅgalacandī and of Viṣahari, and with it the playing of instruments and dancing and song, in accepted practice. 199 Formerly this Nimāi Paṇḍita was good; but after coming back from Gayā he goes on in contrary ways. 200 He sings songs in a loud voice, and beats time with his hands, and the sound of *mṛdaṅga* drums and cymbals strikes our ears. 201 We do not know whether they drink when they sing and dance; they laugh and weep and fall down and rise up and roll around on the ground. 202 They have made the people of the town mad, with incessant *saṅkīrtana*; we cannot sleep in the night, but are kept awake. 203 He has abandoned the name of Nimāi, and has people call him Gaurahari; he has destroyed the *dharma* of the Hindus and is instigating contrary ways. 204 By the *kīrtana* of Kṛṣṇa he raises up the lowly; by this sin Navadvīpa will be desolated. 205 In the Hindu *śāstras* the name of Īśvara is a great *mantra*; if everyone hears it, the power of the *mantra* is destroyed. 206 You are the lord of the town; we are all your people. Have Nimāi called, and forbid him.' 207 Then I said to all in gentle words, 'You all go to your homes; I shall prohibit him.' 208 That great Nārāyaṇa, who is the Īśvara of the Hindus, you are he—that I think."

209 Hearing this Mahāprabhu, smiling, gently touched the *qazi* and began to speak, 210 "The name of Kṛṣṇa from your mouth, this is a great strange and wonderful thing; your sins have been destroyed, and you have become most pure. 211 Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa—you have taken these three names; you are very blessed,

192. The root "har" means "to steal"; the Yavana is saying that he was mocking the Vaiṣṇavas, calling them thieves, but once he said the name of Hari he could not stop saying it.

198. *Jāgaraṇa*: all-night vigil, as part of *vrata*, the ritual performance of a vow with singing of the songs of the god, or more usually goddess, and instrumental music. Viṣahari is Manasā, goddess of snakes.

205. In the *kīrtana*, the worshipers go about shouting the names of the deity at the tops of their lungs, making thereby the power of that *mantra* available to all.

208. *Hindura Īśvara*: Īśvara or Lord of the Hindus; this is addressed to Caitanya.

211. The name is efficacious, whatever the intention; the *qazi* did not utter the three names out of devotion or any religious feeling. But the power lies in the name itself, spoken for whatever reason.



and very meritorious." 212 Hearing this, tears fell from the eyes of the *qazi*; and touching the feet of Prabhu, he spoke words of love and devotion, 213 "By your grace my evil nature has disappeared; be so merciful, that I remain in *bhakti* toward you." 214 Prabhu said, "Let me ask one gift from you: do not forbid *saṅkīrtana* in Nadiyā." 215 The *qazi* said: "As many as are born in my line, I shall administer an oath to them, that they shall not obstruct the *kīrtana*." 216 When he heard this Prabhu rose up shouting 'Hari!' and all the Vaiṣṇavas rose up, making the Hari-sound. 217 Prabhu went, making *kīrtana*, and with him came the *qazi*, with joyful mind. 218 The son of Śaṅk bade farewell to the *qazi*, and dancing came to his own house. 219 In this way Prabhu gave grace to the *qazi*, and he who hears of this has his offences wiped away.

220 One day Gosvāmī was at the house of Śrīvāsa with Nityānanda, the two brothers dancing. 221 The son of Śrīvāsa had gone to the other world, but no grief was born in the mind of Śrīvāsa. 222 In the mouth of the dead boy were words of wisdom, and the two brothers themselves became the sons of Śrīvāsa. 223 Then he gave a boon to all the *bhaktas*; he gave the remains of his food to Nārāyaṇī, and honored her.

224 A Yavana tailor was sewing the clothing of Śrīvāsa, and Prabhu showed to him his own form. 225 Calling "I have seen, I have seen," he became mad; in love he danced, and he became foremost among Vaiṣṇavas. 226 In possession, Prabhu asked Śrīvāsa for a flute; Śrīvāsa said, "The *gopīs* have stolen your flute." 227 Hearing this Prabhu, absorbed, said "Tell me, tell me"; and Śrīvāsa described the *rasa* of the *līlā* of Vṛndāvana. 228 At first he described the sweetness of Vṛndāvana, and on hearing it the joy increased in the mind of Prabhu. 229 Again and again Prabhu said "Speak, speak!" and again and again Śrīvāsa detailed the matter, 230 the attraction of the *gopīs* to the forest at the playing of the flute, and [Kṛṣṇa's] roaming about in the forest with them all. 231 And he described the *līlā* of the six seasons, and told of the drinking of the honey, and the *rāsa*-festival, and the playing in the

222. CBh 2.25.24-83. While Caitanya and Nityānanda were dancing in the courtyard, Śrīvāsa's son died inside the house. Because he did not want to make the two grieve, Śrīvāsa said nothing of it, nor did he outwardly show his own grief. Afterwards, when Caitanya learned of it, he caused the dead boy to say, "Who is whose father, who is whose son?" and so forth concerning the impermanence of existence (v. 60-64). And then at Caitanya's prompting, Śrīvāsa acknowledged the two brothers—Caitanya and Nityānanda—as his sons.

223. CBh 2.10.288-294. Nārāyaṇī was the daughter of Śrīvāsa's brother, and the mother of Vṛndāvana Dāsa. [This verse supports a speculative story that suggests that Caitanya fathered Vṛndāvana Dāsa, since eating the leftover food of a man is reserved for those who are intimate; and Nārāyaṇī was a widow, which rightly or wrongly would have made her suspect. TKS]

water. 232 And while listening in great delight, Prabhu said "Speak on, speak." Śrīvāsa then spoke of the activities of the *rasa*-producing *rāsa* [dance]. 233 While speaking and listening it became morning, and Prabhu in great pleasure embraced Śrīvāsa.

234 Then in the house of the Ācārya he made the Kṛṣṇa-līlā, and Prabhu became himself the true form of Rukmiṇī. 235 Sometimes Durgā, sometimes Lakṣmī, he became the *cit-śakti*; sitting on the cot he gave *prema-bhakti* to the *bhaktas*.

236 One day, when Mahāprabhu was fatigued from dancing, a *brāhmaṇa* woman came and held his feet. 237 She took the dust from his feet again and again, and seeing this Prabhu was infinitely sad. 238 Then Prabhu ran and plunged into the Gaṅgā, and Nityānanda and Haridāsa caught him and pulled him out. 239 He passed that night at the house of Vijaya Ācārya, and in the morning all the *bhaktas* brought him back to his house.

240 One day he was sitting in his house in the *gopī-bhāva*, and in a fit of dejection he pronounced the word "*gopī, gopī*." 241 A student came to see Prabhu, and hearing the word "*gopī, gopī*," he began to say 242 "Why do you not take the name of Kṛṣṇa? The name of Kṛṣṇa is blessed; what merit is there in saying '*gopī, gopī*'?" 243 Hearing this Prabhu became very angry, and vomited abuse on Kṛṣṇa; and seizing a stick he rose up to beat the student. 244 In fear the student ran away, and Prabhu ran after him; in great confusion the *bhaktas* restrained Prabhu. 245 When they had pacified him they brought him to his own house; and the student fled to the place where all the students were. 246 There were a thousand students there in that place, and having gone there the twice-born told the story of Prabhu. 247 Hearing it, all the students became very angry, and all together they abused Prabhu,

232. *Vilāsa*: activities; *rāsarāsa vilāsa*: the activities of the *rasa*-producing circle-dance (*rāsa*) as described in BhP 10.29-33.

234. CBh 2.18.70-98. I.e., he acted the part of Rukmiṇī when with his *bhaktas* he was enacting the Kṛṣṇa-līlā.

235. Sometimes, in the plays, he took on the *bhāva* of Durgā and sometimes of Lakṣmī—these two *cit-śaktis* of Kṛṣṇa. We also know from CBh 2.18.145-212 that as he sat on the cot in these various *bhāvas*, the *bhaktas* would recite *ślokas* appropriate to each *bhāva*; and in the *bhāva* of the mother, at the end of the night he comforted them in the pain of their separation from their own mothers.

237-38. The touch of a woman was even at this time, before his *saṁnyāsa*, abhorrent to him and his ascetic temperament; he ran to the river for purification.

240-51. CBh 2.25.163-209 [= 2.26.72-118 GM ed.]. Absorbed as he was in the *gopī-bhāva*, he was reflecting on Kṛṣṇa's cruelty and harshness in going to Mathurā and leaving the *gopīs* alone. And the more he reflected on this cruelty, the angrier he got, calling Kṛṣṇa "slayer of women" and so forth; it was at this time that the unfortunate student happened to come along.



248 "This Nīmāi has despoiled the whole country by himself; he wants to beat *brahmanas*, without fear for *dharma*. 249 If he does this again we shall beat him; he is only a man, what can he do?" 250 In their vilification of Prabhu, all their sense was lost nor was it evident even among those who were well-read and learned. 251 The students were arrogant, without any humility, and wherever they went they vilified and laughed at Prabhu. 252 The all-knowing Gosvāmī knew the misery of all of them, and sitting in his house he thought on how to effect the release of all of them. 253 "So many teachers and their pupils, followers of *dharma*, of *karma*, sunk in *tapas*, calumners, wicked people— 254 all these are abusers and in opposition to me; if I do not cause them to take *bhakti*, they cannot take it. 255 I have come to save; but the reverse has occurred. How will the welfare of all these evil people be brought about? 256 If they bow to me, their sins are destroyed; but he takes *bhakti* whom I cause to take it. 257 Those who rant against me, and do not show respect, all these *jīvas* I shall certainly save. 258 Thus I must certainly take *saṁnyāsa*; they will bow to me as a *saṁnyāsīn* who is to be honored. 259 They will have to bow, and in this their transgressions will be wiped away; I shall cause *bhakti* to arise in their stainless hearts. 260 Then all these disbelievers will be saved. There is no other way; this means is the best."

261 Having made this firm decision, Prabhu was still living at home when Keśava Bhārati came to Nadiyā city. 262 Prabhu made obeisance to him and extended to him an invitation. After he fed him, he made this request, 263 "You are Īśvara, the manifest Nārāyaṇa; be merciful and deliver me from *saṁsāra*." 264 Bhārati replied, "You are Īśvara, indwelling in all hearts. What you cause me to do, that I will do; I have no will of my own." 265 So saying Bhārati Gosvāmī went to Kaṭoyā; and Mahāprabhu went there and became a *saṁnyāsīn*. 266 And with him Nityānanda and Candreśekhara Ācārya and Mukunda Datta—these three performed all the needed duties.

267 Thus the *sātras* of the *ādī līla* have been recounted; Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described it all in full detail.

252. All-knowing Gosvāmī: Caitanya.

253-60. [The reasoning and decision to take *saṁnyāsa* are found in *CBh* 2.25.219-32 [= 2.26.128-41 GM ed.]. TKS]

261-66. [The renunciation is described in moving terms in *CBh* 2.26 [= 2.27-28 GM ed.]. TKS]

265. Kaṭoyā is a city in Burdwan district. Why he went to that place is not told in any of the texts, but is confirmed in *CBh* 2.26.58 [= 2.28.10 GM ed.].

266. I.e., made all the preparations for the ceremony. These could involve gathering the clothing, staff, and begging bowl, and various articles—flowers, etc., for the ritual.

268 The son of Yaśoda became the son of Śacti, and he tasted *bhakta-bhāva* of four kinds. 269 To taste his own sweetness [in] the *prema-rasa* of Rādhā, in the Rādhā-*bhāva* his body has become beautiful. 270 In the *gopī-bhāva*, in which Prabhu was often gripped, he considered Vrajendranandana as his own beloved. 271 This is the most firm ascertainment of the *gopīka-bhāva*: there is none other except for Vrajendranandana. 272 He has a dark beauty, ornamented with peacock feathers and *guṇjā* flowers, in a cowherd's dress, body bent in *tribhaṅga*, a flute in his mouth. 273 If Kṛṣṇa has any other form except for this one, the *gopīka-bhāva* does not approach him.

Śloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Lalitāmādhava* 6.14:

What learned man is able to understand the process of the *bhāva* of the *gopīs*, devoted to the Lord of Cattle, scion of Nanda, who passes along paths difficult to comprehend? It is wonderful that when he appeared in his Viṣṇu-body, with its four all-conquering arms, endowed with radiance, the wave of their passion dissipated.

274 In the springtime he made the *rāsa-līla* on Govārdhana, and he disappeared, with Rādhā, having given [her] a sign. 275 He was sitting in a lonely *nikuṇja* grove, watching the path for Rādhā, and a company of *gopīs* came there to search. 276 Seeing Kṛṣṇa from a distance the *gopīs* cried, "Look here—Vrajendranandana within the *kuṇja*-grove." 277 Seeing the *gopīs*, Kṛṣṇa became disturbed; he could not hide, he was paralyzed with fear. 278 So he assumed the four-armed *mūrti* and remained sitting there; looking for Kṛṣṇa the *gopīs* came near him and said, 279 "This is not Kṛṣṇa, this is the *mūrti* of Nārāyaṇa," and so saying that all prostrated themselves and praised him, 280 "Homage, O Nārāyaṇa, O *deva*, be gracious to us; grant us Kṛṣṇa's company; destroy our dejection." 281 So saying and making obeisance, the *gopīs* went away; at the same time Rādhā came and showed herself. 282 When he saw Rādhā, to play a joke on her, he tried to retain the four-armed form. 283 Two of his arms disappeared before Rādhā; Kṛṣṇa attempted many times, but he could not retain them. 284 This is the unimaginable wonder of the pure *bhāva* of Rādhā, which made Kṛṣṇa retain his natural two-armed [form].

Śloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Ujjvalāmlaṇī* [*nāyikābheda-prakarṇa*] 5.7:

At the beginning of the *rāsa*, Hari hid in the *kuṇja*-grove; seeing the doe-eyed *gopīs*, he concealed his own form, understanding its arrestive beauty,

272. *Tribhaṅga*: the alluring "triple bend" pose, with knees and waist bent in opposite directions, usually while playing the flute; a favorite in the iconography of Vrajendranandana.



and majestically displayed [his four-armed form]. But because of the greatness of the love of Rādhā, that source of strength and power, Hari's four-armed form disappeared, and he was not able to sustain it.

285 That Vrajeśvara is the father Jagannātha; that Vrajeśvārī is the mother Śacīdevī. 286 That son of Nanda, he is Caitanya Gosvāmī; and that Baladeva is his brother Nityānanda. 287 That Nityānanda, replete with the three *bhāvas* of *vātsalya*, *dāsyā*, *sakhyā*, is the companion of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. 288 He causes the world to float in *prema-bhakti*, nor are people able to understand his actions.

289 Advaita Ācārya Gosvāmī is the *bhakta-avatāra*, who brought about the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, to propagate *bhakti*. 290 *Sakhyā* and *dāsyā*, these *bhāvas* were his by nature; sometimes Prabhu treated him as a *guru*. 291 Śrīvāsa and the others—so many *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu, they served Caitanya according to their own *bhāvas*. 292 And such *rasa* had Paṇḍita Gosvāmī and the others, that by that *rasa* Prabhu was conquered. 293 That one was *śyāma* in color, a flute in his mouth, the lover of the *gopīs*; this one is golden, sometimes *brāhmaṇa*, sometimes *saṁnyāsin*. 294 Thus in himself Prabhu held to the *gopī-bhāva*, and called Vrajeṇḍranandana as “lord of my heart.” 295 He was Kṛṣṇa, he was a *gopī*—the highest paradox; most impenetrable are the unimaginable actions of Prabhu. 296 Let no one argue this, or entertain a doubt; like this is the *acintya-śakti* of Kṛṣṇa. 297 The activities of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya are unthinkable and wonderful; marvelous are his *bhāvas*, his qualities, and his activities. 298 He who does not honor him because of logical argument is an evil-doer; he rots in hell, and there is no salvation for him.

Sloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [*dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, sthāyibhāva-laharī*] 2.5.93: The *bhāvas* are inscrutable. Logic cannot touch them. Thus to all these logic cannot be applied, for what is beyond material nature is defined as incomprehensible.

299 He who has faith in this wonderful Caitanya-*līlā* goes to his place beside the feet of Caitanya. 300 Thus the essence of the things to be attained has been discoursed upon, and pure *bhakti* is his who has listened to it.

301 If we recapitulate what has been written in the book, then we taste [again] the meaning of that book. 302 We see that this was the practice of Vyāsa in the *Bhāgavata* [*Purāṇa*]; having told a story, he recapitulates it time and time again. 303 Thus let us enumerate the chapters of the *ādī līlā*: in the first chapter I have

296. *Acintya*: inscrutable.

made the *maṅgalacaraṇa*. 304 In the second chapter was the investigation and ascertainment of the Caitanya-*tattva*, that Vrajeṇḍranandana who is *svayaṁ bhagavān*, 305 he is Caitanya Kṛṣṇa, the son of Śacī. In the third chapter the ordinary cause of his birth, 306 the giving of *prema*, and the Kṛṣṇa-name have been described. 307 In the fourth chapter I have spoken of the basic necessity of his birth, the tasting of the *rasa* of *premananda* of his own sweetness. 308 In the fifth was the determination of the Śrī Nityānanda-*tattva*, that Nityānanda is Rāma, the son of Rohiṇī. 309 In the sixth chapter was a discussion of the Ādvaita-*tattva*; Advaita Ācārya—the *avatāra* of Mahaviṣṇu. 310 In the seventh chapter was an explanation of the *pañca-tattva*; the five who together gave the gift of *prema*. 311 In the eighth was the cause of the description of the Caitanya-*līlā*, and in it also was the description of the great power of a single Kṛṣṇa-name. 312 In the ninth was the description of the wishing-tree of *bhakti*, that tree nourished by the gardener Caitanya. 313 In the tenth was the enumeration of the branches growing from the main trunk, and the fruit distributed among the branches. 314 In the eleventh was the description of the Nityānanda-branches, and in the twelfth the description of the branches on the trunk of Advaita. 315 In the thirteenth was described the birth of Mahāprabhu, and the birth of Prabhu with the Kṛṣṇa-name. 316 In the fourteenth, something has been said of the *bālyā-līlā*, and in the fifteenth the *paugāṇḍā-līlā* has been discussed in brief. 317 In the sixteenth chapter has been some mention of the *kaiśora-līlā*, and in the seventeenth chapter I have especially treated the *yauvana-līlā*. 318 These seventeen chapters complete the *ādī līlā*, and the first twelve of these are the introduction to the book. 319 In five chapters the actions of the five *rasas* [have been discussed]; I have spoken of them very briefly; I have not expanded upon them. 320 Vṛndāvana Dāsa in his *Caitanya Maṅgala* has expanded upon them, according to the command of Nityānanda.

321 The *līlā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya is wonderful and infinite; Brahma, Śiva, and Śeṣa never find an end to it. 322 He who has listened to that part which has been spoken is blessed, and quickly will Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya meet him. 323 Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, Advaita, Nityānanda, Śrīvāsa, Gadādhara, and the rest, so many hosts of *bhaktas*, 324 to all those who live in Vṛndāvana, I bow my head and hold their feet. 325 The feet of Śrī Svarūpa, Śrī Rūpa, Śrī Sanātana, Śrī Raghunātha Dāsa, and Śrī Jīva 326 I hold upon my head in obeisance; my hope is eternally in them. Kṛṣṇadāsa thus tells of the ‘nectar of the acts of Caitanya,’ the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

#### END OF ĀDĪ-LĪLĀ

319. [I.e., the *pañca-tattva* of Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaitācārya, Gadādhara Paṇḍita, and Śrīvāsa. TKS]



## Madhya Lila



*Madhya Līlā*  
Chapter 1

*Śloka 1.*

May that Bhagavān Śrī Caitanya, by whose grace even the ignorant can become all-knowing instantly, be gracious to me.

*Śloka 2.*

I make obeisance to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and to Nityānanda, the sun and the moon most wonderful, who destroy the darkness and bestow their blessings, flowering as they rise together over the horizon of Gauḍa.

*Śloka 3.*

Though I am slow-witted and crippled, let those who are my refuge, whose lotus-feet are possessions to me, let them, Rādhā and Madanamohana, in their love-play, be glorified.

*Śloka 4.*

I meditate upon Rādhā and Govindadeva, as they sit on a throne in the beautiful jeweled chamber, beneath the wishing-tree in the forest of the heavenly Vṛndāvana, served by most beloved female friends.

*Śloka 2.* See 1.1.śl.2; 1.1.śl.36.

*Śloka 3.* See 1.1.śl.15; 3.1.śl.3. This and the next two ślokas comprise the formal *maṅgalācāraṇa* for all three *līlās* of the text. Madanamohana, with the Govindadeva and Gopinātha of the next two ślokas, are the three primary images of Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana.

*Śloka 4.* See 1.1.śl.16; 3.1.śl.4.



Sloka 5.

May that blessed Gopīnātha, the sound of whose flute attracted the *gopīs* to him, as he sat at the foot of the banyan tree, beginning the *rāsa-rāsa*, be the source of blessings unto us.

\* \* \* \* \*

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to the ocean of mercy; glory, glory to the son of Sacī, glory to him, the friend of the wretched. 2 Glory, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra; glory to Śrīvāsa and the hosts of Gaurābhaktas.

3 Previously I gave the *sūtras* of the *ādī līlā*, which Vṛndāvana Dāsa has expounded in more detail. 4 Thus I have only given his *sūtras*, and among the *sūtras* I have spoken of a few things in more detail. 5 Now let me state the primary *sūtras* of the *śeṣa līlā*; the *līlā* of Prabhu is unending, and cannot be described. 6 Among them, of that part which Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described in his *Caitanya Maṅgala*, 7 I shall write *sūtras* only, and I shall elaborate on a few particular things. 8 The Vyāsa of the *Caitanya-līlā* is Vṛndāvana Dāsa; with his permission, I shall take his leftover food. 9 In great devotion I hold his feet upon my head, and describe the *sūtras* of the final *līlā*. 10 For twenty-four years Prabhu remained in his home, and at that time performed the *līlā* known as the *ādī līlā*. 11 And at the end of twenty-four years, in the month of Magha, in the bright fortnight, he took *saṅṅyāsa*. 12 He remained a *saṅṅyāsīn* for twenty-four years, and this *līlā* is called the *śeṣa līlā*. 13 The *śeṣa līlā* has two names, *madhya* and *antya*, for to the two divisions of the *līlā*, the Vaiṣṇavas give different names. 14 Within them, six years were spent in travelling, in Nīlācala,

Sloka 5. See 1.1.1.17; 3.1.1.5.

6. *Caitanya Maṅgala* = CBh.

8. [Ucchiṣṭa: leftover food. In this context, the food left over from the meal of another Vaiṣṇava, especially that of a great devotee, is of course *prasāda* or grace in substantial form, which possesses even greater efficacy than regular *prasāda*, i.e., it is first offered to Kṛṣṇa and is consumed as leftovers, then consumed a second time with the additional power of the devotee included. In this case, Kṛṣṇadāsa is partaking of those scraps leftover from the narrative of the CBh by the great devotee, Vṛndāvana Dāsa. TKS]

13. I.e., the whole of Caitanya's life after his *saṅṅyāsa* is called the *śeṣa* (final) *līlā*; it is divided into two parts, the first six years, characterized by pilgrimage, are the *madhya* (middle) *līlā*, and the last eighteen years of his life, when he remained exclusively at Puri, constitute the *antya* (final) *līlā*.

14. Puri, the seacoast city in Orissa where the great temple of Jagannātha is located, was at the time of this text variously called Nīlācala, Nīlādri, Kṣetra, and Śrīkṣetra. The name "Puri" probably comes from "Jagannātha-puri," "the place or citadel of Jagannātha," and is quite recent, perhaps as

Gauḍa, Setubandha, and Vṛndāvana. 15 And that *līlā* is called the *madhya līlā*, and the *līlā* following that has the name *antya līlā*. 16 So there are the *ādī*, the *madhya*, and the *antya līlās*; and now I shall describe the *madhya līlā*.

17 For eighteen years he remained only at Nīlācala, and according to his own practice he taught *bhakti* to the *jīvas*. 18 And within that, for six years he was with his *bhaktas*, and he caused them to propagate *prema-bhakti* in the joy of singing and dancing. 19 He sent Nityānanda Gosvāmī to the Gauḍa country, and he caused the Gauḍa country to float in *prema-rāsa*. 20 By nature Nityānanda was mad with Kṛṣṇa-prema; by the order of Prabhu he distributed *prema* to all. 21 A crore of my obeisances to his feet, who caused the world to take the *bhakti* of Caitanya, 22 whom Caitanya Gosvāmī called "elder brother"; but he called Caitanya Gosvāmī, "my Prabhu." 23 Even though he himself was Prabhu Balarāma, still he was proud to be a servant of Caitanya. 24 "Serve Caitanya, sing Caitanya, take the name of Caitanya; he who has *bhakti* toward Caitanya, he is my life." 25 In this way he caused the people to take the *bhakti* of Caitanya; the poor and humble, the calumners, he saved them all.

26 Then Prabhu sent Rūpa and Sanātana to Vraja; at the order of Prabhu, the two brothers went there. 27 They travelled and preached *bhakti* in all the pilgrimage places; they propagated the service of Madanagopāla. 28 Bringing many *śāstras*, they prepared the best of books on *bhakti*, and rescued the ignorant and low people. 29 At the order of Prabhu they expounded all the *śāstras*, and propagated the very profound *bhakti* of Vraja. 30 *Haribhaktivilāsa*, [Bṛhad] *bhāgavatāmṛta*, *Daśama-tīppanī*, and *Daśama-carita*— 31 Sanātana Gosvāmī wrote all these books; Rūpa

late as the nineteenth century. Gauḍa: Bengal, specifically western Bengal, as opposed to Vaṅga, the eastern region.

17. I.e., Caitanya did not preach, but taught his *bhaktas* through his own example.

18. And for the remaining twelve years he was almost totally withdrawn, completely absorbed in his *Radha-bhāva*.

19. Gauḍa: see commentary on v. 14 above.

24. It is not clear whether this is Nityānanda or Kṛṣṇadāsa speaking, but appears to be descriptive of how Nityānanda feels.

28-40. [For a similar list of books composed by the Gosvāmīs, see 3.4.208-22. TKS]

30. [Contrary to this attribution, a large contingent within the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community believes that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmī composed the *HBhV* either with the help of an outline or with the commentary by Sanātana known as *Digdarśanī*. Others believe Sanātana composed it, but attributed it to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in order to lend it greater authority because of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's orthodox *brahmaṇa* standing, as opposed to the somewhat compromised background of Sanātana who worked for the Muslims in Bengal until meeting Caitanya (see below text and commentary to vv. 57; 165; 174-202). See also 2.24.236-57; and 3.4.74, 90-92, 212. TKS]

31. Actually, according to Jīva Gosvāmī, Rūpa wrote seventeen books of theology, philosophy and dramaturgy, and Sanātana four.



Gosvāmin wrote so many that no one can count them. 32 Mentioning only the very foremost among them, a lakh of books describing the *Vraja-vilāsa*: 33 [*Bhakti*] *rasāmṛtasindhu* and the *Vidagdhamādhava*, the *Ujjvalanīlamanī* and the *Lalitāmādhava*, 34 the *Danakelikaumudī* and many *stavāvalis*, and the *Aṣṭādaśa-līlacchanda* and the *Padyāvalī*, 35 the *Govindavirudāvalī* and its *lakṣaṇa*, the *Mathura-mahātmya* and the *Nāṭakavarṇana*, 36 the *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta* and the rest—who can number them all; and in all of them he described the *Vraja-vilāsa*. 37 His nephew's name was Śrī Jīva Gosvāmin, and there is no end to the books on *bhakti* that he wrote: 38 the huge book, by the name *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā*, in which he demonstrated the further shore of the perfection of *bhakti*, 39 and that best of books, the *Gopālacampū*, in which is established the eternal *līla* full of the *rasa* of *Vraja*; 40 like this he wrote many books; together with his relatives he settled at *Vṛndāvana*.

41 In the first year, Advaita and the other *bhaktas* travelled to Nīlādri to see Prabhu. 42 Having seen the Car Festival, they remained for four months, and with Prabhu they danced and sang in highest joy. 43 At the time of farewell, Prabhu said to all of them, "Come each year, to see the Guṇḍicā." 44 According to the instructions of Prabhu, they came each year; they went to see the Guṇḍicā and to meet Prabhu. 45 They came and went in this way for twenty years; there was no happiness on either side as long as they did not see one

34. *Stavāvalī*: collection of prayers and praises; *Aṣṭādaśalīlacchanda*: a description of the eighteen *līlas* of Kṛṣṇa.

35. *Lakṣaṇa*: a kind of commentary; *Nāṭakavarṇana* is more usually titled *Nāṭakacandrika*.

38. [*Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* is the title of the collection of works by Jīva popularly known as *Ṣaṭ-sandarbhā*, composed of the following *sandarbhās*: *Tattva*, *Bhāgavat*, *Paramātmā*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Bhakti* and *Pṛīti*. TKS]

41. This could not have been the first year after the *saṅgīyāsa*, for in that year Caitanya was not in Puri; he had departed on his first pilgrimage, to the south.

42. *Ratha-yātrā*: the famous Car Festival, in which the image of Jagannātha is taken from his temple and brought to various other temples and sacred spots around the city; it takes place in the month of Āṣāḍha (June-July). The four months are the four months of the rains, during which mendicants are stationary; this has been true since Buddhist times.

43. *Guṇḍicā*: when Jagannātha is taken from his temple, together with his brother Baladeva and his sister Subhadrā, he spends a week in the temple called the *Guṇḍicā-temple*; the journey is called the *Guṇḍicā-yātrā*. It was this temple that Caitanya and his *bhaktas* cleansed and purified every year. The origin of the name of the temple is obscure; Rādhāgovinda Nātha in his *ṭīkā* says that there is a tradition that the queen of an ancient king of Orissa named Indradyumna, was called *Guṇḍicā*.

45. Presumably, out of the twenty-four years, there were four years when the Bengali *bhaktas* did not go; two of those years (1432 and 1433 BS) when Caitanya was on pilgrimage to the south. And on one other occasion (1436 BS) Caitanya was himself in Bengal. According to CC 2.16.245,

another. 46 And for the last twelve years, the heart of Prabhu was in the *viraha-līla* for Kṛṣṇa. 47 Always, both day and night, he was mad with *viraha*; he laughed, he wept, he danced, he sang in greatest grief. 48 At that time, when he went to see Jagannātha, he thought, "I have gained union [with him] at Kurukṣetra." 49 At the Car Festival, when he danced before [the Car], he sang only this single verse, 50 "I have gained that lord of my life, for whom I was burning in the fire of desire." 51 And to this verse he danced for two *praharas*, with this inner *bhāva*—"I go to Vraja with Kṛṣṇa." 52 As he danced in this *bhāva*, he recited a *śloka*, and no one could understand that meaning of it.

*Śloka* 6. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 382 [anonymous]:

He who stole my virginity on the banks of the Revanadi, is now my husband. The nights of [the month of] Caitra are fragrant with the scent of the blooming jasmine, and the wind like honey is blowing from the *kadamba* grove. And I, that same *nāyika*, absorbed in that joy, am here. Even so, my heart is not at ease; it longs constantly for the foot of the *Vetasī* tree on the banks of the *Reva*.

53 Svarūpa alone knew the meaning of this *śloka*. By chance Rūpa had gone there that year. 54 Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin, hearing this *śloka* from the mouth of Prabhu, then made an explanatory *śloka* of that *śloka*. 55 And having composed this *śloka*, he wrote it on a palm leaf, and folded it up and put it in the thatch of his own dwelling. 56 And having put the *śloka* there he went to bathe in the sea; and at that time Prabhu came to meet with him. 57 Haridāsa Ṭhākura, and Rūpa and Sanātana, these three did not go to the temple of Jagannātha. 58 Mahāprabhu, after seeing the *upala-bhoga* of Jagannātha, would go to his own house, having first met these three. 59 Of the three, whoever was there, Prabhu

on another occasion Caitanya told the *bhaktas* not to come. Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that some MSS read "twenty-four" and others "twelve"; but it seems clear from the above that neither of these is correct, unless it is read "over the span of twenty-four years."

46. *Viraha*: the searing pain of separation.

*Śloka* 6. Also found in *Kāvya-prakāśa* 1.4 and Viśvanātha's *Sahityadarpaṇa* 1.10. The author is anonymous. See 2.13.śl.6; 3.1.śl.7. *Kadamba*: *Nauclea Cadamba*, a medium height tree with orange flowers that are very fragrant.

57. As will be seen, these three considered themselves untouchable, or at least of a lower order, Haridāsa because he had been born a Muslim, and Rūpa and Sanātana because they had served the Muslim court.

58. *Upala-bhoga*: the early morning food-offering to Jagannātha.



would meet with him—this was his habit. 60 And Prabhu, having come there, by chance looked upward, and he found the *śloka* on the palm leaf rolled up in the thatch. 61 Having read the *śloka*, Prabhu remained completely enraptured; the thatch. 62 Getting up, Mahāthen Rūpa Gosvāmin came and bowed down to him. 63 Prabhu gave him a slap; then he took him in his arms and began to say, “No one knew the meaning of that *śloka* of mine; how do you know the secrets of my heart?” 64 So saying, he gave great grace to him; and he took and showed the *śloka* to Svarūpa Gosvāmin. 65 Prabhu, astonished, asked Svarūpa, “How does Rūpa know the secrets of my heart?” 66 Svarūpa said, “He knows your heart, and by that I know that he is the receptacle of your mercy.” 67 Prabhu said, “I am very pleased with him; I embraced him, and communicated all my power. 68 He is a worthy recipient, in the discrimination of the secret *rasa*; you explain to him this secret *rasa*.” 69 Later I shall detail all this; I [now] speak only briefly on the topic.

*Sloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī 383 [quoting Rūpa Gosvāmin]:*

O friend, that Kṛṣṇa whom I met in Kurukṣetra is now my love, and I am his Rādhā. We both enjoy this love-making. Yet my heart longs for the grove on the banks of the Kāliṇī, which cherished the fifth note of his sweet flute throbbing inside it.

70 O *bhaktas*, hear briefly the meaning of this *śloka*; such was the emotion of Prabhu when he saw Jagannātha. 71 Śrī Rādhikā at the sight of Kṛṣṇa in Kurukṣetra, even though she gained him, still felt thus, 72 “He is in the dress of a king, with elephants, horses, in crowds of men; where is his cowherd dress, where is the lonely Vṛndāvana? 73 When I gain that *bhava*, that Kṛṣṇa, that Vṛndāvana, only then will my wish be fulfilled.

62. The slap was presumably affectionate.

67. Power: *śakti*.

68. *Gūḍha*: secret, esoteric, or profound; Rādhāgovinda Nātha explains it in his *ṭīkā* as the inner or true meaning of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* and of the Caitanya-*līlā*. However, this is a good example of those passages scattered throughout this text which allow the Sahajiyās or the Vaiṣṇava Tantrics to claim that the secret meaning is the Sahajiyā meaning, which is really secret, and that by such instructions Kṛṣṇadāsa, Caitanya, Svarūpa, and even Rūpa Gosvāmin are shown all to be Sahajiyās. Indeed, Svarūpa may well have been a Tantric (*PHM*, 48), and the teachings of the Gosvāmins are all influenced by Tantric thought and ritual (e.g., *VFM*, 239). Discrimination: *vivecana*.

*Sloka 7. See 3.1.18; 3.1.13.*

*Sloka 8. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.82.48:*

O lotus-navel one, your lotus feet are the sole support for people fallen into the pit of the world, and always the object of meditation in the hearts of deeply concentrating *yogēśvaras*; may you be always in the hearts of your serving-maids.

74 When your feet appear in my house at Vrajapūra, then my desires are fulfilled. 75 Having made clear the secret meaning of the *śloka* of the *Bhāgavata*, Rūpa Gosvāmin composed a *śloka* and caused people to understand.

*Sloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 10.36:*

O Kṛṣṇa, we *gopīs*, with hearts absorbed by passion and encompassed by the sweetness of the places around Mathurā, pervaded with forests charged with the scent of *līlā-rasa*, may [you] sport in the earth of Vṛndāvana, served by us; O Kṛṣṇa, with your flute to your mouth, meet with us and perform the *līlā-vihāra*.

76 In such a way was Mahāprabhu, on seeing Jagannātha; and he saw him with Subhadrā, with no flute in his hand. 77 “Where shall I gain that Vrajendranandana in Vraja, beautiful in the *tribhaṅga* pose? This desire grows incessantly.” 78 And like Rādhikā's madness at the sight of Uddhava, so was Prabhu day and night, with whirling, raving speech. 79 The twelve years at the end passed like this; and thus the *śeṣa līlā* is divided into three parts.

80 Such were the things which he did for twenty-four years, after taking *saṁnyāsa*; they are infinite and boundless—who knows the inner meaning of them? 81 In making reference, I skirt around them, and give *sūtras* for the most prominent parts of the *līlā* [only]. 82 The first *sātra* is Prabhu's taking of *saṁnyāsa*.

*Sloka 8. See 2.13.17. Yogēśvara: accomplished yogin, lit., “Lord among Yogins.”*

75. *Gūḍha*: secret; see commentary to v. 68 above. Rūpa composed this *śloka* to explain the *śloka* from *BhP* 10.82.48.

76. Sometimes Caitanya saw Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana, with his flute and all the other trappings of the Vraja-*līlā*; and sometimes he saw him as the powerful king of the Dvārakā-*līlā*. And when he saw Jagannātha as other than the Kṛṣṇa of Vraja, *viraha* rose up in his heart, for only the Kṛṣṇa of Vraja was fully satisfying to him. [The image of Jagannātha in Puri has no hands, perhaps prompting this response. TKS]

77. *Tribhaṅga*: the “triple bent” or “thrice broken” pose, i.e., the body bent at the neck, waist, and knee, typical of Kṛṣṇa when he plays his flute, enchanting the *gopīs*.

82. The couplets from here to the end of the chapter will be largely fragmented; an episode which will be expanded sometimes to a full chapter may here be given only half a couplet.



Having taken *saṁnyāsa*, Prabhu went to Śrī Vṛndāvana. 83 Overcome with *prema*, he lost his consciousness, and wandered for three days in the Rāḍha country. 84 Nityānanda, deceiving Mahāprabhu, took him to the banks of the Gaṅgā, calling it the Yamunā. 85 They came to the house of Ācārya at Śāntipura; and there he first ate, and in the night had *saṁkīrtana*. 86 There he met his mother and the *bhaktas*, and having made all preparations he set out for Nīlādri. 87 On the way there was much *līla-rasa*, and *darśana*s of the gods, and the story of Mādhava Pūrī and the establishment of Gopāla. 88 The story of the stealing of the *kṣīra*, and the description of Sakṣigopāla. And Nityānanda broke the staff of Prabhu. 89 Being angry, he went alone to see Jagannātha, and seeing him he fell senseless to the earth. 90 With Śārvabhauma he went to [the former's] house, and in the third watch Prabhu regained consciousness. 91 Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara, and Mukunda, having followed behind, met him and were very glad. 92 Then Prabhu gave his grace to Śārvabhauma, and showed him his own form as Īśvara.

93 Then Prabhu made a trip to the south, and at Kūrmakṣetra he released Vāsudeva. 94 He praised Nṛsiṁha at Jyādanṛsiṁha, and on all the roads in all the villages he propagated the name. 95 The forests on the banks of Godavari, he mistook for Vṛndāvana; and there he met with Rāmananda Rāya. 96 He saw the places Trimalla and Tripadi, and everywhere he spread the Kṛṣṇa-name. 97 Then he crushed the disbelievers, and had *darśana* of Ahovalanṛsiṁha and the rest. 98 He came to Śrīraṅgakṣetra on the banks of the Kāveri, and when he saw Śrīraṅga he was agitated with *prema*. 99 At Trimalla, Prabhu lived in the house of Bhaṭṭa, and there he remained for the four months of the rains. 100 Trimalla Bhaṭṭa was a Śrī Vaiṣṇava, and a *paṇḍita* of the highest attainment; he was astonished at the *prema* and the learning of Gosvāmī. 101 Four months there, with the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, Prabhu passed in dancing, singing, and Kṛṣṇa-*saṁkīrtana*. 102 At the end of four months, again he went south, and met there

83. Rāḍha-deśa: that area west of the Gaṅgā.

93. Kūrmakṣetra is in northern Madras, in Ganjama district, on the banks of the sea, eight miles east of Cikakona; the tortoise *avatāra* of Viṣṇu is manifested here.

94. Rādhagovinda Nātha says: From Kūrmakṣetra he passed through Vijayanagara, and came to Simācala. Simācala is mountainous country, and on top of one of the hills is a temple of Nṛsiṁha, of which the image is called Jyādanṛsiṁha.

96. Rādhagovinda Nātha says: Tripadi is a particular place within modern Arkat district, where there is an image of Rāmacandra. Trimalla is six miles east of it.

98. In Śrīraṅga there is an image of Viṣṇu called Śrīraṅganātha; it is a place famous among the Rāmānuja Vaiṣṇavas.

100. Śrī Vaiṣṇavas are members of the Śrī- or the Rāmānuja-saṁpradāya.

with Paramānanda Pūrī. 103 There he saved Kṛṣṇadāsa from the Bhaṭṭamāris, and put the name of Kṛṣṇa into the mouth of a *brāhmaṇa* who uttered the name of Rama [habitually]. 104 He met there with Śrīraṅga Pūrī, and he freed the *brāhmaṇa* Rāmadāsa from sorrow. 105 With the followers of logic then he discussed logic and they all [saw themselves as] deficient in wisdom. 106 He saw Ananta, Puruṣottama, Śrī Janārdana, Padmanābha, and Vāsudeva. 107 Then Prabhu released the seven palm trees. He bathed at Setubandha, and had *darśana* of Rāmeśvara. 108 There he listened to the *Karma Purāṇa*, in which it is written that Rāvaṇa took a *māya*-Sītā. 109 And when he heard this, Prabhu was overjoyed in his mind, and he remembered the story of the *brāhmaṇa* Rāmadāsa. 110 He gathered and took those old [palm] leaves, and showing them to Rāmadāsa he took away his sorrow. 111 He got the *Brahma Saṁhita* and the *Karṇāmṛta*, these two manuscripts, and took them with him, knowing them as most excellent.

112 And again he came to Nīlācala, and joining with the *bhaktas* watched the Bathing Festival. 113 In the *anavasara* period he could not see Jagannātha; so in great *viraha* he went to Ālalanātha. 114 He passed several days there with his *bhaktas*; then he got the news that the *bhaktas* from Gauḍa were coming. 115 Nityānanda and Śārvabhauma with great eagerness took Mahāprabhu to Nīlācala. 116 Sunk in *viraha*, Prabhu knew neither night nor day, and then the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came. 117 And all together they joined in *kīrtana*, and by the influence of the *kīrtana*, Prabhu's mind again became still. 118 Formerly, when Prabhu met Rāmananda, he had instructed him to come to Nīlācala. 119 He got the permission of the king, and came there for some days; day and night

103. According to this text, Kṛṣṇadāsa was his companion on his southern trip; Rādhagovinda Nātha says that Bhaṭṭamāri is a name given to a particular type of left-handed Tantric.

107. See 2.9 below.

110. These were leaves of a *Rāmāyaṇa* MS which showed to Rāmadāsa that Rāvaṇa had abducted not the real Sītā, but an illusory facsimile.

111. There are some interesting questions, raised by Amṛtyacandra Sena and others, as to the truth and significance of Caitanya's having gotten these and other MSS in the south and bringing them again north. If they were acquired in the south, would they have been written in Devanāgarī? If they had been, would Caitanya have been able to read them, since he would have been trained in Sanskrit in the Bengali script? One old recension of the *Kṛṣṇakārmāmṛta*, at least, is Bengali; the older and fuller one is South Indian; see Frances Wilson, ed. and trans., *The Love of Kṛṣṇa*, introduction.

112. *Snāna-yātra*: when Jagannātha is taken to bathe.

113. *Anavasara*: for fifteen days after the bath, *darśana* of Jagannātha is forbidden. Ālalanātha is a place about twelve miles from Pūrī.

119. Rāmananda was a high minister in the court of Rājā Pratāparudra, and the *rāja*'s permission for him to be absent from his post was obviously necessary.



were passed with Rāmānanda in talk of Kṛṣṇa. 120 He gave his mercy to Kaśī Miśra, and met with Pradyumna Miśra and the others; and Paramānanda Purī, Govinda, and Kaśīśvara also went. 121 He was greatly joyed at meeting with Svarūpa Dāmodara, and Sikhi Mahitr, and Rāya Bhavānanda.

122 From Gauḍa all the Vaiṣṇavas came, and he met for the first time the people of Kulīnagrāma. 123 Narahari Dāsa and many other dwellers at Khaṇḍa, all came with Śivānanda Sena and met him. 124 The *bhaktas* watched the Bathing Festival with Prabhu, and with them all Prabhu cleansed the Guṇḍica. 125 With them he watched the Car Festival, and danced before the chariot, and went to the garden. 126 In that place he gave his mercy to Pratāparudra; and on the day of their departure he gave instructions to the Gauḍiṣa *bhaktas*, 127 that each year they should come to see the Car Festival; under this pretext he wanted to meet the *bhaktas*. 128 Prabhu regularly asked alms at the house of Sārvabhauma; and the mother of Śaṭṭī said, 'By this, let Śaṭṭī be a widow.' 129 At the end of the rains, Advaita and the other *bhaktas* came, and Śivānanda Sena provided for them all. 130 With Śivānanda came a fortunate dog; when it saw the feet of Prabhu it vanished. 131 They all met with Sārvabhauma on the way, and Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya went to Kaśī. 132 All the Vaiṣṇavas came and met with Prabhu, and with them all Prabhu made sport in the water. 133 With them all he cleaned the Guṇḍica, and he danced at seeing the Car Festival. 134 In the garden, Prabhu made various *vilāsas*; the *brāhmaṇa* Kṛṣṇadāsa performed the *abhiṣeka* of Prabhu. 135 At the end of the dance in the Guṇḍica, he played in the water; and on the Horā-pañcamī he saw the play of the goddess Lakṣmī. 136 On the Kṛṣṇa-janma Festival Prabhu took on the dress of a *gopa*; he carried a load of curds and twirled a staff. 137 Then he said farewell to the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa, and with the *bhaktas* he incessantly made *kīrtana*.

138 On his way to Vṛndāvana he went to Gauḍa; on the way Pratāparudra performed many services for him. 139 There was the incident of the giving of the cloth to Purī Gosvāmī; and Rāmānanda Rāya came as far as Bhadraka.

128. This curious story is told in 2.15.184-290, and is another of the passages open to Sahajiyā interpretation.

134. *Abhiṣeka*: sprinkling with water of an object to be worshiped.

135. The fifth day immediately following the Car Festival is the Horā-pañcamī. *Horā* means "going forth"; and on the *pañcamī* the servants of Lakṣmī come out and in demonstration of the power of their goddess, they beat the followers of Jagannātha; there is a description of this in 2.14.104-225.

136. *Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī* is the eighth day of the dark (waning) fortnight of the month of Bhādra (August-September); the birthday of Kṛṣṇa.

140 Coming there, he stayed in the house of Vidyāvācaspati. The people came in crowds to see him. 141 For five days the people saw him, and there was no rest; so Prabhu came to Kuliyāgrāma at night, out of concern for the crowds. 142 Hearing that Prabhu had come to Kuliyāgrāma, lakhs and lakhs of people came to have *darśana* of him. 143 At Kuliyāgrāma he gave his grace to Devānanda, and he caused to be wiped away the offense of the *brāhmaṇa* Gopāla toward Śrīvāsa. 144 The disbelievers and calumners came and fell at his feet; he forgave their offenses and gave them Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 145 Nṛsiṃhananda, hearing that Prabhu would go to Vṛndāvana, had the road decorated, and got great joy in his heart. 146 The road from Kuliyānagara was studded with jewels, and over [the road] he laid down a carpet of flower-petals. 147 On both sides of the road were rows of *vakula* trees in flower, and from place to place on the two sides of the road were wonderful tanks. 148 Ghats were set with jewels; near them were lotuses in bloom, and the bustle of many birds of all kinds, on the water which was like nectar. 149 The cool breeze blew, bringing many fragrances; he had arranged it like this up to Kanāira Nāṭaśāla. 150 Ahead of that his mind did not go; he was unable to decorate it. The road was not decorated, and Nṛsiṃha was astonished. 151 And he decided and said, "Hear, O *bhaktas*; Prabhu will not go to Śrī Vṛndāvana now; 152 he will return from Kanāira Nāṭaśāla. You will know afterwards that I have spoken truly."

153 Gosvāmī started for Vṛndāvana from Kuliyā, and with him a thousand people, *bhaktas*. 154 Wherever Prabhu went, there also went a crore of people; they came to see him, and when they saw him their sorrow and grief were destroyed. 155 Wherever the feet of Prabhu fell as he was walking, the people took the earth, so that there were big holes in the road. 156 So he went, and Prabhu came to Rāmakeli-grāma, a village near Gauḍa, of unsurpassed beauty. 157 There Prabhu danced, and became unconscious with *prema*; and crores and crores of people came to see his feet.

158 The king of Gauḍa, a Yavana ruler, hearing of this influence, was astonished, and began to say, 159 "He whom so many people follow without reward is a Gosvāmī, know that for certain. 160 Qazi, do not allow the Yavanas to do him harm; let him speak according to his own wishes, whatever is in his heart."

147. *Vakula*: *Mimusops Elengi* of the order *Sapotaceae*, growing up to fifty feet in height.

150. He could not conceive of preparing the way beyond Kanāira Nāṭaśāla; it was not fated that Caitanya would go beyond that place on this journey.

158. The ruler of Bengal at the time was Husain Shah (r. 1494-1518). *Yavana*: lit., "Ionian," i.e., Greek, extended to foreigner, most of whom in this period were Muslim. In this text, it is often used interchangeably with *mleccha*; see the commentary to v. 186 below.



161 The *rāja* inquired of Keśava Chatrī; and Chatrī scoffed at the greatness of Prabhu. 162 "A beggar *saṁnyāsin*, who wanders about to places of pilgrimage; a couple of people have come to see him. 163 The Yavanas around you complain about him, but there is no point in injuring him; there might be more harm than good." 164 Having persuaded the king, Keśava sent a *brāhmaṇa* to say to Prabhu that he should move on. 165 The *rāja* asked his Dabir Khas in secret to speak to him concerning the greatness of the Gosvāmī. 166 "It is he who has given you your kingdom; it is he who is your Gosvāmī. It is your good fortune that he has been born in your country. 167 He desires your welfare and does excellent works; by his blessings you will be everywhere victorious. 168 Why do you ask me? Ask your own heart. You are the lord of men, you are like a part of Viṣṇu. 169 How is this knowledge about Caitanya in your heart? That which is in your heart, that is the proof." 170 The *rāja* said, "Listen; it is in my mind that he is the visible *Īśvara*, there is no doubt of it." 171 So saying, the *rāja* went into the inner part of his house, and the Dabir Khas returned to his own place. 172 When he came home, the two brothers consulted [together], and disguising themselves they went to see Prabhu.

173 In the dead of night the two brothers came to the place of Prabhu, and first met Nityānanda and Haridāsa. 174 They brought the two to the attention of Prabhu, "Rūpa and the Sakar Mallik have come to see you." 175 The two held bunches of grass between their teeth, and tying their cloaks around their necks they prostrated themselves. 176 They wept in humility, absorbed in joy; and Prabhu said, "Rise up, rise up, you are blessed." 177 The two brothers then rose up, still holding the grass in their teeth, and humbly they praised him, hands pressed together, 178 "Glory, glory to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, full of mercy, glory to the savior of the fallen, glory to the noble one. 179 We are of low *jāti*, we keep low companions, we do low work; we are ashamed, Prabhu, to speak before you.

165. "Dabir Khas" was the title given Rūpa Gosvāmī by Husain Shah, whom he served. The title means something like "personal secretary." Sanātana was Husain Shah's "Sakar Mallik," a high ministerial post.

168. As Viṣṇu is the protector and preserver of the three worlds, so the king protects his kingdom; the word "part" is *aṁśa*, though it seems unlikely that there are the usual theological overtones.

170. *Sakṣat*: visible, before one's eyes.

172. I.e., Rūpa and Sanātana.

174. See commentary on v. 165.

175. Holding grass in the teeth was a Vaiṣṇava gesture of humility.

179. To what extent this is true is a matter for conjecture; if *jāti* here implies birth, as it would etymologically, the statement is false, for there is every indication that the brothers were born

Śloka 10. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.154:

There is no sinner, no offense-giver, like me. O Puruṣottama, I am ashamed even to shun [my mistakes]. What can I say?

180 Your *avatāra* is to save the fallen; there are none more lowly than we, in the world. 181 You rescued the two, Jagāi and Mādhāi; to save them was no labor for you. 182 They were of *brāhmaṇa jāti*, and lived in Navadvīpa; they did not serve low people, they were not on their knees to low people. 183 Their singular fault was that they did wicked things, and a suggestion of your name burns the effects of evil deeds to ashes. 184 They took your name while vilifying you, and that name was the cause of their release. 185 We are crores of times worse than Jagāi and Mādhāi; we two are sinners fallen very low. 186 We are of *mleccha-jāti*, we serve the *mlecchas*, we do *mleccha* work; we associate with those who injure cows and *brāhmaṇas*. 187 Our works have bound our hands and throats, and we have been thrown into a pit of dung and rotting garbage. 188 There is none in the three worlds strong enough to pull us out; but you are savior of the fallen; there is none except for you. 189 If you show your own strength and pull us out, then your name 'savior of the fallen' will be fulfilled. 190 We speak the truth; hear, O full of mercy; there is none in the world more fit vessels for your mercy than we. 191 Grant us mercy; make fruitful your own mercifulness. Let the whole Brahma-world see the power of your mercy.

Śloka 11. Yāmuna-cārya's *Stotraratna* 52:

Hear attentively my prayer to you. It is true, not false: if you will not grant your mercy to me, then, O Lord, a more worthy vessel for it will be hard for you to find.

192 Seeing ourselves unworthy, we grieve greatly in our minds; yet we desire to be victorious by your qualities. 193 As the dwarf seeks to grasp the moon, so this wish rises up in our hearts."

*brāhmaṇas* (PHM, 72-74); their low companions are of course the Muslims with whom they associated in their work at the court, which work, because the court was Muslim, was also low.

181-84. See the commentary to 1.8.17.

186. *Mleccha*: foreign, barbarian. The root "*mlech-*" means to babble or speak indistinctly, i.e., being ignorant of Sanskrit, and by extension traditional Hindu culture.

187. [Or, "Our *karma* grips us like a hand to the throat, which has hurled us into a pit of dung and rotting garbage." TKs]



Sloka 12. Yāmūnācārya's *Stotraratna* 48:

When will I, my other desires being stilled, be fulfilled in joy by eternal service to you, and become your constant servant?

194 Hearing this, Mahāprabhu said, "Hear, Dābir Khās; you two brothers are my servants of old. 195 From today, your names will be Rūpa and Sanātana. But abandon your self-reproach; my heart hurts from it. 196 Again and again you wrote me letters full of humility; and from those letters I know your attitudes. 197 I know your hearts, from the letters, and to instruct you I sent you a *śloka*:

Sloka 13.

A woman who is in love with another man, even while she is busy with her household duties, keeps tasting the elixir of the new union within.

198 I had no need to come to Gauḍa; I have come to see you two. 199 No one knows this secret of my heart, and everyone says, "Why do you come to Rāmakeli-grāma?" 200 It is good that you two brothers have come to me; now return home, and have no fear in your minds. 201 From birth to birth, you two are my servants; in a very short time Kṛṣṇa will save you." 202 So saying he put his hands on the heads of the two, and the two brothers took the feet of Prabhu upon their heads.

203 Having embraced them both, Prabhu said to his *bhaktas*, "All of you be merciful to them; save these two." 204 The *bhaktas* saw the mercy of Prabhu toward the two, and they all cried, "Hari, Hari!" being joyful in their hearts. 205 Nityānanda, Haridāsa, Śrīvāsa, and Gadādhara, Mukunda, Jagadānanda, Murāri, Vakreśvara— 206 the two brothers held the feet of all, bowing down; and they all said, "You are fortunate, for you have gained Gosvāmī." 207 From all they asked permission, at the time of leaving, and at the feet of Prabhu, they said, in supplication, 208 "Leave this place, Prabhu, there is no use in staying here; even though the *rāja* of Gauḍa is devoted to you, 209 still he is a Yavana, and we do not have confidence in him. Nor is it good or proper for so great a crowd to go on pilgrimage. 210 He, with whom go these lakhs and crores of

Sloka 12. See 2.8.1.13.

Sloka 13. The *śloka* seems to be from *Yogavasiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* 9.48, though the Rādhāgovinda Nātha edition identifies it only as "*śikṣa* (instructional) *śloka*."

people, is not a proper pilgrim to Vṛndāvana. 211 And truly, although Prabhu can have no fear, still this is a worldly-*līlā*, made up of human factors." 212 So saying, and bowing at his feet, the two brothers went away. And Prabhu decided to go from that village. 213 In the morning Prabhu left, and came to Kāñairā Nāṭaśāla; and he saw there all the *līlā* of the acts of Kṛṣṇa. 214 And that night Prabhu thought in his heart of hearts, 'It is not good to have so many companions, as Sanātana said. 215 If I go to Mathurā with so many people, I shall get no happiness at all, and the *rāsa* will be broken. 216 I shall go alone, or with one man, and then the trip to Vṛndāvana will be radiant.' 217 So he thought also when he was performing his morning ablutions in the Gaṅgā, 'I shall go to Nīlācala.' And so saying, he left.

218 Going in this way, he came to Śāntipura, and for a few days he remained at the house of Ācārya. 219 When Śāctidevī was brought, he made obeisance to her, and for seven days he took food from her. 220 Then taking her permission, he again set off, and in sorrow bade farewell to the *bhaktas*. 221 "I shall go to Nīlācala with two people; you [all] will come to meet me at the time of the Car Festival." 222 Balabhadra Bhāṭṭācārya and Paṇḍita Dāmodara: with these two people Prabhu went to Nīlācala. 223 Remaining there for some days, he went to Vṛndāvana; he left secretly, in the night, and no one knew of it. 224 Only Balabhadra Bhāṭṭācārya remained with him; by the Jhārikhaṇḍa road he came in great joy to Kāśī. 225 They remained in Kāśī for four days, and then left for Vṛndāvana. They saw Mathurā and the twelve forest-groves. 226 Seeing the place of *līlā*, he was agitated in *prema*; Balabhadra took him away from Mathurā. 227 They went along the banks of the Gaṅgā, and came to Prayāga; Śrī Rūpa came there and met Prabhu. 228 Rūpa fell to the earth, fully prostrate in obeisance and with extreme joy Prabhu embraced him. 229 Imparting teachings to Śrī Rūpa, he sent him to Vṛndāvana, while he returned to Varāṇasī. 230 Sanātana journeyed to Kāśī and met with Prabhu; and for two months Prabhu instructed him. 231 He gave him the strength of *bhakti* and sent him to Mathurā. He showed mercy to the *saṁnyāsins* and returned to Nīlācala. 232 There for six years Prabhu carried on his activities; sometimes he went here and there, sometimes he lived at Kṣetra. 233 In joy with his *bhaktas* he always had *kīrtana-vilāsa*; and at the sight of Jagannātha, a *vilāsa* of *prema*.

211. Prabhu is Īśvara, self-dependent, and need have no fear of the attitudes of people, nor of the Muslims. But the Caitanya-*līlā* was a worldly (*laukika*) *līlā*, and thus the restrictions of the world must be observed, and the laws of society and common sense obeyed.

224. Kāśī: Varāṇasī or Benares.



234 I have made a description of the *sūtras* of the *madhya līlā*; now hear, O *bhaktas*, the *sūtras* of the *antya līlā*. 235 When he came to Nīlācala from Vṛndāvana, he lived there for eighteen years, and went nowhere else. 236 Each year the *bhaktas* of Gauḍa came there, and they remained for four months with Prabhu. 237 In the constant activities of singing and dancing and *kīrtana*, he manifested *prema-bhakti* to all untouchables down to *caṇḍālas*. 238 Paṇḍita Gosvāmī made his home at Nīlācala, [as did] Vakreśvara, Dāmodara, Śaṅkara, Haridāsa, 239 Jagadānanda, Bhagavān, Govinda, Kāśīśvara, Paramānanda Puri, and Svarūpa Dāmodara. 240 Also living in Kṣetra were Rāmānanda Raya and others, and all of these were in constant touch with Prabhu. 241 Advaita, Nityānanda, Mukunda, and Śrīvāsa, Vidyānidhī, Vasudeva, and Murāri—how many servants. 242 Each year they came together and stayed for four months, and with them all Prabhu had various interactions. 243 Haridāsa's gaining of perfection—that was most wonderful, and for him Mahāprabhu himself held a great festival. 244 Then Rūpa Gosvāmī returned, and Prabhu infused power into his heart. 245 Then Prabhu punished the younger Haridāsa; and Dāmodara Paṇḍita rebuked Prabhu. 246 Then Sanātana Gosvāmī returned, and in Jyāiṣṭha month Prabhu examined him. 247 Being satisfied, Prabhu sent him to Vṛndāvana. And by the hand of Advaita, Prabhu had a wonderful feast. 248 He secretly consulted with Nityānanda, and he sent him to Gauḍa to spread *prema*. 249 Then Vallabha Bhaṭṭa met with Prabhu, and Prabhu told him the meaning of the Kṛṣṇa-name. 250 Prabhu, at the place of Rāmānanda, caused Pradyumna Miśra to hear the stories of Kṛṣṇa, reciting his qualities. 251 The *rāja* was about to execute Gopīnātha Paṭṭanāyaka, the brother of Rāmānanda, and Prabhu saved him. 252 In response to Rāmacandra Puri he decreased his food; but seeing the sorrow of the Vaiṣṇavas, he retained half of it.

253 Within the Brahmā-world there are fourteen worlds, and there are many *jīvas* living within these fourteen worlds. 254 In the guise of men, under the pretext of pilgrimage, they came to Nīlācala to see Prabhu. 255 One day Śrīvāsa and many other *bhaktas* sang in *kīrtana* the qualities of Mahāprabhu. 256 Hear-

239. [It is not clear to which Bhagavān this refers, but it is probably Bhagavān Ācārya, who appears frequently in the *antya līlā*. TKS]

243. [I.e., Haridāsa's death and subsequent *kīrtana*, burial, and feast led by Caitanya. TKS]

244. *Saktisañcāraṇa*: infusion of power.

245. *Chota*: younger.

246. *Jyāiṣṭha*: second month of the Bengali calendar (May-June).

256. I.e., "you ought not to be singing of me, but of Kṛṣṇa"; it is true that many of the best of the *Gaura-candrikas*, hymns to Caitanya, to be sung before the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs in *kīrtana*, were

ing this, he said to the *bhaktas* in angry words, "Without the qualities of the Kṛṣṇa-name, how can you do *kīrtana*? 257 In the minds of all of you is to make mischief; you act according to your own whim, and you will destroy the whole world." 258 At the same time, in all ten directions, crores and crores of people called, "Glory to Kṛṣṇa Caitanya!" making a great commotion. 259 "Glory, glory to Mahāprabhu, the Vrajendrakumāra; Prabhu, your *avatāra* is to save the world. 260 We are greatly grieved; we have come from great distances; give us a sight of you, Prabhu, that our wishes be fulfilled." 261 Hearing the supplication of the people, his heart was melted, and full of mercy, he came outside and gave them *darśana*. 262 Raising up his arms, Prabhu said, "Say Hari, Hari!" and the sound of "Śrī Hari" rose up and filled the four directions. 263 Seeing Prabhu, the hearts of the people were overjoyed; and they praised Prabhu, calling him Iśvara. 264 Hearing the praises, Śrīnivāsa said to Prabhu, "You hide in the house, why do you not come outside? 265 Who has taught these people to say such words; will you cover their mouths with your hands? 266 It is as if the sun, once risen, seeks to hide itself, we cannot understand these actions of yours." 267 Prabhu said, "Leave this mockery, Śrīnivāsa; you humiliate me." 268 So saying he gave to the people a most auspicious sight, and went within; and the desire of the people was fulfilled.

269 Raghunātha Dāsa went to be with Nityānanda, and he had there a great festival with parched rice and curd. 270 According to his instructions, he committed himself to the feet of Prabhu; and Prabhu entrusted him to Svarūpa. 271 He caused Brahmānanda Bhārati to get rid of his animal skin clothes; and like this he made *līlā* for six years. 272 Thus have been stated the *sūtras* of the *madhya līlā*, and the *sūtras* of the *antya līlā* have been described.

273 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

composed by people who were contemporary with Caitanya. See E. C. Dimock, "The Place of Gauracandrika in Bengali Vaiṣṇava Lyrics," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 78, no. 3 (1958): 153-69.

264. Vv. 264-68 repeat the incident related in vv. 258-63, with Śrīnivāsa's (i.e., Śrīvāsa's) intercession being the reason for Caitanya's agreement to appear before the people. V. 266 seems to mean: "Why do you come outside at all, if you do not want people to want the sight of you. For once you have been seen, people want to see you again."



Madhya Līlā  
Chapter 2

Sloka 1.

In this section I have described the laments, etc., of Prabhu in separation from Kṛṣṇa, as *sūtras* of the *antya līlā*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 The last twelve years that Prabhu remained were constantly agitated by separation from Kṛṣṇa. 3 Like the condition of Rādhā at the sight of Uddhava, in just such condition was Prabhu, day and night. 4 Eternally Prabhu was mad with *viraha*; he wandered about constantly, and his speech was raving. 5 Blood oozed from the pores of his skin, and his teeth chattered. In a moment his body became thin, and the next moment it swelled. 6 In the *gambhīra* he got no sleep at all; he scraped his face and head against the wall, and was all bruised and cut. 7 Three doors were shut, but Prabhu still got outside; once he fell in the lion-gate, and once in the water of the sea. 8 Seeing the Caṭaka hill, he mistook it for Govardhana, and ran weeping, with groans and cries. 9 And seeing the groves and gardens, he thought it was Vṛndāvana; he went there and danced and sang, and in a moment fell unconscious. 10 The manifestations of this *bhāva* were like nothing anyone had ever heard of before; just such a *bhāva*

Sloka 1. In this chapter, Kṛṣṇadāsa outlines the matter of the *antya līlā*; as has been noted, the *śeṣa līlā* is divided into two parts, *madhya* and *antya*. The *sūtras* of the *madhya* part were given in the previous chapter, and those of *antya* here.

5. *Romakūpe raktodgama danta sava hale / kṣaṇe aṅga kṣīṇa haya kṣaṇe aṅga phule //*

6. *Gambhīra* is a private room in the inner part of the house; in Puri, Caitanya lived in a *gambhīra* in the house of Kāśī Mīśra. The references here and in vv. 7, 8, and 9 are to incidents in 3.19.

7. The "lion gate" is the main gate of the temple of Jagannātha.

was manifested in the body of Prabhu. 11 The joints of his hands and feet, all separated a span in measurement, and skin that remained [was all that held them together]. 12 His hands, his feet, his head, all retracted into his body, and Prabhu seemed like a tortoise. 13 In such ways was this wonderful *bhāva* manifested in his body; there was emptiness in his heart, and in his speech he groaned aloud, 14 "Where is the lord of my heart, Muralīvadana? Where and how can I gain Vrajendranandana? 15 Whom shall I tell? Who knows my sorrow? Without Vrajendranandana my heart bursts." 16 In this way his heart was overwhelmed with grief; and he constantly recited a *śloka* of [Rāmananda] Rāya's drama:

Sloka 2. Rāmananda Rāya's *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka* 3.9:

This Hari does not understand the pangs of a loss of love, nor love itself, nor does he know the right place or wrong place [in time], nor women that suffer love. No one knows another's full sorrow. This life is not to be trusted; two, three days lasts our youth. Woe, woe, the wrong course of fate!

17 "The sprout of *prema* has taken root;  
it is broken, a stream of grief comes forth.  
and Kṛṣṇa does not drink it.  
Outwardly, he is lord of *nāgaras*,  
within, he is a rogue  
cautiously murdering the wives of others.

18 O *sakhī*, I do not know the laws of the creator.  
I loved, for happiness,  
and it has changed into sorrow.  
Now he goes; my heart does not remain. [refrain]

19 *Prema* is rascally and stupid,  
and does not know appropriate places,

11. This curious incident, and the one in v. 12, are detailed in 3.14.60-67. "Span" is *vitasti*, which is either the distance between the extended thumb and tip of the little finger, or between the wrist and the tip of the middle finger. Whether "his joints separated" simply means that he became totally limp, or whether some more startling physiological condition is implied is unknown. In any case, it is clear that the depth of his emotion had its physical effects.

14. Muralīvadana: he with the flute to his lips, Kṛṣṇa.

17. *Sakhī*: female companion, in the Vaiṣṇava context nearly always of Rādhā.



- and cannot judge good and evil.  
By the thread of cruel and crafty qualities  
he has tied my hands and feet,  
and I remain; I cannot free myself.
- 20 That bodiless Madana,  
so skilled in hurting others,  
constantly aims his five arrows;  
and the body of a woman  
they penetrate and cause to crumble;  
they give pain, but do not take her life.
- 21 That sorrow which is in the heart of others  
is not known by anyone else;  
this the *śāstras* truly say.  
How can I speak of others?  
My dearest friend does not understand,  
and tells me to be patient and at ease.
- 22 'Kṛṣṇa is a sea of mercy;  
someday he will show it'—  
O friend, these are vain words of yours.  
The life of a *jīva* is unsure,  
like water on a lotus-leaf;  
what man can live for long?
- 23 Up to a hundred years  
is the limit of the life of man;  
but you do not consider,  
the wealth of a woman's youth—  
which is [always] in Kṛṣṇa's mind—  
lasts but a day or two;
- 24 as fire is its own light  
and shows its beauty,  
drawing the insect to its death,  
so Kṛṣṇa, showing his own qualities,

20. Madana: Kāmadeva, the god of love; Kṛṣṇa is also sometimes called the new Kāmadeva or the new Madana. The god carries five flower-arrows, which are delight in love (*madana*), intoxication (*unmādana*), absorption (*śoṣana*), complete involvement (*stambhana*), and stupefaction or bliss (*mohana*). He is bodiless because he was burnt up by the fire from the third eye of Śiva when he was attempting to seduce that great god from meditation.

- steals away the heart,  
and later drowns it in a sea of sorrow."
- 25 So lamenting,  
Śrī Gaurahari in great pain  
recited another *śloka*:
- Śloka* 3. [anonymous]:  
So, *sakhi*, not having served the beauty etc., of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, my days and all  
my senses have become vain, enough! Now they all have become like a  
burden of so many dry sticks and rocks, and I, alas, shameless—how can I  
bear the burden?
- 26 "The place of the nectar of his flute-song,  
the place where the nectar of beauty is born,  
who does not see his moon-like face,  
what is the use of his having eyes?  
Let the thunderbolt fall upon his head!  
Why should his eyes remain?
- 27 O friend, the power of the creator seems to me destroyed.  
My body, mind, and heart,  
and all my senses,  
are fruitless, without Kṛṣṇa. [refrain]
- 28 The honeyed voice of Kṛṣṇa  
is a wave of nectar;  
into whose ears it does not enter  
his ears are like broken cowrie-shells;  
know this for certain:  
his life is pointless.
- 29 Musk and the blue lotus—  
the mingled scent of these  
which surpasses all pride and arrogance [of other scents]  
to the scent of the body of that same Kṛṣṇa  
has no comparison.

28. Cowrie shells were used for currency; they were worthless when broken.



- 30 The nose [which cannot smell it] is like a bellows.  
The nectar of the lips of Kṛṣṇa,  
the acts and qualities of Kṛṣṇa,  
surpass the taste of the finest nectar;  
he who does not know their taste  
might as well have died at birth;  
his tongue is like a frog's.
- 31 The lotus hands and feet of Kṛṣṇa,  
cooler than a crore of moons,  
are like a touchstone.  
Who has not touched them  
may as well be ashes;  
his body is like iron."

- 32 And so thus grieving  
Prabhu the son of Śaci  
declared the misery of his heart.  
In humility, remorse and grief,  
in the weariness and depression of his heart,  
he repeated another verse:

Śloka 4. Rāmananda Rāya's Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka 3.11:

When the Enemy of Madhu happens to come within my sight, my mind is carried off by the blow of love; and he stole any meaning of the names Madana and Ānanda, they filled my heart so that I could not see his beauty. When I again can see that Kṛṣṇa, then I shall adorn that moment with jewels.

- 33 "At that time, or in that dream  
I saw Vamśīvadana,

30. [The allusion seems to presume that a frog's tongue is unable to taste, probably based on the frog's penchant for flies and other insects that to the human palate taste extremely bitter; in fact, frog's tongues do have an extensive ability to taste. The allusion may also play on the mechanics of the frog's tongue, which is attached in the front of the mouth and rolled back, and which extends and contracts rapidly through the use of ring muscles not found in humans, in short, working in an apparently opposite way from that of the human tongue. TKS]

31. "Body is like iron": i.e., it has not been touched by the touchstone and transformed into gold.

33. Ānanda: bliss; Madana: Kāmadeva, the god of love, or sensual desire.

- and at that time two enemies came—  
Ānanda and Madana—  
and they stole away my heart  
and I could not see him, and feast my eyes.
- 34 Again, if any moment  
Kṛṣṇa appears to me,  
then that instant, and second, and hour  
with garlands and sandalwood,  
and many jewels of many kinds,  
I shall adorn."
- 35 In an instant he again was conscious  
and saw two men before him,  
and asked them—"Am I not Caitanya?  
Perhaps it was a dream  
or was I raving?  
Did you hear my misery?"
- 36 "Hear me, friends of my heart:  
there is no wealth of Kṛṣṇa-prema  
my life is wretched;  
the senses of my body are all false." [refrain]
- 37 And again he said, "Alas,  
Hear me, Svarūpa and Rama Rāya,  
this is the firm condition of my heart.  
Listen, and decide  
whether it is, or is not—tell me truly."  
And so saying, he recited another verse:

Śloka 5. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.31.1:

No love can exist in human kind, free from deceit; if it could, the pain of separation could not exist; and if there were [only] *viraha*, then life could not exist.

35. Caitanya, *caitanya*: the shortened name of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya and "consciousness," hence the pun.

Śloka 5. [The statement here and in the next couplet is theologically accurate in that pure *prema* is only possible in Kṛṣṇa himself, and if the *jīva* or living being is in a condition that is exclusively cut off from that source, then it no longer lives. TKS]



- 38 "Prema for Kṛṣṇa free from impurity  
is like the Jambu river gold;  
it does not exist in the world of men.  
If it did come to be,  
there would be no pain of separation;  
if there were [only] pain of separation, no one could live."

- 39 So saying, the son of Śacī  
recited a wonderful śloka,  
and the two listened attentively.  
"The workings of my own heart  
I feel ashamed to describe;  
but let me eat the seed of shame and speak.

Śloka 6. [anonymous]:

O friends, I have not the slightest *prema* for Hari. And if I weep, it is only to express my great good fortune. So I support my moth-like spirit without the sight of Kṛṣṇa, flute in his mouth, in vain.

- 40 A suggestion of pure *prema* is distant  
the ropes of *prema* are false  
and do not tie me to the feet of Kṛṣṇa.  
And that I weep  
is to celebrate my great good fortune.  
This I do, and know it well.  
41 In his face is the happiness of the flute-sound;  
not seeing that moon-like face,  
there is no object of my love;  
I love my own body—  
That is only the way of *kāma*  
and I cling to this worm-life.

38. BhP 5.16.19-20. There is a river in Jambudvīpa, in the land of Saptadvīpa, which runs with the nectar of the *jambu* flowers, and its banks produce the purest gold. *Jambu* is often identified as *Eugenia Jabolana*, a kind of rose-apple, but here the mythical tree is intended.

39. "Eating the seed of shame": becoming shameless.

Śloka 6. [Rādhāgovinda Nātha attributes this śloka to Caitanya, apparently based on context (v. 39); the MSS consulted gave no such attribution apart from context. TKS]

41. [*Kāma* can be either the god of love or simple pleasure or here erotic pleasure; there is no marker, such as a capital letter, to distinguish in the Bengali, but the ambiguity is effective. TKS]

- 42 The *prema* of Kṛṣṇa is most pure,  
as pure as Gaṅgā water;  
that *prema* is an ocean of nectar.  
That passion is stainless;  
for a stain cannot be hidden—  
it is a drop of ink upon clean cloth.  
43 That pure *prema* is a sea of happiness,  
and gaining a drop of it,  
that one drop will flood the world.  
It cannot be expressed,  
and still the madman speaks;  
when it is spoken, who will believe it?"  
44 Like this, day after day,  
to Svarūpa and Rāmananda  
he made known his own *bhāva*.  
Outwardly, he burned as if poisoned,  
inwardly he was filled with joy.  
This is the wonderful way of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*.  
45 The taste of this *prema*  
is the taste of hot sugar-cane juice;  
it burns the lips, but cannot be put aside.  
In whose heart this *prema* is,  
he knows its power;  
it is like poison mixed with nectar.

Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Vidagdhamadhava* 2.30:

O beautiful, in whose heart love for the son of Nanda awakes, there clearly arise for him crookedly sweet powers. This love has two kinds of effects: it drives away by pain of the same kind the fierce bitterness of serpent's poison; and again, it shrivels up the pride of nectar and honey by a rain of bliss.

43. *Baule*: mad, madman.

Śloka 7. See 3.1.śl.26.



- 46 When he saw Jagannātha  
with Śrī Rāma and Subhadra,  
then he thought—"I have come to Kurukṣetra.  
My life is fulfilled  
I have seen the lotus-eyed one  
and my body, mind, and eyes have been refreshed."
- 47 Near Garuḍa  
he stayed and had *darśana*;  
how can I describe his joy?  
Beneath the pillar of Garuḍa  
there is dug a trench;  
that trench was filled with his tears.
- 48 He came home from there  
and sat upon the ground  
writing on the earth with his nails.  
"Ah, Ah, where is Vṛndāvana,  
where is Gopendranandana,  
where is that Vamśīvadana?"
- 49 Where is he in his *tribhaṅga* pose,  
where is the song of his flute,  
where is the bank of the Yamunā?  
Where is that play of *rāsa*,  
where is the song and dance and laughter?  
Where is my lord Madanamohana?"
- 50 There rose up many intense emotions,  
his heart was greatly excited,  
and he could not compose it for an instant.  
In the fire of fierce *viraha*  
his composure was destroyed  
and he began to recite various *śloka*s.

46. Śrī Rāma is Balarāma. During the last several years of his life, when Caitanya would go to the temple to have *darśana* of Jagannātha, in his *viraha*, in his *Rādhā-bhāva*, he would see Jagannātha not as his beloved Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, but as the mighty lord Kṛṣṇa as he appeared in the *Gītā*.

47. In the temple of Jagannātha, near the image of the deity, there is an image of Garuḍa, the bird-vehicle of Viṣṇu. It was near this image that Caitanya used to stand for *darśana* when he went to the temple, and the pillar against which he leaned is also called by that name.

49. *Tribhaṅga*: "triple bend"; see commentary to 2.1.77.

Śloka 8. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta* 1.41:

O Hari, friend of the friendless, sole ocean of compassion, how shall I pass these miserable days and nights without a sight of you?

- 51 "Without sight of you  
these days and nights are cursed;  
this time does not pass away.  
You are the friend of the helpless,  
a shoreless sea of compassion;  
be merciful and show yourself to me."
- 52 There rose up restless emotions  
and his mind was unsteady;  
the way of his passion could not be understood.  
His heart burned, not seeing him;  
"How shall I get a sight of him?"  
He asked Kṛṣṇa the way:

Śloka 9. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta* 1.32:

If you knew that your childhood is most wonderful in all the three worlds, then you would know my weakness, as I know it, and would tell me how I can see with these two eyes your beautiful lotus-face graced with the playing of the flute.

- 53 "The strength of your sweetness  
and my weak inconstancy—  
these things you and I both know.  
What shall I do, where shall I go  
that I might find you?  
Tell me that yourself."
- 54 The power of various emotions,  
the *śāvalya* all together;  
there was a wilderness of passion;  
eagerness and fickleness and humbleness,

Śloka 9. See 2.23.śl.15.

54. When many *bhāvas* compete and conflict, that is called *śāvalya*; see Rūpa's *BhRS* [*daṁṣṭra-vibhaga, vyabhicāri-lahari*] 2.4.244.



- anger and impatience, like an army—  
 the madness of *prema* was the cause of all.  
 55 These emotions, like wild elephants:  
 the body of Prabhu a forest of sugar cane;  
 in struggle, the elephants trampled the forest under foot.  
 The divine madness of Prabhu  
 wearied body and mind  
 and controlled by emotion, he made this address:

*Sloka 10. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta 1.40:*

O god, full of mercy, sole friend of the world, Kṛṣṇa, fickle one, sea of compassion, lord, lover, balm to my eyes, when will you show yourself to me?

- 56 The signs of madness  
 Kṛṣṇa caused to be manifest,  
 and in the *bhāva* there rose up love and *māna*;  
 with ironical words,  
*māna*, pride, deceitful praise,  
 sometimes blaming, sometimes with respect.  
 57 "You are god, addicted to play,  
 with all the women of the earth  
 it is your desire to play.  
 You are my beloved,  
 your heart rests in me;  
 because of my good fortune you have come.  
 58 The women of the world  
 you attract all to you,  
 and you do everything for them.  
 You are Kṛṣṇa, the stealer of hearts;  
 what despicable one is there  
 who does not revere you?

56. *Māna* is a stage of love in which because of love irritation and annoyance with the loved one arise. It is not quite fair to call it duplicitous, since the emotion is very real; it does however have a quality of coerciveness about it.

- 59 Your mind is fickle,  
 you settle nowhere,  
 but this is not your fault.  
 You are an ocean of compassion,  
 friend of my heart,  
 and I cannot be angry with you.  
 60 You are the lord, the life of Vraja,  
 you deliver Vraja,  
 there is no respite, in your many works.  
 You are my lover  
 come to give happiness,  
 this is your clever whim.  
 61 Thinking my words an insult,  
 I know that Kṛṣṇa has abandoned me;  
 hear then my words of praise.  
 Pleasing to my eyes  
 you are my heart and riches  
 ah, show yourself to me again."  
 62 Paralyzed, trembling, sweating,  
 pallid, tearful, voice cracking,  
 thrilled throughout his body,  
 laughing, weeping, dancing, singing,  
 suddenly running this way or that,  
 the next moment he fell unconscious on the earth.  
 63 In his coma he appeared  
 and suddenly he began to shout,  
 "My lord has come!"  
 By the qualities of Kṛṣṇa's sweetness  
 there were many illusions in his mind,  
 and he began to say this *śloka*:

62. For these and other manifestations of the presence of true *prema*, see text and commentary on 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31.

63. I.e., Kṛṣṇa appeared, and Caitanya began to shout.



Sloka 11. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta* 1.68:

O *sakhi*, is he the manifest Kāndarpa? Or a wheel of sweet radiance? Or sweetness itself? Or nectar to my eyes and heart? Has he given joy by untying the *gopis'* hair? Is he the lord of my heart? That Kṛṣṇa does appear to my eyes.

- 64 "Has this apparent Kāma,  
the incarnate radiance of the moon,  
himself the incarnation of sweetness,  
a feast for my eyes and heart,  
beloved to my heart,  
Kṛṣṇa, bringing joy to my eyes, truly come?"
- 65 The many passions were the *guru*,  
the heart and body of Prabhu the pupil,  
always caused to dance in various ways.  
Remorse, dejection, humbleness  
impatience, delight, patience, anger,  
in this dance Prabhu passed his time.
- 66 Caṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati,  
the *nāṭaka-gīti* of Rāya,  
Karmāmṛta, and Śrī Gītagovinda,  
with Svarūpa and Rāmānanda,  
day and night Mahāprabhu  
sang and danced in highest joy.
- 67 The strong *vātsalya* of Purī,  
the pure *sakhyā* of Rāmānanda,  
the pure *dāsyā-rasa* of Govinda and the rest,  
of Gadādhara and Jagadānanda  
and of Svarūpa the strong joy of *rasa*,  
these four *bhāvas* captured Prabhu.

66. Caṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati were two Vaiṣṇava poets whom Caitanya read with pleasure; there is considerable question about the actual identity of these poets (PHM, 55-67). *Nāṭaka-gīti* may also be a *dvandva* compound: the *Jagannāthavallabha Nāṭaka* and songs (*gīti*), for we are told in v. 3 that Rāmānanda would sing to Caitanya in the last phases of his life, to restore calm to him.

67. This is Paramānanda Purī, a student of Mādhavendra Purī and a fellow student of Īśvara Purī, who was Caitanya's *dīkṣa-guru*; his primary *bhāva* was that of parental affection toward Caitanya (*vātsalya*). Rāmānanda loved as friend and companion (*sakhyā*). Govinda was Caitanya's servant in the last few years, hence his *bhāva* of service (*dāsyā*). "Strong joy of *rasa*" is the *madhura* or *śṛṅgāra-bhāva*, enjoyed by Gadādhara, Jagadānanda, and Svarūpa.

- 68 And Līlāśuka, mortal man,  
in him such *bhāvas* rose;  
that they were [also] in Īśvara—what is the wonder here?  
He is the foremost container of *rasa*,  
he is our master,  
and in him is the rising of all *bhāvas*.
- 69 Formerly, in the *Vraja-vilāsa*,  
the three desires which he had  
he was unable to taste, although he tried.  
The essence of the *bhāva* of Rādhā  
he embodied in himself  
and tasted those three things.
- 70 Having tasted it himself,  
he taught his *bhaktas*,  
Prabhu, rich with jewels of *prema*.  
He did not care for proper place,  
but gave to everyone,  
Mahāprabhu, crest-jewel of givers.
- 71 Of this hidden sea of *bhāva*  
Brahmā cannot get a drop;  
that wealth he distributed in the world.  
Such is the incarnation of mercy:  
none other is as generous.  
Who can describe his goodness?
- 72 There is no way to say it,  
and if there were, none would understand;  
such were the various passions of Caitanya.  
He who can understand all this  
has [received] the mercy of Caitanya  
and the companionship of him and his followers.
- 73 This is the essence of the jewel of the Caitanya-līlā;  
the store [of it] is Svarūpa,  
and he put it in the mouth of Raghunātha.

68. Bilvamaṅgala Ṭhākura, author of the *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta*, is called Līlāśuka; Īśvara: lqrd, Caitanya as *svayaṁ bhagavān*.

69. "Three desires": for the greatness of the *prema* of Rādhā (1.4.105-18), his own sweetness (1.4.119-35), and Rādhā's joy in tasting his sweetness (1.4.136-78).



- From him I have heard a little,  
and this I have described,  
and make of it a gift to *bhaktas*.
- 74 If anyone should say  
that the book is full of *ślokas*  
and that uneducated people will not understand, [I say,]  
such were the actions of Prabhu  
and I have described them.  
I cannot serve all minds.
- 75 I have no quarrel with anyone,  
nor anyone to please.  
I describe the matters simply as they arose.  
Were there either passion or malice,  
I would be absorbed in it,  
and could not write so easily of these things.
- 76 So he who does not understand  
should listen over and over;  
such is the wonder of the actions of Caitanya.  
Love for Kṛṣṇa will conquer him  
and he will know the ways of *rasa*;  
if he listens his welfare will be great.
- 77 The *Bhāgavata* consists of *ślokas*,  
its commentary is in Sanskrit;  
and still the three worlds understand.  
Here there are but a few *ślokas*  
and I have explained them;  
why should not all people understand?
- 78 The *sūtras* of the *śeṣa līlā*  
I have stated briefly;  
it is in my mind to expand them.  
I am at the end of my life; but if I live  
I shall describe the final *līlā*,  
if Mahāprabhu is merciful.
- 79 I am old and tired and sick,  
my hand trembles while I write,  
and there are some things I cannot remember.

75. "Passion or malice": *nāgadveṣa*, i.e., "If I were biased either direction."

- My eyes no longer see  
nor my ears hear  
and still I write; this is truly wonderful.
- 80 The essence of this *antya līlā*  
I have described in *sūtras*,  
and have spoken of them a little bit.  
If I die, meanwhile,  
then I shall not be able to describe  
this *līlā*, wealth of the *bhaktas*.
- 81 The *sūtra* has been stated briefly,  
and that which I have not written  
I shall describe later on.  
If I live long enough  
and Mahāprabhu has mercy  
I shall fulfill my desire to write all this.
- 82 [To] *bhaktas* great and small,  
I bow to the holy feet of all;  
may they all be satisfied with me.  
According to Svarūpa Gosvāmī  
as much as Rūpa and Raghunātha know,  
that I write is no fault of mine.
- 83 Of Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda,  
of Advaita and the hosts of *bhaktas*,  
I take the feet of all upon my head.  
From Svarūpa, Rūpa, Sanātana,  
from the holy feet of Raghunātha [also]  
I take the dust to adorn my head.
- 84 To those who gave me instruction [to write]  
the Vaiṣṇavas of Vraja,  
I bow; and to the chief among them, Haridāsa.  
One drop of the billows  
of the sea of the activities of Caitanya,  
a tiny part of that, tells Kṛṣṇadāsa.

84. Haridāsa Ācārya or Dvija Haridāsa Ācārya.



### Madhya Līlā Chapter 3

Sloka 1.

I bow to that Gaura who, after taking *saṁnyāsa*, in *prema* for Kṛṣṇa wanted to go to Vṛndāvana, but who, while wandering in the Rāḍha country, reached Śāntipura, where he gained joy among his *bhaktas*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 At the end of his twenty-fourth year, in the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha, Prabhu took *saṁnyāsa*. 3 Being a *saṁnyāsīn* and sunk in *prema*, he headed for Vṛndāvana. He wandered in the Rāḍha country for three days. 4 Prabhu, under the control of *bhāva*, recited this *śloka*, and while wandering he cleansed the whole of the Rāḍha country.

Sloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.23.57:

I shall cross over this darkness, so hard to cross, by the service of the lotus-feet of Kṛṣṇa, by means of taking firm refuge in the *parātmā*, cherished by the ancient great ones.

5 Prabhu said, "The words of this mendicant are pure, specifying the *vrata* of the service of Mukunda. 6 The only way is the firm fixedness on the *parātmā*.

Sloka 1. [This chapter corresponds closely to the activities described in Kavikarṇapūra's CCN 5 through 6.14. TKS]

2. Caitanya took *saṁnyāsa* on the *saṅkrānti* day (i.e., the last day of the lunar month) of Māgha (January-February), in the year 1431 BS (1510-1511 AD). The *śukla-pakṣa* is the bright fortnight of the month, when the moon is waxing.

5. In order to understand the speech of Caitanya, something of the context of the *śloka* he has just recited should be known. There was a *brāhmaṇa* who lived in Avantīnagara. This *brāhmaṇa*

And by the service of Mukunda one crosses over of the world. 7 Now, going to Vṛndāvana, I enter that condition, and sitting in silence I perform the service of Kṛṣṇa." 8 So saying, Prabhu went on, with the signs of the madness of *prema*; he did not know which direction he was going in; he did not know whether it was day or night. 9 Nityānanda, Ācāryaratna, and Mukunda, these three went close behind Prabhu. 10 And all the people who saw Prabhu shouted "Hari!" absorbed in *prema*, and their sadness and grief were broken.

11 All the cowherd boys, when they saw Prabhu, shouted "Hari, Hari!" in a loud voice. 12 And when he heard, Gaurahari went near them and said "Speak, speak [the name of Hari]," and put his hand on the heads of all. 13 And he praised them all, "You are most blessed; you have given me fulfillment, for you have caused me to hear the name of Hari." 14 Ṭhākura Nityānanda summoned them all secretly and coached them carefully, 15 "Prabhu will ask you the way to Vṛndāvana; then show to him the way to the Gaṅgā's bank." 16 Then Prabhu asked, "Hear, boys, tell me by which road I can go to Vṛndāvana." 17 And all the boys pointed out to him the way to the Gaṅgā's bank, and Prabhu started out on that road, absorbed.

18 Nityānanda Gosvāmī said to Ācāryaratna, "Quickly, go to Advaita Ācārya. 19 I shall bring Prabhu to his house; have him take care to moor a boat by the bank. 20 Then go to Navadvīpa; bring Śaī and all the *bhaktas*, and come." 21 Having sent [Ācāryaratna] ahead, the noble Nityānanda came before Mahāprabhu and made himself known. 22 Prabhu said, "Śrīpāda, where are you going?" And Śrīpāda replied, "I am going to Vṛndāvana with you." 23 Prabhu

was very wealthy, and was very compassionate, and spent his wealth for the good of relatives, and guests, and the deities; and this made his wife and sons very angry. They railed against him, but he did not mind. However, it happened that through a series of misfortunes he lost his wealth, and thoughts of the ascetic life began to rise in his mind. He took refuge among mendicants (*bhikṣu*), and began to wander alone from village to village. As he wandered, he reflected more and more on the meaning of pleasure and pain, misery and happiness, and he came to the conclusion that the qualities which define material nature were the cause of pleasure and pain, and that because these are categories of mind, the essential soul is untouched by any such. The *jīvātma* is pure, and remains so, and the realization of truth is only a matter of realizing this. *Parātmā*: *para* (beyond, or other than), *ātma*, the essential self or soul: that which is other than the material side of nature. Śrīdhara Svāmī interprets the verse: "Like the great men of old, I too shall cross over the world by fixing on the *parātmā*; but how is such fixedness born? By the service of the feet of Mukunda (Kṛṣṇa)." *Vrata* might be translated "vow" or "dedication."

22. [In CCN 5.21, Kavikarṇapūra defines Śrīpāda as a term of great respect, and derives it this way: Śrī is Lakṣmī, and the husband (*pati*) of Śrī is Śrīpati or Śrīpa, i.e., Kṛṣṇa; he who gives or delivers (*ada*) Kṛṣṇa (*śrīpa*) is Śrīpāda or Nityānanda, who in this episode ensures Caitanya's safe delivery to the house of Advaita. TKS]



asked, "How far is it to Vṇḍavana?" And he answered, "Here is the Yamunā." 24 So saying, he brought him close to the Gaṅgā; and in his absorption, Prabhu thought the Gaṅgā was the Yamunā. 25 "How fortunate I am, that I have seen the Yamunā"; and so saying, he began to praise the Yamunā:

*Sloka 3. Kavikarṇapūra's Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka 5.13 [śl.10]:*

O Yamunā, daughter of the sun, doer of all beneficent things in the world, destroyer of sins, whose limbs are the liquid *brahma*, eternal vessel of the *prema* of Nanda's son, himself the sun of *cit* and *ānanda*, purify our bodies.

26 So saying, and having made obeisance, he took a bath in the Gaṅgā; he had one loincloth, and no other to wear.

27 At the same time Ācārya Gosvāmī came in a boat, bringing a new loincloth and outer cloth. 28 And when the Ācārya arrived, he bowed before him; and seeing the Ācārya, Prabhu said, a doubt rising in his mind, 29 "Are you then Advaita Gosvāmī; why have you come here? I am in Vṇḍavana—how did you know that?" 30 The Ācārya said, "Where you are, there is Vṇḍavana; by my great good fortune, you have come to the Gaṅgā's banks." 31 Prabhu said, "Nityānanda has deceived me; he brought me to the Gaṅgā, calling it the Yamunā." 32 The Ācārya said, "There was no falsity in the words of Śrīpāda; just now you have bathed in the Yamunā. 33 The Gaṅgā and the Yamunā flow together in a single stream; on the west the Yamunā flows, and on the east the Gaṅgā. 34 The Yamunā flows in the western stream, and there you have bathed. Take off that wet loincloth, and put this dry one on. 35 Absorbed in *prema*, for three days you have fasted; today there is food at my house. Let us go there. 36 I have a handful of rice there, which I have cooked, and I have prepared some *śukarukhā* curry and lentils, and some vegetables." 37 So saying, he had him board the boat, and took him home. With joyful heart he washed his feet.

38 The Ācārya's wife had cooked previously; the Ācārya himself made the offering to Viṣṇu. 39 He put the food, divided equally, in three places; he put

33. The two rivers meet at Prayāga (Allahabad); true to their doctrine, the Vaiṣṇavas say that the two rivers are both two and one.

36. *Śukā*: dry; *rukṣā* > *rukṣā* (*rulehā*): free of oil and *ghī*; *sāpa*: an unspecified *dal*, a kind of pulse or lentil preparation, a sauce for the rice; *śāka*: a leafy green vegetable, favorite of Caitanya. All of this food is modest. For other lists of foods see 2.14.21-32; 2.15.205-19; 3.6.50-99; 3.10.14-38; 3.18.100-103.

38. Ācārya's wife: Sita Thakuraṇī.

39. The three places were for Kṛṣṇa, Caitanya, and Nityānanda.

the food for Kṛṣṇa on a metal vessel. 40 On unbroken leaves of the thirty-two-cluster banana trees he spread the other two servings of food, with great respect. 41 In the center was a pile of *śāla* rice, moistened with yellow *ghī*; and around it were bowls of curry and a sauce of *mudga*; 42 and cooked *bāstuka* vegetables of various kinds, and *paṭola*, and *kuśmāṇḍa-baḍī*, and *mānakacā*, 43 and all roots and fruits, prepared with *cai-marīca-sukṭā*, and five kinds of bitter and hot foods, better than nectar, 44 and fried eggplant, with tender *nimba* leaves, and fried *paṭola* and *phulabaḍī*, and pumpkin and *mānacakī*, 45 and coconuts, and curds, and sweets of sugar, and a *ghaṇṭa* of the flowers of plantain trees, and pumpkin prepared with milk, and everything was plentiful. 46 There were sweet and sour curries, and five or six kinds of sour ones, as many kinds of curries as there are on earth, 47 and fried cakes of *mudga*, and cakes of banana, and cakes of *māṣa*, and sweets, and *kṣīrapulī* and coconuts, as many as anyone wanted. 48 There were huge containers full of thirty-two-cluster bananas; the pots could not be upset, they were so large. 49 There were fifty times fifty containers, filled with curries, and they were placed all around the three plates of food. 50 On the two sides all the earthen pots were placed, filled with *cāpakalā* and curd and *sandeśa* sweets—I cannot describe it all. 51 There were nine earthen pots filled with *payasa* made with *ghī*, and on the three leaves thick milk was placed. 52 And there were various kinds of *ciḍā* with milk, and *lakalaki* made with milk; more kinds [of food] than I have the power to de-

40. The leaves were from a particular kind of plantain tree, called *aṭṭhīya*, on which the fruit grows in bunches of thirty-two. Kṛṣṇa was to be served on a metal vessel, Caitanya and Nityānanda on banana leaves.

41. *Śāla* or *śālī* is winter rice; *mudga* is *mudadal*, a particular kind of pulse made into a sauce.

42. *Bāstuka* can be either a particular kind of vegetable, or, according to Rādhāgovinda Nātha, vegetables grown in the home garden (*vasatavāṭī*). *Paṭola* is a green vegetable with a texture similar to, but a stronger flavor than okra. *Kuśmāṇḍa* is *kumḍa*, a kind of pumpkin-gourd; *mānakacā* is arum. Many of the rest of these vegetables and fruits have no lexical equivalents in English.

43. *Cai* is the name of a particular kind of creeper, which bears a berry which is good to eat; *marīca* is black pepper; *sukṭā* is a bitter curry made with the leaves of the *nalitā* bush.

44. *Nimba*: the *nima* leaf which is medicinal and bitter, and from which Caitanya received his pet name as a child, *Nimāi*; see commentary to 1.13.116.

45. *Ghaṇṭa*: a method of preparation, where the ingredients are ground and then mixed into a pulp bound by their own liquid.

47. *Māṣa* is a particular kind of plantain; *kṣīrapulī* is a kind of sweet made from thickened milk.

50. *Cāpakalā*: an especially sweet kind of banana; *sandeśa*: a milk-based sweet.

51. *Payasa*: rice mixture boiled with milk and sugar.

52. *Ciḍā*: flattened and fried rice; *lakalaki* refers to a preparation, a kind of ball, made of long slender leaves rolled into a coil, but the substance is not clear.



scribe. 53 On the rice and curries were put sprouts of *tulasi*, and there were three water-vessels, filled with sweet-scented water. 54 And there were three glistening seats, on which were cloths; and in this way he feasted the manifest Kṛṣṇa.

55 At the time of *ārati*, he had the two Prabhus called, and all came with the Prabhus to witness the *ārati*. 56 Having made the *ārati* they lay Kṛṣṇa down; and then the Ācārya came and requested Prabhu. 57 "Prabhu, go inside the house." The two brothers went then to eat their meal. 58 Prabhu had both Mukunda and Haridāsa called; and they began to speak, with palms pressed together. 59 Mukunda said, "I have some duties still to do. I shall take *prasāda* afterwards; you go into the house." 60 Haridāsa said, "I am a lowly sinner; afterwards I shall take a handful of food outside." 61 So with the two Prabhus the Ācārya went within the house; seeing the *prasāda* the heart of Prabhu was delighted. 62 "He who feasts Kṛṣṇa with such food, in every birth I hold his feet upon my head." 63 Prabhu thought that the three meals were offerings to Kṛṣṇa; he did not suspect what was in the mind of the Ācārya. 64 Prabhu said, "Let the three of us sit here and eat." The Ācārya said, "I shall serve you." 65 "Where shall we sit? Bring two more leaves, and on them put a tiny bit of food." 66 The Ācārya said, "Sit on the *piḍis*, both of you." And so saying he took them both by the hands and sat them down. 67 Prabhu said, "A *saṁnyāsin* should not eat food like this; if I eat this, how can I restrain my senses?" 68 The Ācārya said, "O, leave this pretence; I know all about the artifice of your *saṁnyāsa*. 69 Eat, and stop dissembling." And Prabhu said, "I cannot eat so much food." 70 The Ācārya said, "Eat, without pretence; if you cannot eat it, leave the rest on the leaf." 71 Prabhu said, "I cannot eat so much food, and it is not the *dharma* of a *saṁnyāsin* to leave anything." 72 The Ācārya said, "At Nīlācala you eat four times a day, and at each meal you eat hundreds of times this much. 73 A pile of food for three people is for you a mouthful; in relation to that, this food is

54. *Sakṣāt*: manifest, i.e., appearing in the flesh or lit., "before one's eyes."

55. *Ārati* is the waving of lights before the image; it comes after the offering of food is made.

66. *Piḍi* can be various kinds of seats, the pedestal for an image, or, probably as here, low platform-like seats that place the individual in a position of honor.

68. The "subtle" or orthodox interpretation here is that in terms of *svatūpa*, the *saṁnyāsa* of Caitanya is a mere outward show, carried on for the sake of the people of the world. Caitanya is Kṛṣṇa, *svayam bhagavān*, and has no need of *saṁnyāsa*. Advaita is saying that he knows this, and that Caitanya can act according to his true nature.

72. Caitanya and Jagannātha are the same. There are four food-offerings a day to Jagannātha in Puri.

not five mouthfuls. 74 It is my good fortune that you have come to my house; leave aside your pretence, Prabhu, and eat." 75 So saying, he poured water on the hands of the two Gosvāmīs, and smiling the two began to eat.

76 Nityānanda said, "We have been fasting for three days; today we hoped to break the fast. 77 But today too we fast, at the invitation of the Ācārya; we will not half fill ourselves, with this mouthful of food." 78 The Ācārya said, "You are a mendicant *saṁnyāsin*, sometimes eating roots and fruits, sometimes fasting. 79 That handful of food which you get at the house of a poor *brāhmaṇa*, be satisfied with that; forget your greed." 80 Nityānanda replied, "When you invite us, you should give us as much as we want." 81 Hearing the words of Nityānanda, Advaita Thākura said to him fondly, 82 "You are a fallen *avadhātā*, filling your belly; you have taken *saṁnyāsa* to punish *brāhmaṇas*. 83 You can eat a *daśabīṣa* of rice; where can I, a poor *brāhmaṇa*, get so much. 84 So start eating that handful of food which you have gotten; don't act like a madman, and don't leave anything half-eaten."

85 Like this, laughing and having fun, they ate. Prabhu ate only half of each thing, and left the rest. 86 The Ācārya then filled up the container with that same curry again, and in this way again and again he distributed food. 87 And as he filled the curry-dishes he asked [that Prabhu eat more]. And Prabhu said, "How much more shall I eat?" 88 The Ācārya said, "What I have given you, leave nothing of it. Of what I am giving you now, eat half of it." 89 And with great care and humility he fed Prabhu, and Prabhu fulfilled the desire of the Ācārya. 90 Nityānanda said, "My belly is not full; take it away—I have eaten nothing of your food." 91 So saying, he took a mouthful of rice in his hand and threw it down in front of him, as if angry. 92 Two or three pieces of rice struck the body of the Ācārya; and with rice-spattered body the Ācārya danced in great pleasure. 93 "The partly eaten food of an *avadhātā* has struck my body;

82. There is some discussion of Nityānanda's *avadhātā* status in PHM, 47-48. Rādhagovinda Natha says that there are four classes of *avadhātās*: *brāhmāvadhātā*, *śaivāvadhātā*, *bhaktāvadhātā*, and *hamsāvadhātā*. Nityānanda was a member of the fourth and highest group, the highest because they do not perform *sādhana* with women, hold no prohibitive rules in regard to caste, nor symbols of their own original castes, are at peace with the world, indifferent to sorrow and pain, etc. They also, unlike some of the others, are not wanton, but spend their time studying philosophy. Nityānanda, according to Advaita's "joking" remarks, has fallen from these high ideals and by his concern with food is showing himself far from indifferent to pleasure and pain.

83. *Daśabīṣa*: twenty seers (a seer is about two pounds troy weight) make a *śālī*, and ten *śālīs* make a *bīṣa*. Therefore two hundred seers times ten is the amount of rice that Nityānanda can eat.

84. *Pāgalāi*: madman.



and this trick has made me most purified. 94 I gave an invitation to you, and I have reaped the fruits of it; you have neither caste nor family, you are naturally mad. 95 To make me your equal you have thrown your left-over food on me, not caring that I am a *brāhmaṇa*." 96 Nityānanda said, "This is the *prasāda* of Kṛṣṇa; by calling it 'left-over food,' you commit a great offence. 97 If you were to feed a hundred *saṁnyāsins*, you could not atone for this." 98 The Ācārya said, "I shall never again invite *saṁnyāsins*; a *saṁnyāsīn* has destroyed all my *dharma* based on *smṛti*." 99 So saying, he gave the two [water to] rinse their mouths, and he had them lie down on the finest beds. 100 And he gave them cloves and cardamom seeds of greatest sweetness of smell and taste, and they sweetened their mouths with *tulasī*-sprouts. 101 He anointed their bodies with sweet-smelling sandal, and he brought and put over their hearts garlands of scented flowers. 102 The Ācārya wanted to massage their feet; but, hesitant, Prabhu said— 103 "You have made me dance a great deal; now no more. Now eat with Mukunda and Haridāsa." 104 Then the Ācārya took these two with him, and they ate as much as they wanted to.

105 Hearing of the coming of Prabhu, the people of Śāntipura came to see his feet. 106 Saying "Hari, Hari!" the people rejoiced greatly, and were struck with astonishment when they saw the beauty of Prabhu. 107 The brilliance of his golden body outshone that of the sun, and on it his dawn-colored clothing glistened. 108 The people came and went in happiness, and there was no end to them; in the crowd of people the day came to its close.

109 In the evening the Ācārya began the *saṁkīrtana*. The Ācārya danced, and Prabhu watched. 110 Nityānanda Gosvāmī wandered dancing, holding the Ācārya, and behind them Haridāsa danced, in great joy.

94. It is quite possible that these words are not joking, as Rādhāgovinda Nātha's commentary would have us believe. They are certainly strong. Nityānanda of course gave up his caste and family when he became an *avadhātā*, and Advaita is seemingly scornfully saying that he has deliberately attempted to bring him, a *brāhmaṇa*, to the same degraded status. Advaita's pride in his brahmanhood seems clear in this and other passages. Nityānanda's response is equally strong. *Sahaja pāgala*: naturally mad. Another interpretation might be "mad in the *sahaja*," the *sahaja* being the state of equilibrium and indifference to the world that is the goal of the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās.

95. *Jhūṭā*: left-over food.

98. I.e., the books of *dharma* prohibit a *brāhmaṇa* from touching left-over food, which is defiling.

110. Rādhāgovinda Nātha, basing himself on a later passage, says that Advaita had been overcome with *prema* and had fallen to the ground; Nityānanda, concerned, lifted him up.

111 What shall I say, O *sakhī*, there is no end to my joy today; after a long time, Madhava is in my house.

112 Singing this verse, they danced in joy; they roared and shouted, and wept, and florets of gooseflesh appeared, and they trembled and sweated. 113 Whirling around, sometimes he held the feet of Prabhu; and holding his feet, he spoke to him, 114 "For many days you have evaded me, wandering around; I have found you in my house, and now I shall imprison you here." 115 So saying the Ācārya danced in joy, and for a *prahara* of the night the Ācārya made *saṁkīrtana*. 116 Restless with *prema*, Prabhu did not have the companionship of Kṛṣṇa; his *viraha* grew in a wave of the flames of *prema*. 117 In anguish, Prabhu fell to the ground; seeing the Gosvāmī, the Ācārya held up the dance. 118 Mukunda knew well the heart of Prabhu, and he began to sing a verse of appropriate *bhāva*. 119 The Ācārya raised up Prabhu, to make him dance; and hearing the verse, Prabhu could not control his limbs. 120 Tears, trembling, thrill of gooseflesh, sweat, a choking voice, one moment rising up, the next falling, now wailing aloud.

121 Alas, O *sakhī* most beloved of my heart,  
what has happened to me?  
In the poison of the *prema* of Kānu  
my heart and body burn.

122 Day and night my heart is burning,  
and I find no rest;  
when I go to find Kānu,  
he rises up and flies away.

123 Mukunda sang this lyric in a sweet voice, and when he heard it the heart of Prabhu was torn within. 124 Remorse, dejection and joy, restlessness and pride, humility—this army of *bhāvas* warred within Prabhu. 125 Prabhu was staggering under the blows of these *bhāvas*, and he fell to the earth, no breath in his body. 126 All the *bhaktas* saw this and were dumbfounded, and suddenly Prabhu

112. [I.e., the appearance of the *sattvika bhāvas* latent in the *anubhāvas*. See text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.8.135; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31. TKS]

115. *Prahara*: three hours.

120. See v. 112 and commentary above.



rose up roaring. 127 Crying "Bol, bol!" he danced, absorbed in joy; and the power of that wave of *bhāva* could not be understood. 128 Nityānanda held Prabhu and danced with him, and the Ācārya and Haridāsa came dancing after. 129 In this way Prabhu, in great passion, danced for a full watch, sometimes in joy, sometimes in dejection, in the wave of *bhāva*. 130 Having just eaten after three days' fast, Prabhu became weak from his wild dancing. 131 But being absorbed in *prema*, he knew no fatigue; Nityānanda continued to hold Mahāprabhu. 132 Then Ācārya Gosvāmī stopped the *kīrtana*, and with great care and anxiety made Prabhu lie down. 133 In this way for ten days they enjoyed *kīrtana*, and in like manner served Prabhu.

134 In the morning Ācāryaratna put Śacīmātā in a litter and brought her with the *bhaktas*. 135 The people of Nadiyā city—women and boys and old men—all the people came, and the crowd increased. 136 Having finished their morning ablutions, they made *nāma-saṅkīrtana*, and came to the house of Advaita, bringing Śacīmātā. 137 Prabhu fell before Śacī, bowing low to the earth, and Śacī raised him up and took him in her arms, and began to weep. 138 The two were overwhelmed at the sight of one another; Śacī became unnerved when she saw no hair upon his head. 139 Caressing his body, kissing his face, she gazed at him; she could not see—tears filled her eyes. 140 Weeping Śacī said, "O my son, Nīmāi, do not do this heartless thing, like Viśvarūpa. 141 He became a *saṁnyāsin* and never showed himself again; if you do such a thing I shall die." 142 The weeping Prabhu said, "Hear, my mother; this body is yours, nothing of it is mine. 143 It was born from you, and you reared it; I could not repay this debt in a crore of births. 144 I have taken *saṁnyāsa*, wisely or not, but I shall never become indifferent toward you. 145 I shall stay where you tell me to; give me your command, and I shall follow it." 146 So saying, he made obeisance again and again. 147 Then the Ācārya took his mother into the inner chambers, and Prabhu quickly went to meet the *bhaktas*.

127. [Bol: inv. to speak; it has been transliterated here as "bol," rather than the orthographically correct "bola," because it has become such a set phrase signifying the command to chant the name of Kṛṣṇa, Hari bol! TKS]

128-33. [Nityānanda's function here of holding up or supporting Mahāprabhu subtly suggests his cosmological role as Ananta Śeṣa who provides Kṛṣṇa with the support and *dhāma* necessary to function in the cosmos. As a single isolated incident, this would undoubtedly be overinterpreting, but the text cites numerous such incidents—as does Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh*—which one suspects are not accidental. TKS]

134. Śacīmātā: Śacī-mother, mother of Caitanya.

138. A shaven head is one of the signs of the *saṁnyāsin*.

148 Prabhu met all the *bhaktas*, one by one; he saw the faces of all of them, and embraced each deeply. 149 The *bhaktas* were dismayed, seeing no hair upon his head, but still their hearts were gladdened at his beauty. 150 Śrīvāsa, Rāmāi, Vidyānidhī, Gadādhara, Gaṅgādhara, Vakreśvara, Murāri, Suklāmbara, 151 Buddhimanta Khān, Nandana, Śrīdhara, Vijaya, Vāsudeva, Dāmodara, Mukunda, and Saṅjaya— 152 I should have to take the names of all the dwellers at Navadvīpa; smiling and with a gracious look, Prabhu met them all. 153 And they all danced in joy, saying "Hari, Hari!" and the house of Advaita became Śrī Vaikuṇṭhapurī. 154 So many people came to see Prabhu, from many villages, and from Navadvīpa. 155 Places to stay were given to all, and food to eat and water—for many days Ācārya Gosvāmī provided all this without ceasing. 156 The stores of Ācārya Gosvāmī were undiminished and unchanged, for as many goods as he expended, so many he gained. 157 From that day Śacī cooked, and Prabhu ate with his *bhaktas*.

158 During the day the Ācārya was overcome with love for Prabhu, and during the night the people watched the dancing and the *kīrtana*. 159 While at *kīrtana*, all the *bhāvas* rose up in Prabhu; stupified, trembling, with gooseflesh and tears, with choking voice, or raving, 160 from time to time he stumbled and fell to the ground; and when she saw this, Śacīmātā wailed and spoke. 161 "The body of Nīmāi has become dust, so I think," so she cried, and went to Viṣṇu to ask a boon, 162 "From childhood I have served you, now give me this reward, O Nārāyaṇa; 163 When Nīmāi falls upon the ground, may his body feel no pain." 164 Thus was Śacīdevī sunk in *vātsalya*, and confused with *bhāvas* of joy and fear and humility. 165 Śrīvāsa and the rest of the *brāhmaṇa bhaktas* of Prabhu all thought to feed him. 166 Hearing of it, Śacī entreated them all, "How much longer shall I see Nīmāi? 167 He will meet with all of you again, from time to time; I, unfortunate woman, have only this one sight of him. 168 As long as Nīmāi stays in the house of the Ācārya, let me feed him. I beg you all this favor." 169 Hearing this, the *bhaktas* made obeisance to her and said, "That which is the wish of the mother is agreed to by all." 170 Seeing the anxiety of his mother, Prabhu's heart also was anxious. Having gathered all the *bhaktas* together, he spoke these words to them, 171 "Without taking your leave, I was going to Vṛndāvana; I could not go, for impediments presented themselves. 172 Even though I took *saṁnyāsa* suddenly, I cannot be indifferent to all of you.

153. I.e., heaven.

159-60. See commentary on v. 112 above.

164. *Vātsalya*: the *bhāva* or emotional condition of parental love.



173 I shall not abandon all of you, as long as I live, nor can I abandon my mother. 174 Yet it is not the *dharma* of a *saṁnyāsin*, after taking *saṁnyāsa*, to remain with his relatives in the place of his birth. 175 That no one reproach or blame me, tell me the means by which I can follow both *dharma*s."

176 Hearing these gentle words of Prabhu, the Ācārya and the rest went to the side of Śacī. 177 They told her of the Prabhu's request, and hearing it Śacī, the mother of the world, began to speak, 178 "If he stays here, then I will be happy; but if the people reproach him, then I shall be sad. 179 It seems to me that a good way would be for him to live at Nīlācala, thus both duties will be fulfilled. 180 There will be two residences, at Nīlācala and at Navadvīpa, and from the people coming and going I shall get news constantly. 181 You all can come and go, and sometimes he will come to bathe in the Gaṅgā. 182 I do not count my own pleasure or pain; what is happiness to him I consider my own happiness." 183 Hearing this, the *bhaktas* praised her, "Your words, O mother, are like the injunctions of the Vedas." 184 The *bhaktas* came before Prabhu and told him, and hearing it, the heart of Prabhu was overjoyed.

185 He summoned all the *bhaktas*, as many as lived in Navadvīpa, and said, 186 "All of you are my dearest friends; I beg this of you, grant it to me. 187 Go to your homes, and always make *saṁkīrtana*; do the worship of Kṛṣṇa, tell the stories of Kṛṣṇa, take the name of Kṛṣṇa. 188 Let me take leave to go to Nīlācala; sometimes I shall come and see you." 189 So he said to them all, and smiled a little, and bade them all farewell. 190 Having bidden them all farewell, Prabhu thought to go; but Haridāsa came and said these pitiful words, 191 "You will go to Nīlācala. What am I to do? I cannot go to Nīlācala. 192 I am wretched, and I shall never gain the sight of you; how shall I hold on to this miserable life?" 193 Prabhu said, "Control your humility; my heart is distressed by your misery. 194 I shall pray for you to Jagannātha, and I shall take you to Śrī Puruṣottama."

195 Then the Ācārya said to him, pleading, "Be kind to us, and stay two or three more days." 196 Prabhu did not scorn the speech of the Ācārya, and he stayed at the house of Advaita, and did not go. 197 The Ācārya, Śacī, the *bhaktas*, and all were overjoyed, and every day the Ācārya had a great festival. 198 In the day there was the *rasa* of the story of Kṛṣṇa, with the *bhaktas*; and in the night great festivals, with delight in *saṁkīrtana*. 199 And Śacī cooked for him in delight, and Prabhu ate happily with the *bhaktas*. 200 The faith, the *bhakti*,

191. This is apparently because of Haridāsa's status as a former Muslim.

194. Śrī Puruṣottama: another name for Jagannātha Puri.

the house, the wealth and fortune of the Ācārya—all were fulfilled by the worship of Prabhu. 201 Seeing the face of her son, the joy of Śacī grew; she fed him, and her own happiness was full. 202 In the day the *bhaktas* met in the house of Advaita, and in delight they spent many days.

203 On another day Prabhu said to the *bhaktas*, "All go to your own homes. 204 And going there you all make Kṛṣṇa-*saṁkīrtana*; you will meet me again. 205 Sometimes you will come to Nīlādri, and sometimes I shall come to bathe in the Gaṅgā." 206 Nityānanda Gosvāmī and Paṇḍita Jagadananda, and Dāmodara Paṇḍita, and Mukunda Datta— 207 these four the Ācārya sent with Prabhu; and consoling his mother he bowed to her feet. 208 Then having circumambulated her, he left, and in the house of the Ācārya a wailing arose. 209 Prabhu did not regard it, and went quickly, and weeping the Ācārya followed behind him. 210 Having gone for some distance, Prabhu pressed his palms together, and consoling the Ācārya he spoke a few sweet words, 211 "Solace and console my mother and the devotees; do not be overcome; if you are, how can they bear to live?" 212 So saying, Prabhu embraced him; then, breaking away, he continued his journey, according to his desire. 213 Along the bank of the Gaṅgā, Prabhu with his four companions went to Nīlādri by way of Chatrabhogā. 214 In the *Caitanya Maṅgala* is the journey to

205. Nīlādri: Nīlācala.

213. Chatrabhogā is a place near the mouth of the river; the confluence of waters is always a holy place. It is about five miles south of Jayanagara-Majilpura, in modern Twenty-four Parganas district.

214. *CBh* 3.1-3.2.33 tells the story of what happened between the time of Caitanya's initiation in Kaṭoyā and his journey to the south, and that part of Vṛndāvana Dāsa's story which deals with the material covered in this chapter has some interesting differences. For example, Vṛndāvana Dāsa says that Caitanya went away from his companions for four days, and at the end of that time, when he met them, he declared his intention of going to Puri; this was before the time when Kṛṣṇadāsa tells us he returned to Śāntipura and was there persuaded by his mother to go to that place. Vṛndāvana Dāsa also makes Caitanya out to be quite aware of time and place: he asks the way to the Gaṅgā and goes to that river; there is no mention of his mistaking it for the Yamunā, which Kṛṣṇadāsa (following, by the way, both Kavikarṇapūra and Murāri Gupta) has him do. Vṛndāvana Dāsa has Caitanya spending time at places like Phuliya during his wanderings through the western part of Bengal, of which Kṛṣṇadāsa makes no mention; Vṛndāvana Dāsa also lists his companions differently, including Keśava Bhārati among them. Vṛndāvana Dāsa also has Caitanya sending Candrasekhara back first to inform the Navadvīpa devotees that he has taken *saṁnyāsa* (3.1.30) and later after additional wanderings through the Rāḍha country he sends Nityānanda to Navadvīpa to console the devotees (3.1.124), which differs from Kṛṣṇadāsa's account.

[Kavikarṇapūra's *KCCM* 11 condenses into a single chapter Caitanya's decision, renunciation, wandering, sojourn at Advaita's house, decision to reside in and subsequent trip to Puri. Murāri Gupta, in his *KCC*, devotes eight chapters to these episodes: Caitanya's *saṁnyāsa* (3.2), wanderings



Niladri, and Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described and detailed it there. <sup>215</sup> Those who hear the activities of Prabhu in the house of Advaita quickly gain the wealth of Kṛṣṇa-prema.

<sup>216</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

around Rādhā (3.3); arrival at Advaita's house (3.4); and his trip to Puri (3.5-10). There are no significant variations in any of these texts, although some do contain stories not found elsewhere. TKS]

But whichever of these texts is to be believed as to details of these incidents, Kṛṣṇadāsa here himself acknowledges Vṛndāvana Dāsa's description of the trip to Puri; *CBh* 3.2. It was briefly as follows: from Śāntipura, Caitanya went to the village of Āṭisārā, from there along the banks of the Gaṅgā to Chatrabhogā, and from there, by virtue of the help of the powerful lord of the area, Rāmacandra Khān, by boat to Orissa. Landing, the small party progressed along the bank of the Suvarṇarekhā river, and it was at that place that Nityānanda broke the staff, the symbol of asceticism, of Caitanya (below, 2.5.141 ff.). In anger, Caitanya proceeded alone from there, his companions Nityānanda, Gadādhara, Mukunda, Govinda, Jagadānanda, and Brahmananda, following to the west. Caitanya reached the village of Jaleśvara, and was carrying on *kṛtana* in the courtyard of the Śiva-temple of that place when Nityānanda appeared. Caitanya's anger had cooled, and again they travelled together, through the villages of Bāṁsāda, Remuṇa, Yajapura, Kāṭaka, Bhubaneśvara, Kamalapura, finally to Āṭhāranālā, near Puri. At that place, his companions acceded to Caitanya's wish to see Jagannātha alone, and they sent him on ahead. When he saw the image, he lost consciousness. The guardians of the temple began to beat him, but were stopped from doing so by Vasudeva Sarvabhauma. Vasudeva had the temple guards lift the unconscious Caitanya and told them to carry him to his own house; as they were doing so, Nityānanda and the other devotees appeared. They followed to the house of Sarvabhauma.

Kṛṣṇadāsa, from place to place in the *madhya līlā*, treats some of these same incidents, though not necessarily in this sequence, and his account agrees, by and large, with that of Vṛndāvana Dāsa. Some of the slight differences are: Caitanya's companions are Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara Paṇḍita, and Mukunda Datta; Nityānanda breaks Caitanya's staff on the bank of the Bhargi, and Caitanya loses consciousness there; and Nityānanda does not appear while the temple guards are carrying the unconscious Caitanya, but later.

## Madhya Līlā Chapter 4

*Sloka* 1.

I bow to that Mādhavendra, for whom Gopīnātha stole the *kṣītra*, being called *kṣītra*-stealer, and through whose devotion Śrī Gopāla became manifest, being submissive.

<sup>1</sup> Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

<sup>2</sup> The trip to Niladri and the sight of Jagannātha, and the meeting of Prabhu with Sarvabhauma Bhāṭṭācārya— <sup>3</sup> all these *līlās* of Prabhu Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described in the best possible way in detail. <sup>4</sup> By their nature the various *viḥāras* of Caitanya are sweet, but in the mouth of Vṛndāvana Dāsa they are a stream of nectar. <sup>5</sup> Thus if I described these, it would be repetition; even if I were arrogant enough to describe them, I have not the power. <sup>6</sup> That *līlā* which he has described in the *Caitanya Maṅgala*, he has outlined in the form of *sūtras*. <sup>7</sup> Let me speak of this *līlā*, however inadequately, which he had not described in full in those *sūtras* of his. <sup>8</sup> Thus, at his feet I make obeisance; let there be no offence of mine at his feet.

<sup>9</sup> In this way Mahāprabhu proceeded to Nilācala, eager, with his four *bhaktas* in Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana. <sup>10</sup> One day he went to a village to seek alms, and by himself

*Sloka* 1. *Kṣītra*: see commentary on v. 17 below.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Vasudeva Sarvabhauma. See the commentary on 2.3.214.

<sup>7</sup> [Vṛndāvana Dāsa devotes only three couplets to this episode, *CBh* 3.2.273-75; Murāri Gupta records the visit in *KCC* 3.6.3-11; Kavikarṇapūra notes in a single stanza that Caitanya visited Remuṇa, *KCCM* 11.78, while in his drama he devotes only four short sections to it, *CCN* 6.19-21. None of these accounts describes Mādhavendra Puri's story. TKS]



he begged and brought a great deal of rice. 11 On the way were many toll-collectors, who hindered him not at all; giving mercy to them all, he came to Remuṇā. 12 In Remuṇā is Gopīnātha of greatest charm, and Prabhu went there in devotion to have *darśana*. 13 While [Caitanya was] bowing to his lotus-feet, the flowers from his head fell onto the head of Prabhu. 14 Receiving the flowers, the heart of Mahāprabhu was overjoyed, and with the *bhaktas* he sang and danced a great deal. 15 Seeing the power of Prabhu, and his qualities of beauty and *prema*, then servants of Gopīnātha were all struck with astonishment. 16 In various ways in love they served Prabhu, and Prabhu spent the night there. 17 Prabhu remained there, desirous of the *kṣīra* of the *mahāprasāda*; formerly, Īśvara Pūrī had spoken to him of this. 18 His name was famous as the “Kṣīra-cora Gopīnātha”; Prabhu explained this to the *bhaktas*. 19 Formerly, for Mādhavendra Pūrī, he had stolen some *kṣīra*, and thus his name was “Kṣīra-cora Hari.”

20 Once Mādhava Pūrī had come to Vṛndāvana, and while wandering he went to the Govarddhana mountain. 21 Absorbed in *prema*, he knew neither night nor day; now he fell, now he rose up, and knew not where he was. 22 Circumambulating the hill, he came to the Govindakuṇḍa; he bathed, and was sitting under a tree. It was evening. 23 A cowherd boy with a pot of milk came and placed it before him, and said, smiling, 24 “Pūrī, drink this milk. Why do you not beg and eat? Upon what do you meditate?” 25 Pūrī was delighted with the beauty of the boy, and at the sweetness of his words, his hunger and thirst disappeared. 26 Pūrī said, “Who are you? Where do you live? How did you know that I am fasting?” 27 The boy said, “I am a cowherd, and I live in the

11. The term is *dānti*; they were literally toll-collectors, and if they were not paid their toll, they would not allow the traveller to pass. Whether these were functionaries of the king or of local landlords is not clear. One such story is told in Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 3.2.162-87. Caitanya and his companions were stopped by a *dānti*, who demanded payment. Seeing the magnificence of Caitanya, he allowed him to pass, but retained his companions until their toll could be paid. Passing on a little way, Caitanya fell to the earth weeping. The toll collector was surprised, and asked Caitanya's companions who they all were, and who Caitanya was. They replied that he was the lord of all, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, and that they were his servants. Impressed by the *prema* of them all, the collector bowed to Caitanya and begged his forgiveness. [Murāri Gupta tells his version in *KCC* 3.7. TKS]

17. *Kṣīra* is a kind of inspissated or cream slowly thickened with low heat; it was famous as the *prasāda* of this particular deity Gopīnātha, for reasons Caitanya is about to explain.

18. *Cora*: thief.

22. Govindakuṇḍa: the name of a small body of water on Mount Govarddhana.

24. Mādhavendra Pūrī was the kind of ascetic known as *ayācaka*; he would not beg for his food. If anyone gave him anything voluntarily, he would accept it, but he would not ask.

village; and in my village, no one remains hungry. 28 Some by begging have rice to eat, some drink milk; and to those who do not ask, I give food. 29 The women saw you when they came to draw water, and all the women gave me milk and sent me to you. 30 I want to milk the cows, so I will go quickly; I shall come again and take the pot.” 31 So saying, the boy went away, and was not seen again. And Mādhava Pūrī was astonished in his mind. 32 He drank the milk, and washed the pot and put it aside; he watched the path, but the boy did not come again. 33 Pūrī, sat, taking the name, and did not sleep. At the end of the night he felt sleepy, and the outside world was far away. 34 He saw in a dream that the boy had come before him, and holding him by the hand had taken him into a grove. 35 Showing him the grove, he said, “I stay in this grove, and I suffer much from cold and rain and wind and fire. 36 Call the people of the village, and take me from this grove, and put me, well-placed, upon the hill. 37 Build a temple there and put me in it, wash my body with much cool water. 38 I have been watching the path for you for many days, [thinking] ‘When will Mādhava come and serve me?’ 39 You have served me, and I am conquered by your *prema*; I shall show myself and pervade the whole world. 40 My name is Gopāla, the upholder of Govarddhana; I have been established by Vajra, and am the lord of this place. 41 Taking me from the top of the hill, my servant hid me in the grove, and fled in fear of the *mlecchas*. 42 From that time I have remained in this forest-place; it is good that you have come to take me out so carefully.” 43 So saying, the boy disappeared. And awakening, Mādhava Pūrī reflected on it, 44 “I have seen Kṛṣṇa, but did not recognize him.” And so saying, he fell to the earth, overcome with *prema*. 45 Having wept for a time, he calmed himself again, and decided to honor his instruction.

46 Having performed his morning ablutions, Pūrī came to the center of the town, and having gathered all the people together, he began to say to them, 47 “The Īśvara of your village is Govardhanadhārī; he is within the grove. Come, let us bring him out. 48 The grove is very dense and thick; we cannot penetrate it. Bring axes and spades and make an opening.” 49 Hearing this, the people went with him happily; cutting into the grove, they made a path and entered.

39. *Vaśa*: conquered, controlled; see also 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl*5; 2.23.26.

40. *BhP* 10.90.37 and 11.31.25. Pradyumna was the son of Kṛṣṇa, Aniruddha was the son of Pradyumna, and Vajra was the son of Aniruddha. When the Yadu lineage was destroyed, Vajra, with a few women, children, and old men survived; Arjuna consecrated Vajra as king.

47. I.e., the holder of Govarddhana; the reference is to Kṛṣṇa's holding the mountain on his finger over the village, to protect it and its people from the angry Indra's storm.



50 They saw the *ṭhakura* covered with grass and earth, and seeing it all the people were struck with astonishment. 51 Having uncovered him, they informed [Purī] of it. But the image was very heavy, and no one could move it. 52 The most powerful men gathered there, and with Purī they took the image up upon the hill. 53 They placed the image on a throne of stone, and they put a big stone behind the image to support it. 54 The *brāhmaṇas* of the village all brought new water-pots; having strained it, they brought water from the Govindakuṇḍa. 55 They presented a hundred new pots of water, and many instruments and drums sounded, and the women sang. 56 Some sang, some danced, and there was a great festival; much milk and curd and *ghi* was brought from the village. 57 And articles for the food-offerings came, much *sandeśa* and the rest, and many presents, so many that I cannot describe them all. 58 *Tulasī*, flowers, and cloth, many such things came; and Mādhavendra Purī himself performed the ceremony of the installation of the image. 59 Bathing [the image], all impurities were washed away; and he put much oil on the sacred body, until it glistened. 60 And he bathed him with the five articles from the cow, and the five sweets; and then he gave him a great bath with the hundred pots of water. 61 And again he put on oil, and the body glistened; and he finished the bathing with scented water from a conch-shell.

62 Having washed the holy body he dressed it with clothing; sandal, *tulasī*, and a garland of flowers he put upon the body. 63 Then he began the offerings of food, with incense and lamp, and he brought milk and curd and *sandeśa* sweets of various kinds. 64 He presented sweet-scented water in new jars, and rinsing his mouth, again he presented *tāmbūla*. 65 Having offered *ārati*, he said prayers and praises, and bowing before it, he made the dedication of himself. 66 As much husked rice, lentil, and wheat flour as there was in the village the people brought, and the hill was covered. 67 The earthen pots which were in the house of the potter, all were brought in the morning, and the cooking started. 68 Ten *brāhmaṇas* cooked the food, and they made a big mound of it;

50. *ṭhakura*: lord, here the image of Govarddhanadhārī.

57. *Sandeśa*: a sweet made from milk, especially popular in Bengal.

59. The image itself is not impure, nor could it be; but it was stained and soiled from having lain so long in the forest.

60. Cowdung, cow urine, milk, curd, and *ghi*. The five sweet things are milk, curd, *ghi*, honey, and sugar.

64. *Tāmbūla*: a betelnut preparation, "pan" (*pāna*).

65. *Ātmasarpaṇa kaila*: "made the dedication of the self."

and there were five who cooked various curries, and various sauces. 69 *Śaka* and fruits and roots from the forest made many kinds of curries; and some *brāhmaṇas* prepared *baḍas* and *baḍīs* and *kaḍīs*. 70 Five or seven prepared rows and rows of *ruṭī*; and there were all kinds of other curries, drenched with *ghi*. 71 They put new cloth on the ground and on it *palāśa* leaves, and on these cooked rice was placed. 72 And beside it a mountainous row of *ruṭī*; containers of sauces and curries filled the four directions. 73 Beside these were curd and milk, buttermilk, and other kinds of milk preparations, and beside these were *pāyasa*, butter, and cream. 74 In this way mountains of food were prepared, and Purī Gosvāmī presented them to Gopāla. 75 Having filled many pots they offered sweet-smelling water, and with a hunger of many days, Gopāla ate it all. 76 Even though Gopāla ate all the rice and curry, at the touch of his hand it was at once restored. 77 Mādhava Gosvāmī perceived this; from him Gopāla hid nothing.

78 Thus in their great zeal a great feast was prepared in a single day; it was through the power of Gopāla, though others did not know. 79 They gave him water to rinse his mouth, and betel-rolls, and the people made *ārati*, shouting "Jaya jaya!" 80 Then they laid him down, having brought a new bed, and on top of it they brought and spread a new cloth. 81 They screened it off in four directions with a hedge of grass, and covered it on top with a screen. 82 Purī Gosvāmī gave an instruction to all the *brāhmaṇas*, "Feed the women and children and old people of the village." 83 They all sat down and ate in order, feeding the *brāhmaṇas* and their wives first. 84 Many people came from other villages, to see; and seeing Gopāla they all [also] partook of the *prasāda*. 85 Seeing

69. *Śaka*: a leafy green vegetable, similar to spinach; *baḍa*: a cake fried in oil; *baḍī*: a preparation of split peas; *kaḍī*: a milk preparation peculiar to the people who live in Vraja.

70. *Ruṭī* is a kind of bread.

71. *Palāśa*: *Butea Frondosa*, a tree with stiff spikey leaves and brilliant red odorless flowers.

73. *Pāyasa*: sweet rice porridge boiled in milk with sugar, spices, and occasionally nuts and raisins, similar to British frumenty, also *pāyasaṇna*.

79. [*Jaya jaya*: lit., "victory, victory." The exclamation carries a strong sense of praise and celebration, often used in public gatherings to express auspiciousness, approval, jubilation, and communal solidarity. TKS]

85. *Annakūṭa* is literally "mountain of rice," and there is a double meaning here. There was a mountain of rice; and at the time of the previous manifestation of Kṛṣṇa, there was a mountain of rice on the occasion of the Govarddhan-pūjā. The *annakūṭa* festival comes on the first day of the waxing of the moon after the new moon day following the autumn *pūjā*; on that day, in former times, says Rādhagovinda Natha, those who lived in Vraja had Indra-pūjā; but when Kṛṣṇa came, he put a stop to that, and from that time Govarddhan-pūjā became current. One of the characteristics of the *pūjā* is the offering of a mountain of rice (*annakūṭa*).



the power of Pūrī the people were astonished, for it was like a manifest mountain of rice of former days. 86 Pūrī made all the *brāhmaṇas* Vaiṣṇavas, and appointed them all for the service [of Gopāla]. 87 At the end of the day, he raised up the lord again, and fed him food and water.

88 'Gopāla has appeared'—the word was in the country, and people from the villages around came to see. 89 Each day in each village they begged and took mountains of food, and were delighted. 90 In the night, after putting the deity to rest, Pūrī Gosvāmī took some of the food-offering. 91 In the morning again he began the service, and people came bringing food from the village. 92 Rice, *ghī*, milk, curd—as much as there was in the village the people brought and placed before Gopāla. 93 The *brāhmaṇas* cooked as on the previous day, and so Gopāla ate mountains of food. 94 The people living in Vraja love Kṛṣṇa naturally, so it was natural for Gopāla to have love for them. 95 All the people came and ate *mahāprasāda*, and seeing Gopāla the grief and sorrow of all were dispelled. 96 All the villages that were around the land of Vraja, each on a single day came for a great festival. 97 Hearing of the appearance of Gopāla, people began to come from other regions, bringing various things. 98 The people of Mathurā who were very very wealthy, in great *bhakti* brought many things as presents. 99 Presents of gold and silver and cloth and scent were uncountable, and the store grew constantly. 100 A very wealthy *kṣatriya* had a temple built; and one man had a kitchen and storehouse [built], and another an enclosure. 101 Everyone living in Vraja gave a cow, so Gopāla received thousands and thousands of cows. 102 From Gauḍa came two ascetic *brāhmaṇas*; Pūrī Gosvāmī kept them with great care. 103 He made these two his pupils and dedicated them to the service; it was a service as of a king, and the joy of Pūrī grew.

97. The term *deśa* is difficult to translate, for it has relative value: a Bengali living outside Bengal might call Bengal his *deśa*; a man from an outlying district living in Calcutta might call the district, or even his village, as *deśa*. Here it probably means other regions or sections of the district.

100. A kitchen was and is standard at temples, for the feeding of mendicants and others. The enclosure was probably a wall surrounding the various buildings, forming a courtyard.

103. "He made these two his pupils": he gave them the *dikṣa-mantra* of Kṛṣṇa. A little more is known from Narahari Cakravartī's *BhR* 5.804-834: "After the death of those two *brāhmaṇas*, for some time certain fortunate people served; then, on the advice of Śrīdāsa Gosvāmī and others, Śrī Viṭṭhaleśvara was made the chief attendant. His father was Śrī Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, and after his death [Viṭṭhaleśvara] remained for some time by himself in Mathurā; he was deeply affected by the *līlā* of Caitanya, and now was dedicated to the service of Gopāla." We shall see that Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was much loved by Caitanya, who stayed at his house in Prayāga. And we shall see that Vallabha travelled to Pūrī to show to Caitanya a commentary which he had written on the *BhP*. There he was initiated with the *mantra* of Kīśoragopāla; he had been a devotee of Balagopāla. He went from there

104 Like this he served for two years, and then one day Pūrī Gosvāmī saw a dream. 105 Gopāla said, "Pūrī, my fever does not leave me; anoint me with the sandal that grows in the Malaya mountains, then I shall be soothed. 106 Bring me the Malaya-grown [sandal] from Nīlācala and from nowhere else; go quickly." 107 Seeing this dream, Pūrī Gosvāmī was overcome with *prema*; at the order of Prabhu, he went at once to the east. 108 He established people with strong attachment to service, and having taken leave, he went to the Gauḍa country. 109 He came to Śāntipura, to the house of Advaitācārya; seeing the *prema* of Pūrī, the Ācārya's heart was glad. 110 From him he carefully took a *mantra*. Having given *dikṣa* to him, Pūrī went to the south.

111 At Remuṇā he had *darśana* of Gopīnātha; seeing his beauty, his heart was overcome. 112 Having sung and danced, he sat on the *jagamohana*, and asked the *brāhmaṇas*, "What kind of food offerings are made?" 113 Seeing the beauty of the service his heart was very glad; the food-offering was of the best kind—this he deduced and understood. 114 "I shall ask everyone how this food-offering is made, and I shall have such prepared for Gopāla." 115 He asked the *brāhmaṇas* about the matter, and the *brāhmaṇas* described to him how to prepare the food. 116 "For the food-offering in the evening there is *kṣīra*, and it is called *amṛtakeli*, for it is like nectar; we fill twelve earthen vessels with it. 117 Its name is famous as the *kṣīra* of Gopīnātha, and there is no other offering like it in all the earth." 118 At that time the food-offering was prepared for the *ṭhākura*, and hearing this Pūrī Gosvāmī considered it in his mind, 119 "If I can manage to get a little of this *kṣīra-prasāda* without begging, I can know its taste;

to live in Mathurā. It would seem in any case from the *BhR*'s vagueness and uncertainty on the matter, that after the death of the two Bengali *brāhmaṇas*, there was some confusion as to the appointment of successors: "for some time certain fortunate people served . . ." When he was appointed, it is known from Raghunātha Dāsa's *Gopalarāja-stotra*, that Viṭṭhaleśvara served Gopāla well and with deep faith and love. But it was with the appointment of Viṭṭhaleśvara that the connection of the Gauḍīya *sampradāya* with the service of Gopāla became tenuous, for Viṭṭhaleśvara was not a Bengali, as is obvious from his name, even though he was deeply influenced by Caitanya. His father's other name was in fact Vallabha Ācārya, and a separate *sampradāya* was formed by his pupils and their pupils, which found itself in time in opposition to the Gauḍīya *sampradāya*; see Introduction, Sect. II, esp. fn. 44.

110. Because he was very impressed with Mādhavendra, it was proper for Advaita to take a *mantra* from him.

112. The *jagamohana* is a place in front of the temple. "Food-offering" here and throughout is *bhoga*.

118. *ṭhākura*: lord, a common epithet for the image.

119. See ante, note on v. 24.



then I shall offer the *kṣīra* to Gopāla." 120 At this thought he was ashamed, and he meditated on Viṣṇu; just then the food-offering was removed and the *ārati* was sounded. 121 Seeing the *ārati*, Purī made obeisance, and he came outside, saying nothing more to anyone. 122 It was not Purī's inclination to ask things of people; he was indifferent and detached. When he got food without asking, he ate. When he did not, he went hungry. 123 He was satisfied with the nectar of *prema*, and he had neither hunger nor thirst. But he had a craving for the *kṣīra*, and he considered that an offence. 124 Sitting in the empty market of the village, he made *kīrtana*. The *pājārī* put the *ṭhakura* to rest.

125 Having performed his duties, the *pājārī* himself went to rest; and in his sleep the *ṭhakura* came and said some words to him, 126 "Rise up, *pājārī*, and open the door; I have left a piece of *kṣīra* there for a *saṁnyāsīn*. 127 Under a corner of my loincloth the piece of *kṣīra* is hidden; you all did not know it because of my *māyā*. 128 Mādhava Purī is the *saṁnyāsīn*, sitting in the market place; quickly take this piece of *kṣīra* and give it to him." 129 Seeing this dream, the *pājārī* awoke and reflected on it. Having bathed, he opened the door, and the gate. 130 Under the corner of the loincloth he found the *kṣīra*; and he cleansed the place and took the *kṣīra* and went outside. 131 Closing the door, he went into the village, taking the *kṣīra*; he went from marketplace to marketplace, looking for Mādhava Purī. 132 "Whoever is named Mādhava Purī, take this *kṣīra*; for you Gopīnātha has stolen the *kṣīra*. 133 Take this *kṣīra* and eat it in happiness, for there is none in the three worlds as blessed as are you." 134 When he heard this, Purī Gosvāmī made himself known; giving him the *kṣīra* the *pājārī* bowed to him. 135 The *pājārī* then told him the story of the *kṣīra*, and when he heard it Śrī Mādhava Purī was overcome with *prema*. 136 Seeing his *prema* the *sevaka* said, astonished, "Kṛṣṇa is under the control of this man—and that is as it should be." 137 So saying, he made obeisance and left; and with great joy Purī ate the *kṣīra*. 138 He washed the vessel, then broke it into pieces, and he tied and kept the pieces in his outer cloth. 139 Each day he ate a piece of it; and when he ate it he was overcome with *prema*—a strange and wonder-

120. The *ārati*, the offering of lights, is accompanied by the sound of gongs, conch-shells, and so on.

124. The *pājārī* is the priest of the temple who conducts the *pāja*-service.

135. *Āviṣṭa*: overcome, possessed, under the influence; also *āveṣa* in following passages.

136. *Vaṣa*: see commentary to v. 39 above.

139. This may seem a trifle strange, but the Bengali is clear: *pratidina ekkhāni karen bhakṣaṇa / khāile premāveśe haya adbhuta kathana //*. It might be possible to interpret *khāile* as "sucking" or something of the sort, but *bhakṣaṇa* is clearly "eating."

ful thing. 140 "The *ṭhakura* gave *kṣīra* to me—the moment they hear of it, people from all over will come in great throngs when they have learned where I am." 141 Fearing this, as soon as the night was ended, Śrī Purī bowed to Gopīnātha in his abode, then slipped away.

142 Travelling and travelling, Purī came to Śrī Nīlācala, and when he saw Jagannātha he was overcome with *prema*. 143 Under the influence of *prema* he fell and got up, he laughed and danced and sang, and at the sight of Jagannātha gained great joy. 144 "Śrīpāda Mādhava Purī has come," the people spread the word abroad, and all the people came in great devotion to him. 145 It is well known in the world that the nature of fame is that it comes to him who does not desire it; this is the ordination of God. 146 So in fear of fame, Purī fled; but fame goes with the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa. 147 Even though he was anxious to flee, he was bound by the getting of the sandalwood for the *ṭhakura*. 148 To all the servants of Jagannātha and to all the *mahāntas*, Purī told the story of Gopāla. 149 "Gopāla asks for sandalwood"—hearing this the *bhaktas* in delight began to search for it. 150 Whoever was acquainted with a minister of the court collected sandalwood and camphor, begging it from him. 151 To carry the sandalwood, they gave to Purī Gosvāmī one *brāhmaṇa* and one *sevaka*, together with travelling expenses. 152 To avoid the payment of tolls to the king's officers at the ghats, they gave Purī Gosvāmī a royal letter, written by the king.

153 So Mādhava Purī went, taking the sandalwood, and after some days he reached Remuṇā. 154 He made repeated obeisances to the feet of Gopīnātha, and under the control of *prema*, he made *kīrtana* incessantly. 155 When he saw Purī, the *sevakas* paid him all respects, and they fed him with *prasāda* of *kṣīra*. 156 That night he slept in the place of the god, and at the end of the night Purī saw a dream. 157 Gopāla came and said to him, "Hear, O Mādhava, I have received all the camphor and sandalwood. 158 Rub all this sandalwood with the camphor every day on the body of Gopīnātha. 159 Gopīnātha has the same body as I, and if you anoint his body with sandal, mine will be soothed. 160 Have no doubt or hesitation, nor think on it; believe, and give the sandal according to my words." 161 So saying,

148. *Mahānta*: the term is often used to refer to *saṁnyāsīns*, but perhaps here means, more generally, *bhaktas* or honorable men.

150. Evidently at the time, either sandalwood was the property of the king, and except for servants of the court or people with their permission, no one could gather it, or it was so expensive that no one else could afford it.

151. Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets *sevaka* here not as a functionary of a temple, but as a servant to carry the sandalwood; the term in vv. 155 and 161-66 clearly means those who served the image of Gopīnātha.



Gopāla left, and the Gosvāmī awoke; he summoned the *sevakas* of Gopīnātha. 162 "The instruction of Prabhu was—"With this camphor and sandalwood every day anoint the body of Gopīnātha." 163 When you give sandal to him, Gopāla will be cooled. Śvara is self-dependent, and his command is powerful. 164 In the hot season Gopīnātha will wear sandalwood." Hearing this, the hearts of the *sevakas* were joyful. 165 Purī said, "These two will prepare the sandal, and two others will have the reward of putting it on his body." 166 In this way every day they prepared the sandal, and the *sevakas* applied it in great joy. 167 Each day they put on the sandal, until there was an end of it; and Purī remained there until that time. 168 At the end of the hot season, again he went to Nīlācala, and he stayed at Nīlācala for four months, in great joy.

169 Thus [Caitanya's] holy mouth told the nectar of the actions of Mādhava Purī to the *bhaktas*, and having told them, Prabhu was overjoyed. 170 Prabhu said, "Nityānanda, reflect on this; there is none as blessed in the world as Purī. 171 Under the pretext of giving him milk, Kṛṣṇa appeared to him, and he came three times in a dream and gave him instructions. 172 It was because of the power of his *prema* that he appeared, and accepting service he saved the world. 173 It was for him that Gopīnātha stole the *kṣīra*, and caused the sandal and camphor to be put on the body. 174 It was difficult to bring camphor and sandal through the country of the *mlecchas*. 'Purī will have trouble'—Gopāla knew this. 175 But Prabhu is full of mercy and loving consideration toward his *bhaktas*; so he put on the sandal, and fulfilled the labor of his *bhakta*. 176 Consider the glory of the *prema* of Purī; this unworldly *prema* strikes the mind with wonder. 177 He was of the utmost indifference to the world, silent, and everywhere free from self-interest; in fear of vulgar talk, he was without any companion. 178 This man received the nectar of the order of Gopāla, and walked a

163. *Svatantra*: self-dependent.

165. Rādhāgovinda Nātha says "the *brāhmaṇa* and the *sevakas* who had come with him from Purī."

173-174. The GM edition expands 173 into two couplets: "It was for him that Gopīnātha stole the *kṣīra*, thus getting the name *Kṣīracora*. And he caused the sandal and camphor to be put on the body. And in joy the *prema* of Purī Gosvāmī swelled."

174. This is the reason that Gopāla did not instruct Purī to bring the sandalwood back to Vṛndāvana: the Muslims controlled all that country, and Purī, carrying a valuable load, would have been robbed and perhaps otherwise molested.

177. *Grāmyavartta*: vulgar talk, perhaps "gossip," or, as Rādhāgovinda Nātha puts it, "chatter about worldly matters"; in other words, he was not afraid so much of what the society might say about it as he was of having to listen to idle talk from any companion he might choose.

178. *Krośa*: about two miles.

thousand *krośas*, for begging the sandal. 179 He remained hungry, rather than beg food to eat; that same man went bearing the load of sandal. 180 A maund of sandal, and twenty *tolas* of camphor—"I will put this on Gopāla"—this was his very great joy. 181 And when the collector of Utkala stopped him, seeing the sandal, he showed the king's pass and escaped him. 182 The road through the *mleccha*-country is long and the taxes high. [But] he did not consider—"How shall I take the sandal?" 183 And with him he had not a thing to give to the toll-collectors at the ghats; still he had great determination to take the sandal. 184 And this is the form and nature of such deep *prema*, that he did not consider his own difficulties or sorrows. 185 To show to the people this profound *prema* of his, Gopāla gave him the instruction to bring the sandalwood. 186 With much difficulty he brought the sandal to Remuṇā, and joy grew in his heart, and he did not count his sorrow. 187 It was to examine him that Gopāla gave him the order, and having examined him, at the end he was merciful. 188 This *bhakti*, and the behavior of Kṛṣṇa, and the beloved of the *bhaktas*, none of us have the power to understand."

189 Having said this, Caitanya recited a *śloka* composed by him; by the moon of the *śloka* he illumined the world. 190 As the scent of the best of Malaya-grown sandal increases as the wood is rubbed, so it is with the exposition of this *śloka*. 191 As the *kaustubha*-gem among jewels, so is this *śloka* among the poetry of *rasa*. 192 This was a *śloka* spoken by Rādhā Ṭhākuraṇī; by her grace it was expressed in the voice of Mādhavendra. 193 Gauracandra tasted it, and there was no fourth person [able] to taste it. 194 At the end of his life, he recited this *śloka* again and again, and with the *śloka* Purī attained release.

*Śloka* 2. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Padyāvalī* 330 [quoting Mādhavendra Purī]:

O lord, moist with pity for the wretched, lord of Mathurā, when will I see you? For want of the sight of you, my heart is restless and anxious. O merciful one, what shall I do?

180. A maund is 100 pounds Troy weight (82 pounds avoirdupois); a *tolā* is 180 grains Troy.

182. *Jagati apāra*: the taxes high. *Jagati* is a Hindi word, meaning a duty levied on goods before those goods can be brought into a town or through a check point.

190. To make the sweet-smelling and soothing sandalwood paste, the wood is rubbed on a rough stone.

191. *Kaustubha-maṇi* is the name of the jewel which is suspended around the neck of Viṣṇu.

194. I.e., he died with this *śloka* on his lips. *Siddhi-prāpti*: he became "one who had gained perfection or the ultimate."

*Śloka* 2. See 3.8.śl.2.



195 While reciting this *śloka* Prabhu became unconscious; overcome with *prema*, he fell to the earth. 196 Slowly and gently, Nityānanda took him into his arms, and then Gaurācandra rose, weeping. 197 Mad with *prema*, he got up and ran this way and that, shouting, laughing, weeping, dancing, and singing. 198 "Ayi dīna ayi dīna" he said again and again; his voice caught in his throat, and streams of tears flowed from his eyes. 199 Trembling, sweat, tears and gooseflesh, paralysis, pallor, remorse, dejections, apathy, arrogance, happiness, humility— 200 [all] the doors of *prema* were opened by this *śloka*. And the *sevaka*s of Gopīnātha watched this *prema*-dance of Prabhu. 201 Seeing the crowd of people, Prabhu became aware again. The offering to the *ṭhākura* was removed, and the *ārati* was sounded. 202 Having put the *ṭhākura* to rest, the *pājari* came outside, and brought and placed before Prabhu the *prasāda*, a heap of *kṣīra*. 203 Seeing the *kṣīra*, the joy of Mahāprabhu increased; he took five [pots of] *kṣīra* to feed the *bhaktas*. 204 Seven [pots of] *kṣīra* he took and returned to the priest, and the five people divided and ate the five *kṣīras*. 205 Even though he had already eaten in the form of Gopīnātha, he ate the *prasāda* to teach his *bhaktas*. 206 They passed that night in *nāma-saṅkīrtana*, and in the morning they left, having seen the auspicious *ārati*.

207 So the qualities of Gopāla and Gopīnātha and Purī Gosvāmī Prabhu tasted in his holy mouth, as did the *bhaktas*. 208 So I have enumerated the glories of both, Prabhu's love and affection toward his *bhaktas*, and the limits of the *prema* of the *bhaktas*. 209 He who hears with faith gains the wealth of *prema* at the feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

210 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

195-96. See commentary to 2.3.128-33.

198. "Ayi dīna" are the first two words of the *śloka*: *ayi dīnadāyārdra*, "O you who are merciful toward wretched creatures."

198-99. See ante, 1.7.86-93, 1.17.5 and 2.18.151-74 and commentaries.

200. I.e., all these emotions conflicting within him.

201. *Bāhya haila*: became aware, i.e., regained normal consciousness.

204. Presumably Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara, Mukunda Datta, and Caitanya himself.

205. I.e., Caitanya was Gopīnātha, and in that form he had already accepted the food-offering.

## Madhya Līla Chapter 5

### Śloka 1.

I bow to Sakṣīgopāla, he, that lord of *brāhmaṇas* who is characterized by wonderful *līla*, who because of the miracles wrought by the *brāhmaṇa* has come on foot to a place that takes a journey of a hundred days, being the true form of the image.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra, glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 While on the way, they came to Yajapuragrāma, and seeing Varāha Ṭhākura they bowed in respect. 3 Dancing and singing, they offered many praises in *prema*; they remained at Yajapura that night, and went on their way. 4 Coming to Kaṭaka, they saw Sakṣīgopāla, and when they saw the beauty of Gopāla, they were overjoyed. 5 Being possessed by *prema*, they danced and sang there for awhile, and overcome they praised Gopāla. 6 They remained there that night with the *bhaktas*, and with great joy, they listened to the former stories of Gopāla. 7 When Nityānanda Gosvāmī was wandering on pilgrimage, he

Śloka 1. *Pratimā*: the image of the deity, the physical representation.

2. At Yajapura there is an image of Varāha, the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu. [Murāri in KCC 3.6.14-16 separates these two places, i.e., the Varāha image, which was tended by the same family of *brāhmaṇas* for seventy-seven generations! and Yajapura, which is a great Śaiva center with many *lingas* installed. TKS]

4. [The story of Caitanya's visit to Sakṣīgopāla is mentioned only in passing by the other biographers. Vṛndāvana Dāsa devotes only three couplets to it, CBh 3.2.299-301; Murāri Gupta does not mention it in KCC; and Kavikarṇapūra fails to mention it in his *kāvya*, KCCM, but does so in his drama CCN 5.22-24. Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to be following the sequence of the CCN in this section of his text. TKS]

7. Nityānanda had left his home in his boyhood, and first with a *saṁnyāsin* and then by himself had for many years wandered about India, visiting places of pilgrimage. Sakṣīgopāla, "Gopāla the Witness," was the name of the image at Kaṭaka (Cuttack).



had come to Kāṭaka, to see Sakṣigopāla. 8 He heard from the mouths of the people the story of Sakṣigopāla, and he told that story before Prabhu with great delight.

9 Once there were two *brāhmaṇas* of Vidyānagara, and both of them had started on a pilgrimage. 10 They had gone to Gaya, Vārāṇasī, Prayāga, and so on, and both, in great joy, had come to Mathurā. 11 On the *Vana-yātrā* they saw the forests, and then they saw Govarddhana, and when they had seen the twelve forests they finally came to Vṛndāvana. 12 And in Vṛndāvana, at the Govinda-sthāna, there was a great temple; and at that temple great service of Gopāla took place. 13 At the Keśīrtha and at Kaliyāhradā they bathed, and after seeing Śrī Gopāla they rested there awhile. 14 The beauty of Gopāla stole both their minds, and gaining great happiness they remained there for several days. 15 Of the two *brāhmaṇas* one was rather old, and the other *brāhmaṇa* was young—he served the former. 16 The younger *brāhmaṇa* always served him, and by his service the *brāhmaṇa* was well pleased in his heart. 17 The *brāhmaṇa* said, “You have served me well; you have helped me, and helped me to visit many pilgrimage places. 18 Some do not do such service for their fathers. By your favor, I have had no difficulty. 19 It would be ingratitude if I did not do you honor, and thus I shall give you the gift of my daughter.” 20 The younger *brāhmaṇa* said, “Hear me, O honored *brāhmaṇa*, why do you speak of the impossible, of that which can never be? 21 You are high in rank, learned, wealthy,

11. *Vana-yātrā*: “the forest pilgrimage,” visiting the twelve separate forests of Vṛndāvana.

12. *Mahādevālaya* might also be “a temple of Śiva (Mahādeva)”; but since Kṛṣṇadāsa specifies that the worship of Gopāla took place at the temple, “a great temple of the deity” is correct. Govinda-sthāna is a place in Vṛndāvana.

13. *Keśīrtha*: the Keśī-ghat on the Yamunā river. *Kaliyāhradā* is another ghat or bathing place.

21. *Mahākūṭṭha* is what is here translated “high in rank.” The term of course implies a good deal more than mere social position. *Kūṭṭha* (“possessed of family honor”) *brāhmaṇas* are of five families, said to be descendants of the five *brāhmaṇas* brought by king Ādisura to Bengal from upper India, when no *brāhmaṇas* in Bengal could be found to perform Vedic sacrifice. Although there has been some mobility in the caste ranking over the centuries, in most parts of Bengal the five *kūṭṭha* families seem to be Caṭṭopādhyāya (Chatterji), Bandyopādhyāya (Bannerji), Bhāṭṭācārya (Bhattacharji), Mukhyopādhyāya (Mukherji), and Cakravartī. In the peculiar social structure of Bengal, these five and the corresponding five in the *kāyastha* group not only by their nature are possessed of honor (*kūṭṭha*), but, since the males do marry down, are much sought after by upwardly mobile families below them (see Inden, *MRBC*, 53-60). The younger *brāhmaṇa* describes himself as *akūṭṭha*, a *brāhmaṇa* from a caste not of the ranking five. Inden feels that these were perhaps *brāhmaṇas* indigenous to Bengal, who over the centuries were forced into a position secondary to those lineages established by the *brāhmaṇas* brought in from north India.

and eminent, while I am from a lower family, and devoid of wealth and learning. 22 I cannot be the vessel for the receipt of the gift of your daughter; I serve you from love of Kṛṣṇa. 23 Because of the service of *brāhmaṇas* the love of Kṛṣṇa grows, and with his pleasure, devotion and prosperity increase.” 24 The elder *brāhmaṇa* said, “Do not be hesitant; I shall give my daughter to you. I have decided upon it.” 25 The younger *brāhmaṇa* said, “You have a wife and sons—all these; and you have many kinsmen and many friends. 26 Without the consent of all of these you cannot give your daughter. 27 Bhīṣmaka the father of Rukmiṇī is the proof of this. It was the wish of Bhīṣmaka to present his daughter to Kṛṣṇa; because of the opposition of his son, he was unable to do so.” 28 The elder *brāhmaṇa* replied, “My daughter is my own wealth. Who can forbid me to give my own wealth? 29 I shall give my daughter to you, rebuking all of them. Do not doubt; give me your agreement.” 30 The younger *brāhmaṇa* said, “If you have decided to give your daughter, speak that as an oath before Gopāla.” 31 So the *brāhmaṇa* began to speak before Gopāla, “You know that I have given my daughter to this man.” 32 The younger *brāhmaṇa* said, “Lord, you are my witness; I shall cause you to speak as witness, if I see that he does otherwise.” 33 So saying, the two went to their country. And the younger *brāhmaṇa* served him, in recognition of him as *guru*.

34 When they got to their country, they each went to their own homes. And after a few days the elder *brāhmaṇa* thought in his heart, 35 “In the place of pilgrimage I gave my word to the *brāhmaṇa*; how can it be brought to pass? I shall know certainly from my friends and kinsmen and sons and wife.” 36 So one day all his own people were together in one place, and before the assembly he told the whole tale. 37 And when they heard it his kinsmen all cried out in distress, “Never again bring such words to your mouth. 38 If you give your daughter to someone lower, the family honor will be destroyed. When they hear of it everyone will laugh at us.” 39 The *brāhmaṇa* said, “I gave my word at a holy place. How can I go against it? What will be will be. I shall give my daughter to him.” 40 The relatives all said, “We shall abandon you.” And his wife and sons said, “We shall take poison and die.” 41 The *brāhmaṇa* said, “He will summon a witness and cause justice to be done; he will win and take my daughter.”

29. Rādhagovinda Nātha points out that in some MSS the first part of the couplet reads: “I shall give my daughter to you, and shall preserve the caste (*jaṭirakṣa*) of all.” The point is that *kūṭṭha* *brāhmaṇas* do not give their daughters downward; sons can marry girls of a lower stratum, but not daughters. The result is that many of the girls of *kūṭṭha* families have a great many co-wives.

40. *Morā tomare chādība*: we shall excommunicate you.



ter, and my *dharma* will become vain." 42 His son said, "The witness is an image, and that in a far country. Who will be your witness? Why do you worry? 43 You will not deny it, and thereby say a false word. You will say to everyone, 'I don't remember it at all.' 44 If you say, 'I know nothing of it,' then by argument I shall defeat the *brāhmaṇa*." 45 Hearing these things, the *brāhmaṇa* reflected on them in his mind, and began to meditate single-mindedly upon the feet of Gopāla: 46 "Protect my *dharma*, and do not allow my people to die. Protect me in both these ways, O Gopāla"—thus he sought shelter.

47 The *brāhmaṇa* began to ponder the matter, turning it over in his mind; and on another day the younger *brāhmaṇa* came to his house. 48 When he came, he made obeisance in highest devotion, and he humbly said, with his palms pressed together, 49 "You have promised to give your daughter to me; now you say nothing. What is your decision?" 50 Hearing this, the *brāhmaṇa* remained silent, and his son came out with a club in his hand, to strike him. 51 "You wretch! You want to marry my sister? You are like the dwarf who wanted to catch the moon!" 52 Seeing the club, the *brāhmaṇa* fled, and on a later day he called the people of the village together. 53 The people summoned the elder *brāhmaṇa*, and then the younger *brāhmaṇa* began to speak, 54 "He made a promise to give his daughter to me, and now he does not give her. What is your advice?" 55 Then they all began to query the *brāhmaṇa*, "Why do you not give your daughter, if you have given your word?" 56 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "Listen, people, to my submission. I have no memory at all of when I said that." 57 Hearing this, his son, knowing the stratagem of the words, arrogantly stood in front of the assembly and said, 58 "My father had much wealth with him on the pilgrimage; and when he saw the wealth this villain had a mind to take it. 59 There were no other companions, just this one alone; feeding my father *dhuturā*, he made him insane. 60 He took all the wealth and said that thieves had taken it; and now he raises the story that he wanted to give his daughter to him. 61 All you people! Make your decision. Is it proper to give my father's daughter to this man?" 62 When they heard this, the people were doubtful in their minds; for it is possible that people, in lust for wealth, abandon their fear of *dharma*.

63 Then the younger *brāhmaṇa* said, "Hear, noble people. To win the argument, he speaks untrue words. 64 This *brāhmaṇa*, when he was pleased by my service to him, himself said, 'I shall give my daughter to you.' 65 Then I pro-

59. *Dhuturā* is the thorn-apple plant and its fruit, a poison or intoxicant; cf. its same use in 2.18.155.

tested, 'Listen, best of *brāhmaṇas*, I am not a proper bridegroom for your daughter. 66 You are a *paṇḍita* and a wealthy man, and come from a family of high station, while I am poor and ignorant and humble, and without high family.' 67 But this *brāhmaṇa* said to me over and over again, 'I have given my daughter to you; accept her.' 68 Then I said, 'Hear me, O high-minded *brāhmaṇa*. Your wife and sons and kinsmen will not agree. 69 You will not be able to give your daughter, and your word will become untrue.' But again the *brāhmaṇa* said deliberately, 70 'I have given my daughter to you. Do not be of two minds about it. I shall give you my own daughter; who can forbid it?' 71 Then I said, 'If you are firm in your mind about it, then take an oath before Gopāla.' 72 Then he said this before Gopāla: 'You know that I have given my daughter to this *brāhmaṇa*.' 73 Then I made Gopāla a witness, and I said humbly at his feet, 74 'If this *brāhmaṇa* does not give me his daughter, I shall call on you as witness; be prepared.' 75 So to these words [of his] I have a witness, noble people, whose words are true and honored in the three worlds." 76 Then the elder *brāhmaṇa* said, "These are true words. If Gopāla shows himself as witness, and himself comes to this place, 77 then I shall give him my daughter; know this for certain." Then his son said, "This is a good solution." 78 The elder *brāhmaṇa* thought, "Kṛṣṇa is full of great mercy. Certainly he will bear out my contention." 79 His son thought, "An image will not come to bear witness." In such knowledge the two consented. 80 The young *brāhmaṇa* said, "Draw up an agreement, that all these words might not again go [for naught]." 81 Then all the people drew up an agreement, and with the consent of both [parties], a mediator kept it. 82 Then the younger *brāhmaṇa* said, "Listen, all of you; this *brāhmaṇa* is truthful and devoted to *dharma*. 83 It is never in his mind to abandon his own word. For fear of the demise of his own people, he speaks ambiguously. 84 For the sake of his merit, I shall summon Kṛṣṇa as a witness; in this way I shall protect the promise of this *brāhmaṇa*." 85 Having heard this, all the people smiled. Some said, "Īśvara is full of mercy. He might come."

86 Then the younger *brāhmaṇa* went to Vṛndāvana, and bowing to the ground he related the whole tale. 87 "Brahmanyadeva! You are most full of mercy. Being kind, preserve the *dharma* of two *brāhmaṇas*. 88 [That] I gain [the *brāhmaṇa*'s] daughter—this joy was not in my mind. But [that] the promise of a *brāhmaṇa* be broken—this is very bad. 89 Knowing these things, bear witness, O full of mercy; he who knows and does not bear witness commits a sin."

87. I.e., the *dharma* of the older *brāhmaṇa* in honoring his word already given, and the *dharma* of the younger *brāhmaṇa* in claiming Gopāla as witness; Brahmanyadeva: Kṛṣṇa.



90 Kṛṣṇa said, "Brahmaṇa, go to your own house. Bring everyone together and meditate on me. 91 I shall appear then and bear witness. In the form of an image I shall not be able to go there." 92 The brahmaṇa said, "If you appear as a four-armed mūrti, then no one will have confidence in your words. 93 If you go in this form, with beautiful countenance, and if you give witness, then all the people will honor [it]." 94 Kṛṣṇa said, "No one has ever heard of an image moving." The brahmaṇa said, "As an image, how do you speak words? 95 You are not an image; you are the manifest Vrajendranandana. Will you do this thing, which is not done, for the brahmaṇa?" 96 Laughing, Gopāla said, "Listen, O brahmaṇa. I shall follow after you. 97 Do not turn around to look at me; if you look at me I shall remain in that place [where you looked]. 98 You will only hear the sound of my ankle bells, and from that sound you will know that I am moving. 99 You will cook one seer of rice and offer it, and when I have eaten that I shall go with you."

100 The next day, having begged leave, the brahmaṇa departed, and Gopāla followed after him. 101 Hearing the sound of the ankle bells his heart was overjoyed; having cooked the best rice, he prepared him a feast. 102 Moving in this way the brahmaṇa came to his own country, and nearing his village, he reflected in his mind, 103 "Now I have come to my village, and shall go to my house; I shall go and say to the people that the witness has come. 104 If they do not see the witness, there will be no belief in their hearts. If he remains here, then there will be no fear." 105 Reflecting thus, the brahmaṇa turned around and looked; and smiling Gopāla was there. 106 He said to the brahmaṇa, "Go to your own house. I shall remain here. I shall go no further." 107 Then the brahmaṇa went and spoke in the town; and when they heard it all the people were astonished. 108 They all came to see the witness, and when they saw Gopāla they bowed to the ground. 109 Seeing the beauty of Gopāla the people were overjoyed, and hearing that the image had walked all the way, they were astonished. 110 Then the elder brahmaṇa was delighted, and falling before Gopāla he prostrated himself. 111 Gopāla gave his witness before all the people, and the elder brahmaṇa gave his daughter to the younger. 112 Then Īśvara said to those two brahmaṇas, "Both of you, from birth to birth, have been my followers. 113 I have been pleased by the constancy of both; both may ask a boon." And the two brahmaṇas asked a boon, with joy in their hearts, 114 "If you would grant

91. I.e., the image is immovable, though the deity may be present in it. "I shall come in non-physical form and appear through your meditation and remembrance."

94-95. Image: *pratima*.

98. *Nāpura*: ankle bells, used by dancers and often adorning Kṛṣṇa.

us a boon, then stay in this place. Then all the people will know of your mercy to your servants." 115 So Gopāla remained, and both served him; and all the people of the country came to see.

116 And the king of that country came, hearing of the wonderful thing, and he gained the highest pleasure when he saw Gopāla. 117 The king built a temple there, and caused the service to be instituted. It was called Sakṣīgopāla, and it became famous. 118 In this way Sakṣīgopāla of Vidyānagara, accepting service, remained there a long time. 119 The *rāja* of Utkala, Puruṣottamadeva by name, made war on that country and conquered it. 120 And having conquered that *rāja*, he took his throne. It was called "*māṇikyā-simhaśana*," because of its many gems. 121 That Puruṣottamadeva was a devotee and an excellent man; he begged at the feet of Gopāla, "Come to my kingdom." 122 Controlled by his devotion, Gopāla gave permission to him; so taking Gopāla he went to Kaṭaka. 123 He brought and gave the jeweled lion-throne to Jagannātha, and he established the service of Gopāla at Kaṭaka. 124 His queen came for *darśana* of Gopāla, and in devotion presented many ornaments to him. 125 In her nose was a pearl of very great price; she wanted to give that to him. She reflected in her mind, 126 "If there were an opening in the nose of Ṭhākura, then I his servant would give him the pearl to wear in his nose." 127 Thus reflecting, and having made obeisance, she went to her own house. And toward the end of the night, Gopāla said to her in a dream, 128 "When I was a boy my mother pierced my nose, and carefully she put a pearl into it. 129 That hole is even now in my nose; put that pearl in it, which you wanted to give me." 130 The queen told the *rāja* of her dream, and with the *rāja*, taking the pearl, she went to the temple. 131 She ornamented him with the pearl, seeing the perforation in his nose, and in great joy they had a great festival. 132 And from that time Gopāla has been established at Kaṭaka. And for these reasons the name Sakṣīgopāla has become famous.

133 Hearing this story of Sakṣīgopāla from the mouth of Nityānanda Gosvāmī, Prabhu with his *bhaktas* was most pleased. 134 When Prabhu was standing before Gopāla, the *bhaktas* saw that it was as if the two were one *mūrti*. 135 They were both of one color, and both large in body. Both were dressed in red, and both were grave in nature. 136 Both were full of great radiance, with

120. Puruṣottama quite literally took the throne, "the jeweled lion-throne," away from Vidyānagara, and gave it to the temple of Jagannātha.

122. *Bhaktivaśa*: controlled by devotion; see ante 1.4.216; 1.17.71, *sl*5; 2.23.26 and commentary.

134-36. [In the biographies, Caitanya frequently is seen to have the identical form of a particular image he is viewing, especially noticeable in Puri near Jagannātha. The theological statement is transparent. TKS]



lotus eyes; the hearts of both were absorbed in passion; and both had faces like the moon. 137 Seeing the two, Nityānanda Prabhu was overjoyed, and summoning the *bhaktas* he laughed with them; 138 and in this way they passed that night in great glee. In the morning, having seen the auspicious *arati*, they left. 139 How they went along the way to Bhuvaneśvara, Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described completely.

140 When they came to Kamalapura, they bathed in the Bhārgavnadī, and Prabhu placed his staff into the hand of Nityānanda. 141 He went with his *bhaktas* to see Kapoteśvara, and here Nityānanda Prabhu broke the staff. 142 After he broke it into three pieces, he threw them into the water. Prabhu came with his *bhaktas*, having seen Maheśa. 143 Seeing the temple of Jagannātha, he was overcome, and bowing down to the ground, he began to dance in *prema*. 144 And the *bhaktas*, also overcome, also danced and sang, and they went along the highway with

140. Kamalapura is a place quite near to Puri; so near in fact that the flags on the temple can be seen.

141-142. Kapoteśvara is the name of a Śiva-*liṅga* at the place. Maheśa is Śiva. The breaking of the staff, the symbol of Caitanya's asceticism and mendicancy, is one of the most curious incidents in the whole book. A non-orthodox interpretation, which can be found elsewhere (PHM, 48), is that Nityānanda himself was either on the verge of abandoning his own asceticism or had already done so, and was here expressing his feeling that Caitanya should do the same, that *saṁnyāsa* was valueless. Vṛndāvana Dāsa, who might be expected to give a reason, does not do so, saying merely that Nityānanda addressed the staff, and said that it was not appropriate that Caitanya carry it (CBh 3.2.204-206). Rādhāgovinda Nātha, speculating on all this, suggests the following explanations: The three functions of man which must be controlled are speech, body, and mind, and BhP 11.18.17 says that there are three staffs of asceticism: the staff of silence, the staff of abandonment of deeds done out of desire, and the staff of control of breath in meditation. He who has these three staffs is known as *tridandī*. In former times, three staffs of bamboo, representing these three, were actually carried (the origins of Śiva's trident?), but from the time of Śaṅkara it became customary to carry only one. Rādhāgovinda Nātha's interpretation of the incident, then, is that staff, representing three staffs, was appropriate only for those who were subject to *māyā*, under the control of the three *guṇas* of material nature; Caitanya himself, *svayaṁ bhagavan*, had nothing to do with the three *guṇas*, but was *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*; therefore what did the staff in his hands mean? Nityānanda, in recognition of this, broke the staff into three pieces (the ancient three staffs), and floated them away in the stream of *māyā*, where they belonged. Or, says Rādhāgovinda Nātha, the staff was a weapon, a symbol of worldly power, and this was a symbol inappropriate for one who came to disseminate love. Or, as Vṛndāvana Dāsa suggests, perhaps Nityānanda was jealous because Caitanya always carried the staff, making it closer to his person than Nityānanda himself. [Vṛndāvana Dāsa's detailed story can be found in CBh 3.2.199-259; Murāri Gupta's version is somewhat different, but equally enigmatic, in KCC 3.5.10-21; Kavikarṇapūra mentions the incident only in passing in KCCM 11.80-81 and CCN 6.25. TKS]

144. *Rajamarga*: highway, a broad road.

Prabhu, in an ecstasy of *prema*. 145 Laughing and weeping and dancing, Prabhu shouted and roared, and the three-*krośa* road became a thousand *yojanas* long. 146 Along the way, Prabhu came to Āṭhāranāla, and when he reached there he came to his senses a little. 147 And he said to Nityānanda Prabhu, "Give me my staff." Nityānanda said, "The staff was broken into three pieces. 148 In an ecstasy of *prema* you fell, and I caught you; I fell with you on top of the staff. 149 The staff splintered under the weight of two people. Where the pieces fell, I have no idea. 150 It is my fault that your staff has been broken, and it is proper that you punish me for it." 151 Hearing this, Prabhu showed a little sadness in his heart; and somewhat angry, he said to the company, 152 "Bringing me to Nīlacala, you have all done me a great service; the staff was all the wealth I had, and even that is gone. 153 You all go first to see the Lord. Or let me go first. I will not go with you." 154 Mukunda Datta said, "Prabhu, you go first. We all will follow after; we will not go together." 155 Hearing this Prabhu went quickly ahead. No one can understand the minds of the two Prabhus. 156 Why this one broke the staff, why that one caused [him] to break [it], and once he had caused him to break it, why he became angry at the fault? 157 This *līlā* of the breaking of the staff is very profound; only he, whose devotion is firm at the feet of both, understands. 158 Blessed is the greatness of Brahmanyadeva Gopāla, which was told by Nityānanda, and heard by Śrī Caitanya. 159 Hear it, O *bhaktas*, full of reverence; and swiftly you will gain the feet of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya.

160 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

145. *Krośa* is a distance of about two miles; *yojana* is a distance of about eight miles.

146. *Bāhya prakāśila*: came to his senses, became outwardly conscious.



Madhya Lila  
Chapter 6

Sloka 1.

I praise that white moon, that one full of all greatness, who made  
Sārvabhauma, hardened by wrong arguments, full of *bhakti*.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and  
to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas.

2 In ecstasy Prabhu went to the temple of Jagannātha; and seeing Jagannātha,  
he became restless with *prema*. 3 He went running to embrace Jagannātha, and  
he fell, in the temple, overcome with *prema*. 4 By chance Sārvabhauma saw it  
all, and prevented a temple servant from beating him. 5 Seeing the beauty of  
Prabhu and his delirium of *prema*, Sārvabhauma was greatly astonished. 6 Af-  
ter much time [Caitanya] was still unconscious; and it was time for the food-  
offering. Sārvabhauma then thought of a way. 7 With the help of students and  
temple servants he carried Prabhu, and brought him to his house and placed  
him lying in a clean place. 8 There was no breathing at all, and his stomach  
was palpitating, and seeing this the mind of the Bhaṭṭācārya became worried.  
9 He brought some cotton and held it before the nose [of Prabhu]. It fluttered  
gently, and seeing this he became calmer. 10 Sitting down, Bhaṭṭācārya decided  
that this was a true delirium of the *mahāprema* of Kṛṣṇa. 11 "This is a truly

4. *Paṇḍita*: a functionary of the temple of Jagannātha, a temple servant.

7. *Śiṣya-paṇḍita*: the compound can be interpreted in two ways: either people who were ap-  
prentice or student (*śiṣya*) *paṇḍitas*, or the students of Sārvabhauma and the *paṇḍitas* of the temple.

8. *Śvāsa praśvāsa nahi udara spandana* / Sometimes the negative applies to both halves of the  
line, so the reading might be: There was no breathing at all, nor was his stomach moving, which  
might be preferable given the action of v. 9.

11. Rūpa's *BhRS* [*daśa-vibhāga, sāttvikabhava-lahari*] 2.3.79: when five or six *sāttvika-bhāvas*  
arise at the same time and attain superiority, that is called *uddipta* (*sāttvika*), "burning purity"; *ibid.*,  
2.3.81: *sāddipta*: when the highest excellence in *mahābhava* is gained, that is called *sāddipta* ("truly

burning purity, which is called '*pralaya*'; it is that burning *bhava* in a *bhakta*  
who is eternally perfected. 12 He who has the *adhiraḍha-bhava* has such de-  
lirium; seeing it in the body of a man is truly wonderful." 13 So Bhaṭṭācārya  
was thinking as he sat there, when Nityānanda and the rest came together to  
the main gate.

14 Hearing of this the people said to one another, "A *saṁnyāsin* has come,  
and when he saw Jagannātha he fainted; 15 there was no consciousness in his  
body at all. Then Sārvabhauma took him to his house." 16 When they heard  
this they all knew that this was the doing of Mahāprabhu. And at the same time  
Gopīnāthācārya came there. 17 He was a dweller in Nadiyā, a son-in-law of  
Viśārada; he was a *bhakta* of Mahāprabhu, and one who knew the true mean-  
ing of him. 18 He had previously met Mukunda, and seeing him he was sur-  
prised. 19 When Mukunda saw him he made obeisance. He embraced and asked  
news of Prabhu. 20 Mukunda said, "Prabhu has come here, and we all have  
come with him." 21 The Ācārya then made obeisance to Nityānanda Gosvāmī;  
and again he asked them all together for word of Prabhu. 22 Mukunda said,  
"Mahāprabhu has taken *saṁnyāsa*, and he has come to Nīlācala, bringing us all  
with him. 23 He left us all, and went ahead for *darśana*; we all have come after  
in search of him. 24 We heard from the mouths of others that Prabhu is in the  
house of Sārvabhauma; 25 Prabhu was unconscious in *prema*, because of the  
sight of Īśvara, and Sārvabhauma has taken him and gone to his own house.  
26 Then we thought to meet you, and by chance we caught sight of you. 27 So

burning"). *Pralaya* is that condition in which all external consciousness is lost, and fainting and  
other such symptoms are manifested. See CC 2.8.135 commentary. *Nityāsiddha*: "eternally per-  
fected," a *bhakta* who is already in direct relationship to Kṛṣṇa.

12. *Adhiraḍha-bhava*: one of the strata of *mahābhava*, the ultimate condition. Rūpa's UNM  
[*sthāyibhava-prakarana*] 14.159, 170: *Bhava* is of two kinds, *rāḍha* and *adhiraḍha*; that condition  
of *mahābhava* in which all the *sāttvika-bhāvas* are "burning" (*uddipta*) is called *rāḍha* (either "par-  
ticular" or "severe"); that condition in which one or another of the *sāttvika-bhāvas* gains dominance  
is called *adhiraḍha* (*adhi-* being a prefix denoting superiority). *Adhiraḍha-mahābhava* is also of  
two kinds, *modana* and *madana*. In *modana* ("delighting"), both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa assume a par-  
ticular beauty (*ibid.*, 14.173); in *madana* ("intoxicating"), which appears only in Rādhā, there is a  
progression from sexual attraction (*rati*) up to *mahābhava*, and all the *bhāvas* in between are pos-  
sessed of a particular delight and absorbing quality. One of the characteristics of this *adhiraḍha-*  
*bhava* is unconsciousness and delirium. Cf. 2.23.37 and commentary; see also text and commen-  
tary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31.

17. Viśārada, "the learned one" was the title of Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya's father; Sārvabhauma  
was therefore his brother-in-law.

26. Mukunda is saying that they had heard that Caitanya had been taken to Sārvabhauma's  
house, but they did not know where the house was; they hoped to meet Gopīnātha, so that he could  
tell them, and by chance this occurred.



let us go, everyone, to the house of Sārvabhauma; after we see Prabhu, we shall have *darśana* of Śvara." 28 Hearing this, Gopīnātha took everyone, and went joyfully to the house of Sārvabhauma.

29 Going to Sārvabhauma's place, they saw Prabhu; and seeing him, the Ācārya was both happy and sad. 30 Having introduced everyone to Sārvabhauma, he took everyone inside; and [Sārvabhauma] made obeisance to Nityānanda Gosvāmī. 31 And he greeted them all in proper fashion, and when they saw Prabhu the hearts of all were both sad and happy. 32 Sārvabhauma sent them all to have *darśana*, and sent his own son Candreśvara with them. 33 When they saw Jagannātha, all were overjoyed; Prabhu Nityānanda was overcome with emotion. 34 All together they steadied him. A servant of Śvara brought and gave a garland and some *prasāda*. 35 Getting the *prasāda*, all were overjoyed, and again all came to the place of Mahāprabhu. 36 In loud voice all made *nāma-saṁkīrtana*; in the third watch Prabhu gained consciousness. 37 Rising up, he shouted "Hari, Hari!" and in joy Sārvabhauma took the dust of his feet. 38 Sārvabhauma said, "Quickly perform the midday ablutions; I shall feed you today from the food of *mahāprasāda*." 39 Having taken a bath in the sea, Mahāprabhu came quickly; having washed his feet, he sat on a seat. 40 Sārvabhauma brought much *prasāda*, and Mahāprabhu ate with pleasure. 41 The best curries and rice on a golden plate, Prabhu ate with his *bhaktas*. 42 Sārvabhauma himself served [the food]. Prabhu said, "Give me *laphara* curry, and 43 give *piṭha*-cakes and *panā* to all these." Then Bhaṭṭācārya said, with palms pressed together, 44 "Jagannātha himself has eaten [this]; now you taste all the *mahāprasāda*." 45 So saying, he fed everyone the *piṭha* and *panā*; having fed them, he had them rinse their mouths.

46 Asking leave, he went, with Gopīnāthācārya; after he ate, he came to Prabhu. 47 Saying "Namo nārāyaṇa," he made *namaskāra*; and Gosvāmī said, "Kṛṣṇe matirastu." 48 When he heard this, Sārvabhauma decided that he knew these words to be those of a Vaiṣṇava *saṁnyāsīn*. 49 Sārvabhauma said to Gopīnāthā Ācārya, "Tell me, where was the former *āśrama* of the Gosvāmī?" 50 Gopīnāthā Ācārya said,

30. Presumably he recognized Nityānanda as a Gosvāmī or *avadhātā*, and because of that singled him out for special honor.

39. Being given a seat to sit upon was a mark of special esteem; ordinary guests would sit on the ground.

42. Several vegetables mixed together make a *laphara* curry.

43. *Panā*: a kind of sweet drink.

46. The host will eat after all his guests have been fed.

47. "Homage to Nārāyaṇa": a greeting to a *saṁnyāsīn*. The Gosvāmī (i.e., Caitanya) replies, "May there be inclination toward Kṛṣṇa, may there be devotion to Kṛṣṇa."

"His home was in Navadvīpa; his father's name Jagannātha, called Purandara Miśra. 51 His name was Viśvambhara, and he was his son. Nīlāmbara Cakravartī was his maternal grandfather." 52 Sārvabhauma said, "Nīlāmbara Cakravartī was a fellow-student of Viśārada; this is his fame. 53 I know too that Purandara Miśra is honored by him, and because of their relation to my father both are honored by me." 54 Because of his relation to Nadya, Sārvabhauma was pleased; and with affection he began to say to the Gosvāmī, 55 "By your very nature you are to be revered, and too by being a *saṁnyāsīn*. Therefore know that I am your servant." 56 When he heard this, Mahāprabhu recalled Śrī Viṣṇu, and said to Bhaṭṭācārya with humble words, 57 "You are *guru* of the world, and one who does good to all in all the world; you teach the Vedānta, and are benefactor to *saṁnyāsīns*. 58 I am a young *saṁnyāsīn*, and know not good or evil; I take refuge with you, and honor you as *guru*. 59 I have come here to be with you; protect me in every way. 60 Today I was in great danger, and you delivered me from that." 61 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Do not go alone to *darśana*; go with me or with my people." 62 Prabhu said, "I shall not go within the temple. I shall remain behind Garuḍa and have *darśana*." 63 Sārvabhauma said to Gopīnāthā Ācārya, "You go see that the Gosvāmī has *darśana*. 64 My aunt's house is empty of people. Put him up there, and do everything for him." 65 So Gopīnātha took Prabhu to that house and lodged him, and gave him water, and containers for water, and other things.

66 The next day Gopīnātha went to Prabhu's place, and took him to see the *śayyothāna*. 67 With Mukunda Datta he came to the place of Sārvabhauma, and Sārvabhauma said these words to him, 68 "Seeing a *saṁnyāsīn*, beautiful and disciplined in nature, my affection for him grows greatly. 69 In which *saṁpradāya* has he taken his *saṁnyāsa*? What is his name? I want to hear this." 70 Gopīnātha answered, "His name is Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya; his *guru* is the most revered Keśava Bhārati." 71 Sārvabhauma said, "This name is best of all; but

56. [Śrī Viṣṇu-smaraṇa: recalling or remembering Lord Viṣṇu. Rādhāgovinda Nātha does not comment on this; contextually it appears that Caitanya mutters a simple statement which recalls Viṣṇu—probably "namo nārāyaṇa" as in v. 47—in much the manner of a mild oath of assent. Cf. 2.11.5 where Caitanya quickly utters the name of Nārāyaṇa as an oath to counter a negative comment. TKS]

62. Garuḍa here refers to the Garuḍa pillar in front and off to one side of Jagannātha.

66. *Śayyothāna*: the rising of Jagannātha from his night's rest.

71. There are ten *saṁpradāyas* of *saṁnyāsīns*: Tīrtha, Āśrama, Vana, Aranya, Giri, Parvata, Śāgara, Pūrī, Bhārati, and Sarasvatī. The story is that among some of Śaṅkara's pupils there was contention and heresy; some fell from honor altogether, some, whose guilt was less, were partially punished, and others not at all. The Bhārati-*saṁpradāya* was *madhyama*, in the middle, the second of the three classes. Sārvabhauma knew his *saṁpradāya* because of the name of his *guru*.



the Bhārati-sampradāya is [only] middling." 72 Gopīnātha said, "He has no concern for externals; thus he is greatly indifferent as to whether or not his sampradāya is great." 73 Bhāṭṭācārya said, "He is very young; how will he preserve the saṁnyāsa-dharma?" 74 I shall teach him Vedānta daily, and shall cause him to enter the ascetic way of advaita; 75 if he agrees, I shall bring him again to the highest sampradāya, marked by the yogapaṭṭa and by the saṁskāras."

76 Hearing this, both Gopīnātha and Mukunda were saddened, and Gopīnātha Ācārya began to say, 77 "Bhāṭṭācārya, you do not know the greatness of this one; in him are the uttermost signs of godhead. 78 Because of these he is known as Parama-Īśvara. To the ignorant it means nothing; but the wise perceive." 79 The students said, "By what proof do you call him Īśvara?" And the Ācārya replied, "According to the wise, he has the signs of Īśvara." 80 The students said, "By inference we discern the truth about Īśvara." And the Ācārya replied, "Knowledge of Īśvara is not by inference. 81 The knowledge of the existence of Īśvara is not in the proof of inference; no one knows the truth of Īśvara except by his mercy. 82 He who has a jot of the mercy of Īśvara, he is able to know the truth of Īśvara."

Sloka 2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.14.29:

O god, O Bhagavān! The man who is favored by the least favor of your lotus feet can know the truth of your greatness; others, even though searching single-mindedly for a long time, cannot.

83 Even though you are guru of the world, and greatly learned in the śāstras, and there is no paṇḍita on earth who is your equal, 84 not a jot of the mercy

75. Yogapaṭṭa: a kind of outer garment, differing from one to another sampradāya; saṁskāra: the purificatory rites.

77. The signs of godhead (bhagavatta) are three: the residence of all the attributes of the svarūpa of the bhagavat in him, the giving of prema, and fullness of sweetness and grace.

79. The conversation was evidently going on in front of the students of Sārvabhauma.

80. Or perhaps "the existence or nature (tattva) of Īśvara." Rādhāgovinda Nātha: as when we see a pot we infer (anumāna) a potter, so when we observe the world we infer a creator. Gopīnātha replies that this type of inference is not valid for this reason: when we see smoke, we infer that fire exists; because smoke is perceived by the senses, fire is perceived by the senses, as is the relationship between the two. If we had not perceived the relationship between the two, the inference of the existence of the fire, at the sight of smoke, would not be drawn. Similarly, the world is perceived by the senses; but Īśvara is not perceived by the senses, nor can one deduce a relationship; that one can deduce the existence of a creator from the fact of creation is one thing, but to say that that creator is Īśvara is not logical.

81-82. These two couplets do not appear in some MSS.

Sloka 2. See 2.11.31.11.

of Īśvara is in you; thus you are not able to know the truth of Īśvara. 85 It is not your fault—it is said in the śāstras that the truth of Īśvara can never be known by learning and the rest."

86 Sārvabhauma responded, "Ācārya! Speak cautiously. That his mercy is in you—what is the proof of this?" 87 The Ācārya said, "In regard to material elements, there exists a knowledge of them as matter; [but] knowledge of the metaphysical truth about matter is proven by his mercy. 88 On the body of this one are all the signs of Īśvara; you have seen his absorption in mahāprema. 89 But you do not possess the knowledge of Īśvara, and this has come about by the māyā of Īśvara. 90 [For] those who have their faces turned away, even when they look they do not see him." When he heard this Sārvabhauma laughing said, 91 "Do not be angry; let us carry on a friendly conversation. Let me speak a little about what is to be witnessed in the śāstras; do not take offence. 92 Caitanya Gosvāmī is a mahābhāgavata; he is not an avatāra of Viṣṇu in this Kali age. 93 Thus, we speak of Viṣṇu [as] triyuga; the śāstras have no knowledge of an avatāra in the Kali age."

94 When he heard this, the Ācārya spoke with sorrow in his heart: "You pride yourself on knowledge of the śāstras. 95 The Bhāgavata and the Bhārata—these two are the chief śāstras; have you paid no attention to what these two books say? 96 These two say that in the Kali age an avatāra will appear; but you say, 'There will be no manifestation of Viṣṇu in the Kali age.' 97 In the Kali age, Bhagavān does not undertake a līla-avatāra; thus we call him 'triyuga.'

87. Vastu: matter; tattva: metaphysical truth. Most knowledge is dependent: we know that A is not the same as B, but this knowledge depends on recognition of characteristics which enables us to differentiate between the two. "A stick is not a man" is a statement which depends upon knowledge of what a man is, and if this knowledge is shared by the speaker and the listener, communication takes place. The statement however tells nothing about what the true nature of the object (vastu-tattva) is; knowledge of the true nature of the object is in the object itself, apart from external reference. It is its own proof. Gopīnātha is saying that if one is not conscious of who or what Īśvara is, he will not be able to recognize Īśvara when he appears. It is by the grace of Īśvara that such consciousness arises; if you do not have this grace, you do not know.

88. See 1.3.33-35 and commentary.

92. Caitanya is a great devotee, but Viṣṇu has no avatāras in the Kali age. He has avatāras in only three of the four ages, and therefore is called triyuga. See BhP 7.9.38.

95. Bhārata: the great epic Mahābhārata.

97. It is only the līla-avatāra which is in question; he makes līla-avatāra only in the three ages, not in Kali. The twenty-five līla-avatāras accepted by the Vaiṣṇavas are: (1) Catuṣṣana, (2) Nārada, (3) Varāha, (4) Matsya, (5) Yajña, (6) Naranārāyaṇa, (7) Kapila, (8) Dattatreyā, (9) Hayaśiṛṣa, (10) Haṁsa, (11) Prṣṇigarbha, (12) Rṣabha, (13) Pṛthu, (14) Nṛsimha, (15) Kūrma, (16) Dhanvantari, (17) Mohini, (18) Vāmana, (19) Paraśurāma, (20) Rāghavendra, (21) Vyāsa, (22) Balarāma, (23) Kṛṣṇa, (24) Buddha, and (25) Kalki. Kalki will come at the end of the Kali age.



98 In every age, Kṛṣṇa makes a *yuga-avatāra*. Your heart is devoted to philosophical controversy, but this cannot be debated.

Sloka 3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.8.13:

From age to age, there are three colors of him who embodies himself: white, red, and yellow. Now he has become black.

Sloka 4. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.5.32:

Good and wise people indeed worship [him] by sacrifice, [namely] chiefly *saṁkīrtana*, together with his followers and weapons of *aṅga* and *upaṅga*, black-colored yet light-colored in his glory.

Sloka 5. *Mahābhārata*, *anūśāna-parvan* [dānadharma] 127.75 [viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra]:

Of a golden body and golden color, of the best of bodies, wearing an armlet of sandalwood, he who will take *saṁnyāsa* is tranquil, equal-minded, devoted to peace, and firmly fixed on God.

99 There is no use in all such words before you; it is like planting seed in barren soil. 100 When his mercy will be upon you, then you will speak all these truths. 101 That your pupils speak these various kinds of false arguments, whose is the fault in this? For this is caused by *māyā*."

Sloka 6. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6.4.31:

Homage to that Supreme One of infinite properties, whose powers are grounds for dispute for the quarrelsome, and for argument for the philosophers, and made momentous by their confusion concerning the self.

Sloka 7. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.22.4:

Just as *brahmaṇas* everywhere say the things that are right—what is hard to do for disputers who have taken up my *māyā*?

102 Then Bhāṭṭācārya said, "Go to the place of the Gosvāmī, and invite him, with his people, in my name. 103 Bring *prasāda* and first meet him; then come back to me and have him teach me."

Sloka 3. See 1.3.116; 2.20.148.

Sloka 4. See 1.3.110; 2.11.110; 2.20.153; 3.20.12.

Sloka 5. See 1.3.118; 2.10.15.

104 The Ācārya was the husband of Bhāṭṭācārya's sister, making him his brother-in-law; the Ācārya instructed him with smiles of praise and criticism. 105 And at the discourse of the Ācārya, Mukunda was very happy; at the words of Bhāṭṭācārya, he was unhappy and angry in his heart. 106 So the Ācārya came to the place of Gosvāmī, and gave him the invitation in the name of Bhāṭṭācārya. 107 With Mukunda, he repeated the words of the Bhāṭṭācārya; they reviled the Bhāṭṭācārya, with pain in their hearts. 108 When he heard, Mahāprabhu said, "Do not speak like this. The Bhāṭṭācārya is sympathetic towards me. 109 He wants to preserve my *saṁnyāsa-dharma*; in his affection he is showing mercy; what is the fault in that?"

110 Another day Mahāprabhu was with the Bhāṭṭācārya, with great joy taking *darśana* of Jagannātha. 111 He had come to the temple with Bhāṭṭācārya, and giving Prabhu a seat, he himself sat down. 112 Then he began to teach the Vedānta; in affection and devotion he began to speak to Prabhu. 113 "Listening to the Vedānta is the *dharma* of a *saṁnyāsī*; you should listen to the Vedānta incessantly." 114 Prabhu said, "You are favorable towards me: my duty is to do what you say." 115 For seven days thus he listened; he made neither positive nor negative comments, but only sat and listened. 116 On the eighth day Sarvaabhauma said to him, "You have listened to the Vedānta for seven days. 117 You have said nothing either for or against, but have remained silent; I do not understand whether you understand or not." 118 Prabhu said, "I am unlearned. I have not studied much. Only because of your command have I listened. 119 I have only listened because it is the *dharma* of a *saṁnyāsī*. The meaning which you have expounded I do not understand." 120 The Bhāṭṭācārya said, "Who knows that he does not understand, should ask again, that he might understand. 121 You have remained fixed, listening in complete silence; I cannot tell what is in your heart." 122 Prabhu said, "I understand the meaning of the *sūtras* clearly; but when I hear your explanation of them my mind is confused. 123 A *bhāṣya* clarifies the meaning of the *sūtras*; you declaim a *bhāṣya*, but it obscures the meaning of the *sūtras*. 124 You do not expound the primary meaning of the *sūtras*; you hide it behind some imagined meaning. 125 That which is the primary meaning of the words of the Upaniṣads is all ex-

123. Sarvaabhauma is expounding the commentary (*bhāṣya*) of Śaṅkara on the *Vedānta Sūtra*.

124. *Kalpāna*: imagined, invented, assuming something to be real that is not, fictional.

125. See ante, commentary on 1.7.104. By "Upaniṣads" is meant here any *śruti* which deals with the philosophical questions of the Veda. Vyāsa is the legendary author of the *Brahma Sūtras*. Caitanya says that the true meaning is the first level meaning, and that is obvious.



plained in the *Vyāsa Sūtras*. 126 But abandoning that primary meaning, you propound an imagined secondary meaning. Leaving the primary meaning, you focus on the metaphorical meaning of the words. 127 Among [all types of] proof, the proof of *śruti* is primary. That which is the primary meaning of the *śruti*, that is proof. 128 Conch-shell and cow-dung are the bones and excrement of living creatures, yet according to the *śruti*, these two are most pure. 129 The Vedas are their own proof, and that which they say is true. If one expounds the secondary meaning, their intrinsic provenness is destroyed. 130 The meaning of the *sūtras* of Vyāsa is like the beams of the sun: a self-imagined cloud of *bhāṣya* obscures them. 131 The Vedas and *Purāṇas* speak of the characteristics of *brahma*: that *brahma* is vastly differentiated and has the signs of *Īśvara*. 132 He is himself Bhagavān, full of all divine qualities; [yet] you call him 'formless.' 133 Those *śrutis* which speak of him as 'unqualified' deny his material nature, [but] establish his immaterial one.

*Sloka 8. Kavikarṇapūra's Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka 6.67 [śloka 37]:*

Whatever *śruti* denotes the "unqualified" in fact denotes the qualified [*brahman*]. As soon as an earnest inquiry is made, behold, the "qualified" interpretation is the more cogent.

134 The universe is born from *brahma*, and living things are in *brahma*; and in that *brahma* again these are absorbed. 135 The three cases: ablative, instru-

126. *Lakṣaṇā*: oblique, metaphorical, indirect or figurative sense of a word, especially substituting one word with another with cognate but only proximate meaning. See 1.7.104.

127. Proof is of three kinds: evident (*pratyakṣa*), inferred (*anumāna*), and revealed (*śruti*). But the eye can be deceived, as by a magician, thus the evidence of the senses is not always valid; where there is smoke there is not always fire, so inference is not always valid. But revelation is eternal and divine.

128. Bone and excrement are impure things, but conch-shell and cow-dung are bone and excrement and are holy; what makes them so is the word of the *śruti*.

131. See ante, 1.7.106. *Brhadvastu*: "vastly differentiated"; Rādhāgovinda Nātha says: he is vast like the sky, but unlike the sky is conscious. Signs of *Īśvara* are the *sad-guṇas*, as well as form and other types of differentiation.

133. I.e., those *śrutis* which speak of *brahman* as without form, without qualities, without differentiation, are speaking only of a material body, etc., and in this they are right: his form is immaterial, his qualities are not the qualities of *māyā*. See *Kāṭha Upaniṣad* 2.22, *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 3.19, etc.

*Sloka 8.* [This quotation is from *Hayagrīva-pañcarātra* according to several editions of the CCN. TKS]

135. Ablative: that matter from which another matter comes; the universe comes from *brahman*. Instrumental: that by which an action is accomplished; *brahman* is the means by which creatures

mental, and locative, are three signs of the qualifications of Bhagavān. 136 When Bhagavān had a mind to become many, he looked toward the *śakti* of material nature. 137 At that time there was no material eye or mind; thus the eyes and mind of *brahma* are non-material. 138 By the word '*brahma*' is meant 'full *svayaṁ bhagavān*'; and *svayaṁ bhagavān* is Kṛṣṇa; this is proven by the *śāstras*. 139 This profound meaning of the Vedas is not [easily] understood; but that meaning is established by the words of the *purāṇa*.

*Sloka 9. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.14.32:*

O wonder, O wonder, the fortune of the inhabitants of the pastures of Nanda the cow-herd, whose friend was the full eternal *brahma*, the highest bliss.

140 The *śrutis* [which say] 'without hands or feet' mean 'material hands and feet'; for again they say: 'he goes quickly, and takes everything.' 141 Thus the *śrutis* say that *brahma* is qualified. Abandoning the primary meaning, he is considered quality-less according to the secondary one; 142 whose form is full *ananda* and possessing the six divine qualities, do you call that same Bhagavān 'formless'? 143 Three *śaktis* are natural to that *brahma*; do you then decide that he is 'śakti-less'?

*Sloka 10. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 6.7.61:*

The *śakti* of Viṣṇu is of three kinds: *parā*, *kṣetrajñā*, and the third is called *avidyā-karman*.

*Sloka 11. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 1.12.69:*

*Hladinī*, *sandhinī*, and *saṁvit* all exist as one in you, who are the

live and act. Locative: that place in which an object is; the universe is born from *brahman*, and absorbed in *brahman* again.

140. [The reference is to *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 3.19 which begins "*apāṇipado*" (without hands and feet). The verse reads: "Without hands or feet he grasps and is quick; without eyes he sees, without ears he hears; he knows all. No one can know of him. [People] call him the best of ancient *puruṣas*." Murāri Gupta also records the use of this verse in the context of Caitanya's revelation of the boar form (Varāha) to Murāri, KCC 2.2.11-6. Caitanya uses the *śloka* (KCC 2.2.23) in a similar way, i.e., to show that the Vedas do not fully fathom the nature of *Īśvara*. TKS]

142. The qualities are: (1) omnipotence; (2) power and majesty; (3) purity of speech, mind, and body; (4) infinite beauty; (5) omniscience; and (6) unattachment to objects.

*Sloka 10.* See 1.7.śl.7; 2.8.śl.36; 2.20.śl.9; 2.24.śl.88.

*Sloka 11.* See 1.4.śl.9; 2.8.śl.37.



foundation of all; but gladness or pain do not exist mixed in you, for you are devoid of all material qualities.

144 The true form of *Īśvara* is full of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. In three parts, *cit-śakti* has three forms. 145 In the *ānanda*-part is *hlādinī*; in the *sat*-part is *sandhinī*; and in the *cit*-part is *saṁvit*, which we consider to be knowledge. 146 *Cit-śakti* is intrinsic; *jīva-śakti* is intermediary; and *māyā-śakti* is extrinsic. The three make up *prema-bhakti*. 147 The six-fold divinity is the *cit-śakti vilāsa* of Prabhu; that you do not recognize this *śakti* is the highest arrogance. 148 Lord of *māyā* and controlled by *māyā*—this is the difference between *Īśvara* and *jīva*; do you consider that *jīva* to be the same as *Īśvara*? 149 In the *Gītā śāstra* the *jīva* is considered as a *śakti*; but you consider that *jīva* is the same as *Īśvara*.

Sloka 12. Bhagavad Gītā 7.5:

The elemental world is my lower nature; know that I have a higher nature in which *jīva-śakti* participates, by which the world is upheld, strong-armed prince.

150 The *śrī-vigraha* of *Īśvara* has the form of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*; you say of the

144. See 1.4.54 ff.

146. By each of these three *śaktis* one can show *prema* for Kṛṣṇa, and serve Kṛṣṇa in *prema*; in reverse progression, the *sādhaka* begins in a condition in which he is under the control of *māyā*, and by developing *prema* he moves to the ultimate state in which only *cit-śakti* has control over him. In that ultimate state he is *nitya-siddha*.

147. Six-fold divinity: see ante, note on v. 142. The "six-fold divinity" is beyond *māyā*, it is entirely in the realm of the eternal, *svārūpa*, or *cit* aspect of the deity.

149. The proposition is that because the *jīva* is subject to *māyā*, there must be difference between it and *Īśvara*, who controls *māyā*. But the question arises as to what happens when the *jīva*, by the grace of *Īśvara*, is released from the control of *māyā*; is his subjection to *māyā* still in effect? And if it is not, is there still a difference between *jīva* and *Īśvara*? The answer given here is that even then a difference will remain; when a *jīva* is released from *māyā*, then his subservience to *māyā* is indeed wiped away, but that does not imply that he gains control of *māyā*, which is a characteristics of *Īśvara* alone. Thus there is still a difference between *jīva* and *Īśvara*. Further, in *svārūpa*, the *jīva* is a *śakti* of *Īśvara*, namely the *jīva-śakti*; *Īśvara* is the container of that *śakti*, and *śakti* and the container of *śakti* are different from one another.

Sloka 12. See 1.7.31.6; 2.20.31.10.

150. Rādhāgovinda Nātha: Śaṅkara calls all those *vigrahas* of *brahman* with form "transformations (*vikāra*) of the material *sattva-guṇas*." Śaṅkara accepts two kinds of *brahman*, that with qualities (*sa-guṇa*) and that which is unqualified (*nir-guṇa*). The *brahman* with qualities is only a pastime or play of *māyā*, a fancy of the imagination. *Śrī-vigraha* here is the form, which by definition has qualities, of *brahman*—*Īśvara*. Caitanya is arguing that the form is real, but is not made

*śrī-vigraha* that it is a transformation of the *sattva-guṇa*? 151 He who does not honor the *śrī-vigraha* is deeply wrong; he is not to be seen and not to be touched, he is punished by Yama. 152 Not honoring the Veda, the Buddhists are atheists; and lower than Buddhists are those who follow atheism, while taking refuge in the Veda. 153 For the salvation of *jīvas*, Vyāsa composed the *sūtras*; if one listens to the commentaries of the followers of *māyā*, he is completely destroyed. 154 The opinion of the *Vyāsa Sūtras* follows the theory of evolution; by *acintya-śakti* *Īśvara* is transformed into the form of the world. 155 As the jewel is unchanged in the production of a weight of gold, so *Īśvara* is as to the form of the world—still unchanged. 156 There are those who condemn these *sūtras*, saying, 'Vyāsa is mistaken'; they have established a theory of transformation from their imaginations. 157 That knowledge of self is in the body of the *jīva*—that is falsity; the world is not false—it is only transitory. 158 The sacred syllable, the *mahāvākya*, which is the *mūrti* of *Īśvara*—from this *praṇava* arise all the Vedas and the world. 159 'Tattvamasi' is peripheral speech regarding the *jīva*; not considering the *praṇava* [some] call this the *mahāvākya*.

160 In this way he attributed a hundred faults to the fictional *bhaṣya*, [while] Bhaṭṭācārya asked many questions. 161 He raised many arguments, tried deceptions, offered reproaches, and so on—but Prabhu refuted them all and established his own position. 162 "Bhagavān is that which is to be realized,

up of the *māyā*-qualities, but of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. It should be noted that "*śrī-vigraha*" is simply "*vigraha*" with the honorific, perhaps translatable here as "exalted," but not denoting any connection with the goddess.

151. *Pāṣaṇḍī*: deeply wrong. The translation is weak, for as is seen from the second part of the line, he is also impure. The term carries the implication of heresy.

154. It is because of his incomprehensible power that he can take on the form of the world and at the same time remain unchanged. *Parīṇāmavāda*: theory of evolution.

155. The jewel: the touchstone.

156. *Vivartavāda*: theory of transformation.

157. See 1.7.116 and commentary.

158. *Praṇava*: sacred syllable, the syllable *om* or *aum* [ॐ]; *mahāvākya*, "the great sound, great word." For this and v. 159, see 1.7.121-123.

159. *Tattvamasi*: "thou art that," the famous formula of the *upaniṣads* and the Vedānta, summarizing the theory of identity between *brahman* and *ātman*. [There are twelve stock phrases from the *upaniṣads* designated as *mahāvākya*, of which *tattvamasi* is considered perhaps the most incisive; the key word *tattvam* can also be so designated. The argument here is that the *praṇava* alone is *mahāvākya*. TKS] *Pradeśika vākya*: peripheral speech, lit., "provincial."

160. See commentary to v. 124, above.

162. *Sambandha*, *abhidheya*, and *prayojana*: see 1.7.132-136. [*Sambandha* is the topic of 2.20-21; *abhidheya* 2.22; and *prayojana* 2.23. TKS]



*bhakti* is the means of realization; and *prema* is the end of realization: the Vedas state these three elements. 163 And whatever else people say is all imagination; they propose proximate meaning in the self-proven words of the Vedas. 164 It is no fault of the Ācārya, for it is the command of Īśvara; thus after fictionally establishing them, he has promulgated the *śāstras* of the atheists."

Sloka 13. *Padma Purāṇa*, *uttara-khaṇḍa* 62.31:

O Śiva! By your own continued *āgama śāstras*, cause all people to avert their faces from me. Preserve me, that this creation might flourish.

Sloka 14. *Padma Purāṇa*, *uttara-khaṇḍa* 25.7:

In the Kali age, O goddess, I myself, in a *brahmaṇa*'s guise, declare the untrue *śāstras*, the *māyāvāda*, which is crypto-Buddhist.

165 When he heard this, Bhaṭṭācārya was greatly astonished; from his mouth no word escaped—he was struck dumb. 166 Prabhu said, "Bhaṭṭācārya, do not be dismayed: *bhakti* toward Bhagavān is the *parama-puruṣārtha*. 167 Even those who are *ātmārāmas* worship Īśvara, for such are the qualities of the unknowable Bhagavān."

Sloka 15. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.7.10:

Even though they are not possessed of books, those sages who delight in the self offer selfless *bhakti* to the great-striding [Viṣṇu]: of such qualities is Hari.

168 When he heard this, Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Hear me, sir, I wish to hear the meaning of this *śloka*." 169 Prabhu said, "First let me hear what you make of its meaning; afterwards I shall expound it—to the extent to which I understand

164. The Ācārya is Śaṅkara Ācārya.

166. The "*māyāvādin*" would consider that union with *brahman* (*mokṣa*) is the ultimate goal of humanity (*parama-puruṣārtha*); Caitanya says it is not that, but *bhakti*. *Bhakti* is added frequently in this text to the traditional four: *artha*, *kāma*, *dharma*, *mokṣa*.

167. The Vedāntins consider that when a *jīva* is sunk in *māya*, he forgets his own true nature; when he is released from *māya*, he is again established in his true form. Therefore freedom from the bondage of *māya* is that which should be desired by all, for when he is released he gains union with *brahman*, his proper state. But there are some *muni*s, called *ātmārāma*, who are not deluded, and therefore have no need to struggle for release; even these worship.

Sloka 15. *Nirgranthas*: lit., "those without books," Jains. See 2.17.śl.8; 2.24.śl.2; 2.24.śl.73; 2.25.śl.47. [For the exposition of this famous *śloka* see vv. 168-79 and 2.24.235. TKS]

it." 170 When he heard this, Bhaṭṭācārya explained the *śloka*; he raised various arguments according to axioms found in the *śāstras* of philosophy. 171 In accord with those philosophical texts, he asserted nine different logically valid interpretations. When he heard, Mahāprabhu smiled a little and said, 172 "Bhaṭṭācārya! I recognize you as Brhaspati incarnate. No one else has the power to explain the *śāstras* in such a way. 173 But you have explained the meaning according to the brilliance of your learning; there are even more meanings to the *śloka* than these." 174 At the entreaties of Bhaṭṭācārya, Prabhu explained. Among his nine meanings, he had not touched on the central one. 175 In the *śloka* "*ātmārāmaśca* . . ." there are eleven words; and to each of the *padas* he assigned a precise meaning. 176 He joined "*ātmārāma*" to the primary meaning of each word, and with each compound he proceeded to expound eighteen different meanings. 177 "Bhagavān, his *śaktis*, and his qualities; the power of these three is ultimately unknowable, and cannot be described. 178 These three obscure all other kinds of goals and the means of their attainment to steal the mind of the *siddha* and *sādhaka*. 179 This is proven by Śukadeva, Sanaka, and so on"—in such a way he explained the various meanings.

180 And when he heard this, Bhaṭṭācārya was amazed, and he then understood Prabhu to be Kṛṣṇa, and he reproached himself. 181 "This one is indeed the manifest Kṛṣṇa, and I did not recognize it; I was full of pride, and committed a great offence." 182 Thus reproaching himself, he took refuge with Prabhu; and Prabhu was inclined toward mercy. 183 He showed before him his four-armed form, and afterwards as Śyāma, with flute to his mouth—his intrinsic true form. 184 When he saw this, Sārvabhauma fell prostrate on the ground, and rising again he praised him, his palms pressed together. 185 By the grace of Prabhu all knowledge of the truth bloomed in him; and he described the greatness of the name, the giving of *prema* and so on. 186 In less than the passing

172. Brhaspati, Vedic seer and lord of speech and preceptor of the gods.

175. The *śloka* just recited, from *BhP* 1.7.10, begins with the compound "*ātmārāmaśca*." Pada: one fourth of the *śloka*.

176. This is treated in great detail in 2.24, and will be examined at that point.

178. Goals are such as the attainment of heaven, *mokṣa*, etc. The *sādhaka* is he who is set upon the religious path; *siddha* is the perfected one who has already reached the goal.

179. These were *siddhas* of the *jñāna-mārga*, but when they heard of the qualities of Kṛṣṇa they were so entranced that they abandoned the path of knowledge and became *bhaktas*.

183. [His four-armed form was that of Nārāyaṇa, which reflects his sovereign divinity (*aiśvarya*), and the two-armed form Vrajendranandana, which reflects his loving sweetness (*mādhurya*). TKS]

186. "Moment" is *daṇḍa*, a period of twenty-four minutes.



of a moment he composed a hundred *śloka*s—Bṛhaspati could not generate such *śloka*s. 187 And when he heard, Prabhu embraced him with happiness, and Bhāṭṭācārya fell unconscious, in a passion of *prema*. 188 With tears and stupor and goose flesh and trembling and sweating and palpitations, he danced and sang and wept and fell, holding the feet of Prabhu. 189 When he saw this, Gopīnāthācārya's heart was delighted; seeing Bhāṭṭācārya dance, Prabhu's people smiled. 190 Gopīnāthācārya said to Prabhu, "[What] have you done, Prabhu, [to bring about] these actions of Bhāṭṭācārya?" 191 Prabhu said, "You are a *bhakta*; [it is] from companionship with you. Jagannātha has given grace to him fully." 192 Then Prabhu calmed Bhāṭṭācārya down; and when he was calm, Bhāṭṭācārya praised him greatly. 193 "[That] you have saved the world is a small task, but you have saved me, and this is a most wonderful power. 194 I was embedded in the *śāstras* of philosophy like a lump of iron; but you have melted me with mighty heat." 195 When he had listened to these praises, Mahāprabhu went to his own place; Bhāṭṭācārya fed him through [the offices of] the Ācārya.

187-88. See the commentary to v. 12 above.

195. This incident, of the defeat of Śārvabhauma and his conversion by Caitanya, has perhaps more than any other, captured the imaginations of those Vaiṣṇavas who would find in their great leader the intellectual power and learning which seem in the brahmanical tradition at least to be prerequisites for religious greatness. Two facts are certain: Vasudeva Śārvabhauma had been a scholar of the Vedānta, and he has left us a commentary on the *Advaitamakaranda* of Lakṣmīdhara, in the last *śloka* of which he describes his father Viśārada as "full of the knowledge of the Vedānta" (*vedāntavidyāmaya*); and there is no reason to doubt that at some point he became a Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*. All the early texts agree on this, and Vasudeva was too famous a man, from too great a family, for the early writers to take such liberty with truth, even were they in the habit of doing so. See "Indian Philosophical Analysis: Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika from Gaṅgeśa to Raghunātha Śiromaṇi" in *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, edited by Karl H. Potter and Sibajiban Bhattacharyya, vol. VI (Delhi: Motilal Banarssidas, 1993), 489. There seems therefore some justification for believing that it was the influence of Caitanya, whether this came through his intellect, as Kṛṣṇadāsa would have us believe, or in some other way, that Śārvabhauma came to the path of *bhakti*. In looking at the question, however, it is necessary to take into account some interesting discrepancies between Kṛṣṇadāsa's account, again largely supported by the early writings of Kavikarṇapūra, and that of Vṛndāvana Dāsa.

In the first place, Vṛndāvana Dāsa says in *CBh* 3.3.8-146 that one day Caitanya was sitting alone with Vasudeva, and told him that he, Caitanya, had come to Puri because of Śārvabhauma, to get his blessing, and made various other such remarks, the hidden meanings of which Śārvabhauma did not understand. Śārvabhauma, considering him "a mere *jīva* sunk in *māya*," began to tell Caitanya that he had made one mistake, that of taking *saṁnyāsa*. For *saṁnyāsa* in ordinary men breeds conceit: people bow to you, and you accept the homage of those to whom you would ordinarily have been paying homage. This, said Śārvabhauma, was all inimical to *bhakti*. Caitanya was delighted to hear these words about *bhakti*, and played with Śārvabhauma, expressing a desire to

take further instruction at his feet. He said to Śārvabhauma that there were certain passages of the *BhP* which he did not understand, such as the *ātmārāma śloka* (*CBh* 3.3.16 [= 3.3.87 GM ed.]). Śārvabhauma explained the *śloka* in thirteen ways, after which Caitanya said: Now listen to my exposition. And while he was expounding (Vṛndāvana Dāsa does not give the details of the argument) he revealed to Śārvabhauma his six-armed form (*CBh* 3.3.94-146).

If it is true that only Caitanya and Vasudeva himself were present at the discussion, all the versions must be based on hearsay evidence. It is quite possible that Kṛṣṇadāsa gets his information, as he does in so many other circumstances, from Raghunātha Dāsa, but it is interesting that he does not say as much. At the same time, it is clear that Kṛṣṇadāsa and Vṛndāvana Dāsa versions are different traditions, because Kṛṣṇadāsa had the *CBh* at his disposal, and could easily have followed that text if he did not believe that he had other information at hand which was reliable. It is quite possible, therefore, that the tradition which Kṛṣṇadāsa follows included the details of the argument, the most likely extant source being Kavikarṇapūra's drama, as evidenced by the three quotations from that text in this chapter (*śl.* 8, *śl.* 20-21).

As a balance, it is interesting to note Amūlyacandra Sena's iconoclastic arguments about the incident in *ISC*, 91-97. He points out, for one thing, that Vṛndāvana Dāsa's statement that Śārvabhauma tells Caitanya that *saṁnyāsa* is inimical to *bhakti* might indicate that although he had certainly been a Vedāntin, he might well have become a *bhakta* before he met Caitanya. He is also inclined to look a little sceptically on the depth of Śārvabhauma's *bhakti*, and on his importance in the movement after his conversion. It is true that Śārvabhauma does not have a prominent place in Vṛndāvana Dāsa's narrative, nor does he find more than a mention in the writings of Rūpa and Sanātana, and not even that in the writings of Raghunātha Dāsa. This latter fact does indeed make one wonder whether or not Kṛṣṇadāsa got anything of his version from Raghunātha, or whether he was merely expanding, from unknown sources, on the accounts of Svārūpa and Kavikarṇapūra.

[The other early biographies that Kṛṣṇadāsa knew about are equally split in their treatment of this episode. The earliest, Murāri's *KCC* 3.12.7-19, only briefly describes the event: Śārvabhauma wonders at Caitanya's taking of *saṁnyāsa* and resolves to teach him Vedānta (v. 9); Caitanya anticipates and discourses on the true nature of *bhakti* as superior to Vedānta (vv. 12-13)—significantly in front of Śārvabhauma's students—and the vanquished Śārvabhauma falls at Caitanya's feet, acknowledging him to be Kṛṣṇa (vv. 14-19).

Kavikarṇapūra presents two slightly different, but complementary views of the episode. In his *kāvya*, *KCCM* 12.3-91, Kavikarṇapūra notes that Śārvabhauma was quite taken with the beauty and intelligence of the young *saṁnyāsīn* Caitanya, questioning repeatedly his reasons for renouncing (vv. 3-15) and decides finally to teach him Vedānta (v. 16); Śārvabhauma expounds the Vedānta (vv. 19-22) which Caitanya corrects to the view of *bhakti* (vv. 23-26); Śārvabhauma deduces that one so brilliant can only be Kṛṣṇa (vv. 27-32) which prepares him for the revelation of Caitanya's four-armed form (v. 33). Although it is not unambiguous, it would appear that at least one of Śārvabhauma's students was present (v. 27). Śārvabhauma then sends Caitanya one hundred *śloka*s he has composed (vv. 36-41); Caitanya postpones his pilgrimage and returns to join Śārvabhauma (vv. 42-60), whom he awakens with a gift of *prasāda* which Śārvabhauma consumes joyously, forgetting his ritual impurity (vv. 61-78); Caitanya then expounds *śloka*s from the *BhP* and Śārvabhauma acknowledges again Caitanya's divinity (vv. 79-91).

Kavikarṇapūra's drama, *CCN* 6.34-74, presents a supplemental version of the above: No actual confrontation between Caitanya and Śārvabhauma is recorded, but a prior debate between Śārvabhauma and Mukunda, in front of the former's arrogant students (32-42), anticipates Kṛṣṇadāsa's arguments in *CC* 2.6 and 2.24. Śārvabhauma sends for Caitanya so that he can discuss the latter's *saṁnyāsa* and the intricacies of Vedānta (48-52); the scene shifts and suddenly the devotees are abuzz with the rumor that Śārvabhauma ate the *prasāda* proffered by Caitanya before the



196 Another day, Prabhu went to have *darśana* of Jagannātha; he saw the *śayyotthana* of Jagannātha, 197 and a *pūjārī* brought and gave him a garland and food from the *prasāda*; when he received the garland and the *prasāda*, Prabhu was delighted. 198 He tied up the garland and the *prasāda* in his garment and quickly came to the house of Bhāṭṭācārya. 199 It was dawn when Prabhu came there, and Bhāṭṭācārya was just waking up. 200 "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa" broke from his lips as Bhāṭṭācārya awoke; and when he heard the name of Kṛṣṇa, Prabhu's joy increased. 201 He caught sight of Prabhu outside; and he fell over himself rushing to clasp his feet. 202 He gave him a seat to sit on, and both sat down; opening the *prasāda*-food, Prabhu put it into his hand. 203 Receiving the *prasāda*, Bhāṭṭācārya was delighted; but he had not performed his bath and morning rites; he had not even cleaned his teeth. 204 By the grace of Caitanya, all reticence went from his mind, and reciting this *śloka*, he ate the food:

*Śloka 16. Padma Purāṇa:*

Whether it be dry or stale or brought from a far country, [*mahāprasāda*] is to be eaten by the mere fact of having got it; nor should there be any discussion of time.

*Śloka 17. Padma Purāṇa:*

Even if the place be not proper, nor the time proper, so Hari commanded, the *prasāda* received by a man of culture is to be immediately consumed.

205 When he saw this, the heart of Mahāprabhu was delighted; overcome with *prema*, Prabhu embraced him. 206 Holding each other, both danced, Prabhu and his servant; at the touch of each other, the hearts of both flowered. 207 Sweat and trembling and tears floated both away in joy; overcome with *prema*, Prabhu began to say, 208 "Today I have easily conquered the three worlds.

former was ritually purified to accept it, and the story is confirmed (60-64); Śārvabhauma then discusses *bhakti* and his new-found devotion with Caitanya (65-72); and the episode ends with Śārvabhauma sending his compositions of praise to Caitanya (74).

The narrative sequence followed by Kṛṣṇadāsa in the current chapter appears to follow Kāvīkarnapūra's *kāvya* and *nāṭaka* narrative rather closely, including the follow-up stories of the *prasāda* (CC 2.6.196-215); the writing of the *ślokas* on the palm-leaf (vv. 216-32); and the interpretation of the "muktipade" *śloka* (vv. 233-57). TKS]

196. See v. 66.

204. There is a pun here: *prasāda* means both "grace" and the food which has been offered to the deity.

Today I have ascended to Vaiṣṇava. 209 Today all my desires have been fulfilled; to Śārvabhauma has come faith in *mahāprasāda*. 210 Today, free from delusion, you have taken refuge in Kṛṣṇa. And Kṛṣṇa freely has become merciful to you. 211 Today he has broken the constraints pertaining to your physical body and related matters, today you have severed the bonds of *māyā*. 212 Today your heart has become devoted to the attainment of Kṛṣṇa, and transgressing the *dharma* of the Vedas, you have eaten the *prasāda*."

*Śloka 18. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 2.7.41:*

Those to whom the infinite Bhagavān is merciful, if they sincerely in every way take refuge at his feet, are able to pass beyond the difficult *māyā* of the gods, and for them no more egotism remains; for them the body is as food for dogs and jackals.

213 So saying, Mahāprabhu came to his own place; and from that time the egotism of Bhāṭṭācārya was broken. 214 He knew nothing other than the feet of Caitanya, and did not explain the *śāstras* in any way other than that of *bhakti*. 215 Gopīnāthācārya, seeing his Vaiṣṇava qualities, saying "Hari, Hari," began to dance, keeping rhythm with a clapping of his hands.

216 Another day Bhāṭṭācārya went to the *darśana*; but without seeing Jagannātha, he came to Prabhu's place. 217 Bowing low, he made various kinds of praise; and humbly he spoke of his own former wrong opinions. 218 He had a desire to hear of the essence of *bhakti-sādhana*; and Prabhu instructed him on *nāma-saṁkīrtana*.

*Śloka 19. Brhannāradya Purāṇa 38.126:*

There is only the name of Hari, the name of Hari, the name of Hari; there is no other way, no other way, no other way, in the Kali age.

219 And he expounded and expanded on the meaning of this *śloka*, and when he heard it, Bhāṭṭācārya was amazed. 220 Gopīnāthācārya said, "That which I said to you before—listen, O Bhāṭṭācārya—has now happened to you." 221 Bhāṭṭācārya said, making obeisance to him, "Because of you, Prabhu has granted me grace. 222 You are a *mahābhāgavata*, and I was blinded by the logic of philosophy; because of my connection to you, Prabhu has granted me his grace."

*Śloka 19.* See 1.7.13; 1.17.13. [It should be noted that Murāri Gupta places this verse in the mouth of Caitanya in the same chapter (2.2.28) as the "*apāṇipādo*" *śloka* noted above (see commentary to v. 140.) TKS]



223 Hearing these humble words, Prabhu embraced him with pleasure, and said, "Go and have *darśana* of Jagannātha." 224 Jagadānanda and Dāmodara—taking these two with him, Bhaṭṭācārya had *darśana* and came to his house. 225 He brought much of the best *prasāda*, and gave it into the hands of his own *brahmaṇa*, and sent him with the two. 226 Personally writing two *śloka*s on a palm leaf, and saying, "Give this to Prabhu," he put it into the hand of Jagadānanda. 227 Both came to the place of Prabhu with the leaf and the *prasāda*; Mukunda Datta took the leaf into his hands, 228 and he wrote the two *śloka*s on the outside wall. Then Jagadānanda gave the leaf to Prabhu. 229 Prabhu read the *śloka*s, then tore the leaf and threw it away. But seeing them on the wall, all the *bhaktas* read the *śloka*s:

*Śloka* 20-21. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 6.74 [*śloka*s 44-45; quoting Sārvabhauma]:

20 I take refuge in him who, incarnated as Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, who teaches the meaning of his own *bhakti-yoga* and the knowledge of asceticism, who is the *ādi-puruṣa* and a sea of grace. 21 May I be absorbed, like a *citta*-bee, in excessive love, at the lotus-feet of him who has become manifest with the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, to manifest his own *bhakti-yoga*, which has become destroyed in the course of time.

230 These two *śloka*s became necklaces of jewels on the throats of the *bhaktas*, and the praise of Sārvabhauma was announced as with the beat of a drum. 231 Sārvabhauma became a single-minded *bhakta* of Prabhu, and he knew no service other than that of Mahāprabhu. 232 "Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, son of Śacī, a treasure-house of qualities"—this was his meditation, his repetition, this is the name he took.

233 One day Sārvabhauma came to the place of Prabhu; making obeisance, he began to recite *śloka*s. 234 he recited a *śloka* of the *Bhāgavata* of the praise of *brahma*, but at the end of the *śloka* he changed two *akṣaras*:

*Śloka* 22. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.14.8:

That man participates in the heritage of *bhakti*, who, looking well to your mercy, enjoying the fruits of the *karma* earned by himself, is living making obeisance to you with speech, mind, and body.

*Śloka* 21. *Citta*: thought or affection.

234. *Akṣara*: "syllables" or "letters," consonant-sign with inherent vowel.

*Śloka* 22. See 3.9.śl.2. He has changed "mu" to "bha" making *bhakti* in place of *mukti*.

235 Prabhu said, "'*mukti-pade*' is the proper reading; why do you read '*bhakti-pade*'? What is your purpose?" 236 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "*Mukti* is not the fruit of *bhakti*, but is the punishment for those who have their faces averted from Bhagavān. 237 He who does not honor as true the *vigraha* of Kṛṣṇa, and who abuses him, or contests him, 238 has as punishment for these two [offences] *mukti* in union with *brahma*. *Mukti* is not the end for him who follows the way of *bhakti*. 239 Indeed, that *mukti* is of five kinds: *śalokya*, *sāmīpya*, *sārūpya*, *sārṣṭi*, and *sāyujya*. 240 If [you say] there are means of service in the first four of the series beginning with *śalokya*, then some *bhaktas* will agree. 241 But to hear '*sāyujya*' is hateful and fearful to a *bhakta*, he would prefer hell to acceptance of *sāyujya*. 242 Union with *brahma* and with *Īśvara* are two kinds of *sāyujya*; and union with *Īśvara* is more blameworthy than union with *brahma*."

*Śloka* 23. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.29.13:

Even if I myself am prepared to give it, my people do not take to *śalokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, or *ekatva*, without serving me.

243 Prabhu said, "There is another meaning to the word '*mukti*'; in the word '*mukti-pada*' the manifest *Īśvara* speaks. 244 At whose feet is *mukti*, he is called '*mukti-pada*,' he who is *samāśraya* of the ninth meaning is *mukti-pada*. 245 So by these two meanings '*Kṛṣṇa*' is meant; what is the purpose of changing the reading?" Sārvabhauma said, "I am not able to speak that word. 246 Even though your meaning can be gotten from this word, because of the double meaning, [still] it cannot be spoken. 247 Even though there are five meanings in the word '*mukti*' in its specialized meaning it is still knowledge of *sāyujya*. 248 To say the word '*mukti*' brings hatred and terror to my heart, while to say the word *bhakti* brings joy to it." 249 Hearing this, Prabhu smiled, with joy in his heart, and Prabhu gave Bhaṭṭācārya a

238. *Sāyujya*: "union with" *brahman*.

239. See commentary on 1.3.16.

241. See commentary on v. 238 above.

242. One might desire union with *brahman*, which, as a lower state of attainment, would still allow for devotion in the highest state; if one desires union in the highest state, however, there is no further recourse, there is no room for *bhakti*.

*Śloka* 23. See 1.4.śl.36; 2.9.śl.24; 2.19.śl.24; 3.3.śl.12.

244. He at whose feet *mukti* can be obtained: i.e., Kṛṣṇa. In *BhP* 2.10.1 there are mentioned ten objects or meanings (*padārtha*); the ninth of these is *mukti* and the tenth *āśraya*. *Āśraya*: "refuge" is Kṛṣṇa: he is the repository of *mukti*, the ninth.

245. I.e., *mukti*.

247. There are five kinds of *mukti*.



profound embrace. 250 That Bhaṭṭācārya who had read and taught the *māyāvada* now blossomed forth in such speech by the grace of Caitanya. 251 If it touches iron and gold does not come, then no one can recognize a touchstone. 252 And everyone, when they saw the Vaiṣṇava qualities of Bhaṭṭācārya, knew Prabhu to be the manifest Vrajendranandana.

253 Kaśī Miśra and the others, all those who lived at Nīlācala, came to take refuge at the feet of Prabhu. 254 I shall describe all these occurrences later—how Sārvabhauma served Prabhu. 255 How he regularly carried out feeding [him]—I shall expand on this at a later time. 256 This was the *līlā* of Mahāprabhu, in company with Sārvabhauma. He who listens to this reverently 257 is freed from the bonds of *jñāna* and *karma*, and shortly gains the feet of Caitanya.

258 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

## Madhya Līlā Chapter 7

Śloka 1.

I praise that gracious Caitanya who, with mind moist with mercy, made Vasudeva free from his leprosy, healthy in form, and delighted in *bhakti*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 In this way he saved Sārvabhauma; and a desire was born in him to take a journey to the south. 3 In the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha, Prabhu took *saṁnyāsa*, and in Phālguna he came to live at Nīlācala. 4 At the end of Phālguna he saw the Swing Festival, and in a passion of *prema* he sang and danced much. 5 He remained there for the month of Caitra, and released Sārvabhauma; at the first of Vaiśākha he had a mind to go to the south. 6 He summoned his own people, and spoke to them humbly; he embraced them, and holding them in his holy arms, [said], 7 "Knowing all of you, I consider you more than my life; my life can go, but I cannot abandon you. 8 You are all my friends, and you have done a deed of friendship, that you have brought me here and showed me Jagannātha. 9 Now from all of you I beg one gift; all agree, and give me your permission to go to the south. 10 To inquire about Viśvarūpa I shall certainly go, and I shall go alone, and take no one with me. 11 As long

4. *Dola-yātra*: the festival at which the image is taken from the temple and placed, often with his consort, in a swing. Phālguna is February-March. *Āveśa*: passion, delirium, possession.

5. Caitra: March-April, the last month of the year; Vaiśākha: the first month of the new year, April-May.

10. Viśvarūpa was Caitanya's brother, who had taken *saṁnyāsa* before him and who, there was obviously reason to believe, had gone to the south.

11. Setubandha: the extreme southern tip of the subcontinent is believed to have originally connected the island of Sṛī Lanka with the mainland.



as I have not returned from Setubandha, you will remain at Nilācala." 12 That Viśvarūpa had gained perfection, everyone knew; Caitanya used this cover to rescue the southern country.

13 When they heard this, there was great sadness in the minds of all; it was as if a thunderbolt had fallen on their heads, and their mouths dried up. 14 Nityānanda Prabhu said, "How can this be? You will go alone? Who will help you? 15 Let one or two go with you; do not do such a rash thing. Let two whom you pick go with you. 16 I know all the ways to the pilgrimage places in the south. Let me go with you, Prabhu! Give me the command!" 17 Prabhu said, "I am a puppet, and you are the holder of the string. As you cause me to dance, so I dance. 18 Having taken *saṁnyāsa*, I would have gone to Vṛndāvana; you brought me to the house of Advaita. 19 And coming to Nilācala, you broke my staff; in my profound love for you all is the destruction of my duty. 20 Jagadānanda wants me to enjoy material goods; and I am anxious to do what he says. 21 If I ever did anything contrary to his words, he would not speak a word to me for three days in anger. 22 Mukunda is saddened, seeing that I have taken the *dharma* of a *saṁnyāsin*, bathing three times [a day] in the winter, and lying on the ground. 23 Mukunda is saddened in his heart, but he says nothing with his mouth; and when I see his sorrow, my own sorrow increases twofold. 24 I am a *saṁnyāsin*, and Dāmodara is a *brahmacārī*; he always remains over me, holding the punishment rod of instruction. 25 Before him, I know nothing of these matters; he does not like it that my actions are my own. 26 From the grace of Kṛṣṇa, which is his, he does not have to concern himself with other people; but I can never escape consideration of others. 27 So you all remain at Nilācala, and for a few days I shall wander by myself among the pilgrimage places."

28 Prabhu relished those qualities by which he was under the sway of all of these people, under the pretext of finding fault with them. 29 Caitanya's affection for his *bhaktas* is a matter which is indescribable; he himself bore [in addition] the sorrow of renunciation. 30 And seeing the sorrow which afflicted the *bhaktas*, that sorrow seemed unbearable to him. 31 Under the pretext of

12. It is not clear whether this is an editorial comment on the part of Kṛṣṇadāsa, or whether this is what the *bhaktas* were thinking. *Siddhi prāpti*: "gained perfection," i.e., died.

17-24. These incidents are all related in 3.3.

26. I.e., Caitanya has not yet reached a stage of indifference to the world. [More theologically, in his role as model devotee he realizes all-too-well the effects of his own actions on the behavior of others; and in his role as Lord, he cannot divorce himself from his devotees, as the following verses make clear. TKS]

28. *Vaśa*: sway, control. See also 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl*5; and 2.23.26.

attributing faults to their qualities, he forbade them all; in renunciation he would wander alone to the pilgrimage places. 32 The four of them begged him much; but Prabhu was the self-dependent *Īśvara*, and paid them no heed. 33 Then Nityānanda said, "Whatever you order, whether it is sorrow or happiness, is my duty. 34 But one more prayer: consider it and give your assent. 35 You have a loincloth and an outer garment, and vessel for water and you will take nothing else with you. 36 Your two hands will be busy in the counting of the names; how will you carry your waterpot and outer garment? 37 And on the road you will become unconscious in a delirium of *prema*; who will keep your waterpot and clothing? 38 Here is a simple *brāhmaṇa* named Kṛṣṇadāsa; honor this prayer and take him with you. 39 He will go with you and carry your waterpot and clothing. [But] do whatever you wish; I shall say no more." 40 Then at these words, Prabhu embraced him, and with them all he went to the house of Sārvabhauma.

41 Sārvabhauma bowed low, and offered him a seat, and he seated them all together. 42 And speaking many things of Kṛṣṇa, he said to him, "I have come to your place to ask permission. 43 When he took *saṁnyāsa*, Viśvarūpa went to the south. Of course, I want to make inquiry after him. 44 Give me your permission, that I may go to the south; with your blessing, I shall return safely." 45 When he heard this, Sārvabhauma was very much pained; holding his feet he gave a dejected answer, 46 "As a result of the merits of many births, I have made your friendship; my fate has now broken this same companionship. 47 If a thunderbolt were to fall upon my head, or if my son should die—this I could bear; but separation from you cannot be borne. 48 You are self-dependent *Īśvara*, and you will go; but stay [here] a few days, that I may see your feet." 49 At his sorrow, Prabhu's decision was delayed; he remained a few days and did not depart. 50 Bhaṭṭācārya eagerly invited him, and having food cooked in his house, he fed Prabhu. 51 His wife, who was known as "Sāthīrā Mātā," cooked and fed him; there is a wonderful story of her. 52 But I shall speak of her later, and expand on this; now let me tell the story of Prabhu's southern pilgrimage.

53 Prabhu remained a few days at the place of Bhaṭṭācārya, and then he asked leave. 54 Because of the eagerness of Prabhu, Bhaṭṭācārya agreed; and Prabhu

32. Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara, and Mukunda. *Svatantra*: self-dependent.

38. He is also called Kala Kṛṣṇadāsa (2.10.60). He was one of Nityānanda's people, from the village of Ākaihaṭa in Bardhamān district.

51. His wife is called "*brāhmaṇī*," and she was known as the "mother of Śāthī," Śāthī being their daughter's name.

52. For the interesting story of Śāthī, see 2.15.184-290.



took him to the temple of Jagannātha. 55 Having had *darśana*, he begged leave from the *ṭhākura*; the *pājārī* brought a garland and *prasāda* and gave it to Prabhu. 56 Receiving the garland and the leave, he joyfully made obeisance, and in great joy Gaurahari set forth toward the southern country. 57 Bhaṭṭācārya, with many others of his own people, circumambulated Jagannātha and went forth. 58 Along the way, on the sea shore, was Ālalanātha; Sārvabhauma said to Gopinātha Ācārya, 59 "I have kept four loin-cloths and four outer robes in the house; have them brought by the *brāhmaṇa*, as well as *prasāda*-food." 60 Then Sārvabhauma said at the feet of Prabhu, "You will certainly respect this my request. 61 Rāya Rāmānanda lives on the banks of the Godavari; he is the *adhikārī* in Vidyānagara. 62 Do not disregard him because he is a Śūdra and because he is concerned with things of the world; at my request please meet with him. 63 He is a man suited to be your companion; in the earth there is not a *rasika-bhakta* equal to him. 64 He is the limit of both learning and *bhakti-rasa*; if you talk with him you will know his greatness. 65 Not understanding his unwordly speech and behavior, I have laughed [at him], calling him 'Vaiṣṇava.' 66 By your grace, now, I know the truth about him; when you talk with him you will know his greatness." 67 Prabhu, having agreed to his words, bade him farewell and embraced him. 68 "At home, when you worship Kṛṣṇa, give your blessing to me, that by your grace I may return to Nīlācala." 69 And so saying, Mahāprabhu departed. And Sārvabhauma fainted, and fell there on the earth.

70 Disregarding him, Mahāprabhu went quickly; who can say what was in his mind and heart? 71 The nature of the mind in a profound experience is like this: gentle as a flower, but hard as a thunderbolt.

*Śloka 2. Uttara-carita 2.7:*

Who can know the minds of those people transcending the world, which are harder than a thunderbolt and softer than a flower?

72 So Nityānanda Prabhu raised the Bhaṭṭācārya up, and sent him home with his own people. 73 The *bhaktas* came quickly and went with Prabhu, and Gopinātha came then, bringing clothing and *prasāda*. 74 Together with every-

55. *ṭhākura*: Jagannātha.

56. Or: the garland which represented the permission of the deity to leave.

61. *Adhikārī*: the royal agent or functionary in the town of Vidyānagara.

65. I.e., when Sārvabhauma was not himself a *bhakta*, when he was a follower of the *advaitavāda*, he used to scoff at Rāmānanda's devotion.

one, then, Prabhu came to Ālalanātha; having made obeisance, he praised him much. 75 Overcome by *prema* he danced and sang there for some time, and many people came and sat there to see. 76 All around, all the people cried, 'Hari, Hari!' as among them, overcome by *prema*, Gaurahari danced. 77 His body was like liquid gold, and his cloth the color of the dawn, with florets of gooseflesh, tears, trembling, and sweat the ornaments upon it. 78 Seeing this, the hearts of the people were overcome; many people came, and no one went home. 79 Some danced and some sang of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Gopāla, and the people floated in *prema*—women, old men, young girls and boys. 80 And when he saw this, Nityānanda Prabhu said to the *bhaktas*, "In the future, this kind of dancing will happen in every village." 81 The proper time had passed, but the people did not leave; but Nityānanda Gosvāmī created a way. 82 He went with Prabhu for the midday rituals, and seeing them the people came running from all four directions. 83 When they had performed the midday rituals, they came to a temple of the *devatā*; his own people entered and put a bar on the door. 84 Then Gopinātha fed the two *prabhus*; and the people all ate the leavings of the remaining *prasāda*-food of Prabhu. 85 Hearing [that Caitanya was within], the people all came to the outside door, and made a great commotion, saying 'Hari, Hari!' 86 Then Mahāprabhu caused them to open the door, and in joy the people came and had *darśana*. 87 In this way, until it was evening, the people came and they became Vaiṣṇavas, and all danced and sang. 88 In this way he there, with his *bhaktas*, passed the night in the delight of stories of Kṛṣṇa. 89 In the morning, after he had bathed, he went away; bidding farewell to his *bhaktas*, he embraced them. 90 They all fell to the ground in a faint; but Prabhu did not turn back toward them. 91 In the pain of separation, Prabhu went, saddened, and after him went Kṛṣṇadāsa, carrying his vessel and his clothing. 92 The *bhaktas* remained fasting there; the next day, saddened, they returned to Nīlācala.

93 Like a maddened lion, Prabhu went forward; overcome by *prema*, he went, making *nāma-saṅkīrtana*.

*Śloka 3. [the words of Caitanya]:*

O Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa  
O Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa  
Save me, Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa

81. "Proper time": it was time for midday rituals.

84. *Śeṣa-prasādanā*: leftover *prasāda*-food.



Deliver me, Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa  
O Rāma Raghava Rāma Raghava Rāma Raghava, protect me  
Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa, deliver me.

94 Repeating this *śloka*, Gaurahari went on his way; seeing the people on the way he said to them, "Say Hari, Hari!" 95 Those people became drunk with *prema*, and said "Hare Kṛṣṇa!"; they followed behind Prabhu, entranced at the sight. 96 Embracing them, Prabhu carried them for a long distance; infusing *śakti* into them, he bade them farewell. 97 Those people returned to their own villages, and said "Kṛṣṇa," and laughed and wept and danced incessantly. 98 And whomever he saw he said to him, "Speak the name of Kṛṣṇa," and in this way that man made Vaiṣṇavas of all the people of his own village. 99 As many people as came by chance from within the village, by the grace of his *darśana* became like that, 100 then they would return to their own villages and make them Vaiṣṇava. When people of other villages came and saw him, they too became Vaiṣṇavas, 101 and they in turn instructed people in other villages, and in this fashion did all the country of the south become Vaiṣṇava. 102 In this way, while going along the road, he made hundreds and hundreds of people Vaiṣṇavas, having embraced them. 103 In whatever village he stopped, many people of that village came to see him in the house where he ate. 104 By the grace of Prabhu, they all became *mahābhāgavatas*; and those among them who were *ācāryas* saved the world. 105 In this way they soon came to Setubandha; by virtue of their connection to Prabhu, all those countries became Vaiṣṇava. 106 Those powers which he had not made manifest in Navadvīpa, he manifested and saved the southern lands. 107 He who worships Prabhu receives his grace; and he considers all these *līlas* true. 108 He, in whom is not born faith in these unworldly *līlas*, is destroyed in this world and in the other. 109 So at first has been described the way in which Prabhu proceeded; in a similar way, learn of his wanderings through the south.

110 While going in this way, he came to Kūrmasthāna; seeing the Tortoise, he praised it and bowed to it. 111 Overcome with *prema*, he laughed and trembled and danced and sang; and seeing this, the minds of all were struck with astonishment. 112 Hearing of these wonderful things, all the people came to see; they

96. *Śakti*: power, here clearly the power of devotion.

*Śloka* 3. See 2.9.12.

106. *Śaktis*: powers.

110. Kūrmasthāna: Kūrmakṣetra, as it is more usually called, or in modern India Śrīkūrmam; it is a place in modern Gañjam district, in which there is a temple of the Tortoise-*avatāra*.

thought the form and the *prema* of Prabhu very wonderful. 113 Seeing him they became Vaiṣṇavas, and said "Kṛṣṇa Hari!" And overcome with *prema* the people danced, with arms raised in the air. 114 And incessantly hearing the name of Kṛṣṇa in the mouths of the people, people from other villages became Vaiṣṇava; 115 in this way, successive countries became Vaiṣṇava, and with the flood of the nectar of the name of Kṛṣṇa the country was inundated. 116 After a while, when Prabhu came to his senses, the *sevaka* of the Tortoise paid him much respect. 117 Into whatever villages he went, these sorts of things came about; they have been spoken of in one place; I shall not speak of them again.

118 There was in that village of Kūrma a *vedic brahmana*; in much pure *bhakti* he offered Prabhu an invitation. 119 Bringing him to his house, he cleansed the feet of Prabhu; he, with his family, drank that water. 120 With many manifestations of affection, he caused him to take food; the remainder of the food of the Gosvāmī all the family ate. 121 "Those lotus-feet of yours on which Brahmā meditates have become visible, manifest in my house. 122 The limit of my blessedness cannot be described; today my birth, my family, and my wealth have become worthwhile. 123 Have mercy on me, Prabhu! Let me go with you! I am not able to bear the waves of sorrow of material things." 124 Prabhu said, "You should not say such foolish things; stay in your house and always take the name of Kṛṣṇa. 125 Instruct whomsoever you see about Kṛṣṇa; by my command, having become a *guru*, save this country. 126 The waves of worldly affairs shall never bind you; and again in this place you will gain my companionship." 127 In this way in whose house he ate, he spoke, and taught him thus. 128 And going along the way he stayed in various temples in villages; and he ate in various people's houses in various places. 129 Those rituals which Gosvāmī had performed in Kūrma, he performed everywhere, until he had again returned to Nīlācala. 130 Thus this matter has been expanded; in this way you will know the doings of Prabhu everywhere. 131 So that night he remained in that place, and in the morning, after having bathed, Prabhu went on his way. 132 Kūrma followed after Prabhu for a great distance. Prabhu, with great care, sent him to his home.

133 There was a gentle *brahmana* named Vasudeva, whose whole body was rotten with leprosy, and full of worms. 134 From his body those worms would fall off, and he would pick the worms up and put them in their places. 135 In

128. *Dui cāri sthāne*: "in various places"; other texts read *ei pariṇāme*: "in this [as opposed to other] states," implying that, unlike his actions in the north, where he always dined in *brahmana* houses, he ate at the house of anyone, thereby saving him.

132. Both the *brahmana* and the village were named Kūrma.



the night he heard that the Gosvāmī had come, and in the morning he came to see, at the house of Kūrma. 136 Having heard from the mouth of Kūrma of the coming of Prabhu, he fell to the earth, fainting in sorrow. 137 In various ways he began to lament, but coming to that place, Prabhu embraced him. 138 At the touch of Prabhu, the leprosy fled away with his sorrow, and now full of joy his body became beautiful. 139 Witnessing the grace of Prabhu, his heart was astonished. He recited a śloka, holding his feet, and praising him.

Śloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.81.16:

Where am I poor and evil; where is Kṛṣṇa Śrīniketana? Knowing me for a bad *brāhmaṇa*, I am still embraced by [his] arms.

140 Praising him much, he said, "Hear, O you who are full of mercy! Such qualities are not in *jīvas*. But they are in you. 141 When they see me, and get the smell of my foul disease, people flee away. But you touch me; you are the self-dependent *Īśvara*. 142 But I was good while I was vile and lowly; yet now conceit will be born in me." 143 Prabhu said, "You will never be proud. You will forever speak the name of Kṛṣṇa. 144 Commanded by Kṛṣṇa, go and save *jīvas*, and shortly Kṛṣṇa will embrace you." 145 So saying, Prabhu disappeared, and the two *brāhmaṇas* wept on each others' shoulders, at the qualities of Prabhu. 146 So the tale of the salvation of Vāsudeva has been told, and the name of Prabhu became "Vāsudevāmṛtapada."

147 So have been told the first travels of Prabhu, the *darśana* of Kūrma and the liberation of Vāsudeva. 148 He who hears this *līlā* with reverence will soon be joined to the feet of Caitanya. 149 I do not know the beginning or the end of the *līlā* of Caitanya; I write that which I hear from the mouths of the great ones. 150 For this do not take offense at me, O *bhaktas*; my only refuge is at the feet of all of you.

151 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

Śloka 4. See 1.17.śl.6. [This śloka is not to be found in the printed edition of Rādhagovinda Nātha, but its omission is clearly a mistake and not an editorial decision. The śloka is found cross-referenced as 2.7.śl.4 in his śloka index. Furthermore, the Gauḍīya Maṭha edition includes it (2.7.143) as do all other major editions, as well as the MSS consulted. TKS]

145. Kūrma and Vāsudeva.

146. "He whose feet (*pada*) are like immortal nectar (*amṛta*) to Vāsudeva."

## Madhya Līlā Chapter 8

Śloka 1.

The ocean of Gaura, by the cloud of the *bhakta* Rāmananda, distributes the nectar of the perfection of *bhakti* according to himself, that by it, raining down, the refuge of this ocean of jewels in the form of the experience of perfection, be gained by the nectar of perfection.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 According to these previous principles Prabhu continued his journey, and after some days he came to the Narasimhakṣetra at Jiyāḍa. 3 Seeing Nṛsiṃha he prostrated himself, and overcome by *prema* he danced and sang and praised much; 4 "Glory to Śrī Nṛsiṃha, glory to Nṛsiṃha, to Narasimha be praise! Glory to the lord of Prahlāda, the bee at the lotus-mouth of Padma."

Śloka 2. Śrīdhara Svāmī's *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on Bhāgavata Purāṇa 7.9.1:

As a lion is gentle towards his own offspring and violent in his wrath toward others, so this Nṛsiṃha, even though wrathful, is gracious to his own *bhaktas*.

5 Reciting many ślokas in this way he praised him much, and the servants of Nṛsiṃha brought and gave him a garland and *prasāda*. 6 As before, a certain *brāhmaṇa* invited him; remaining there that night, he went away. 7 In the morning he rose up and went off, overcome by *prema*; he did not know in what

4. Prahlādeśa: the Nṛsiṃha-*avatāra*, the man-lion, was to save Prahlāda from Hiranyakāśipu; thus the *avatāra* is known as the "lord"—*īśvara* or *īśa*—of Prahlāda. Padma here is Lakṣmī; the word also means lotus.

7. *Āveśa*: overcome, possessed, here and throughout the chapter.



direction he was going, nor whether it was night or day. 8 And as before, he made everyone Vaiṣṇavas; after a few days he came to the banks of the Godavari River. 9 When he saw the Godavari he remembered the Yamuna River, and seeing the forest on the banks he was reminded of Vṛndāvana. 10 In that forest he danced and sang for some time. And crossing the Godavari he bathed there. 11 Leaving the ghat, Prabhu sat at some distance beside the water and made Kṛṣṇa-nāma-saṅkīrtana.

12 At that time Rāmananda Raya, mounted on a palanquin came to bathe, with sounding instruments. 13 With him came many vedic *brāhmaṇas*; according to the custom, he bathed and offered *tarpaṇa*. 14 Prabhu saw him and recognized him—"This is Rāma Raya"; and his heart rose up anxious to meet him. 15 But Prabhu remained quietly sitting there; Rāmananda saw the extraordinary *saṁnyāsin*, and came over. 16 His luster was like a hundred suns, and his clothes like the dawn, a very large, well-made powerful body, and eyes like lotuses. 17 Seeing this, he was astonished, and coming there he bowed and made obeisance. 18 Getting up, Prabhu said, "Rise up, say 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa!'" Prabhu's heart thirsted much to embrace him. 19 Then he asked: "Are you Rāmananda Rāya?" And he said, "I am he, and a lowly *śūdra*, your servant." 20 Then Prabhu caught him up in a deep embrace; and overcome with *prema*, both Prabhu and servant were unconscious. 21 Natural *prema* was born in both of them, and both, each embracing the other, fell to the earth. 22 Stupor and sweat, and tears and trembling, hair standing on end in delight, and palor were on the faces of both, and a murmuring of the syllables of Kṛṣṇa's name was heard. 23 Seeing this, the *brāhmaṇas* were astonished; those vedic *brāhmaṇas* all asked, 24 "The radiance of the *saṁnyāsin* is indeed like that of *brahma*; why does he weep and embrace the *śūdra*? 25 And this *mahārāja*, of great and profound learning, why does he become disquieted and maddened at the touch of the *saṁnyāsin*?" 26 In such ways the *brāhmaṇas* reflected to themselves; and seeing these unsympathetic people, Prabhu restrained himself.

12. *Dola*: a palanquin which swings from the carrier poles suspending it.

13. *Tarpaṇa*: the offering of oblations to ancestors. Rādhāgovinda Nātha is at pains to point out that "according to custom or injunction" (*vidhi*) does not mean the injunction of the Vedic tradition, for, as he says, Rāmananda did not participate in the brahmanical system.

22. [For these symptoms, see text and commentary to 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31; see especially the commentary to v. 135 below. TKS]

26. [*Samvarana*: "restrained" himself, lit., "covered over." This expression is frequently used in the biographical tradition to denote the conscious withdrawal of the outward signs of *prema* and Caitanya's manifest divinity, often motivated by the presence of sceptics or non-believers. TKS]

27 Becoming calm, both sat in that place, and smiling Mahāprabhu began to say, 28 "Sārvabhauma Bhāṭṭācārya told me of your qualities; he implored me to meet you. 29 It is for meeting you that I have come here, and it is good that I have seen you so easily." 30 Raya said, "Sārvabhauma knows me as his servant; he is attentive to my welfare even when he is not present. 31 By his grace I have gotten *darśana* of your feet; today my birth as a man has been fulfilled. 32 You have dispensed your grace to Sārvabhauma; this is the sign of it—that because of your *prema* for him you have touched an untouchable. 33 Where you are, Īśvara Nārāyaṇa is manifest; where I am, a servant of the king, a man concerned with the world, a lowly *śūdra*. 34 You did not abhor touching me out of respect for the Vedas; for you even to look upon me is forbidden by the Vedas. 35 Because of your grace you have done such deeds for which you can be reproached; you are Īśvara incarnate; who knows your innermost secret? 36 To save me you have come here; you are most full of mercy, you are the savior of the fallen. 37 This is the true nature of a great man—to save the lowly; it is not work appropriate to him; but still he goes to [the lowly man's] house.

Sloka 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.8.4:

O Bhagavān, great men go forth for the good of householders of humble hearts; let it not be considered otherwise.

38 There are a thousand *brāhmaṇas* and others with me; at the sight of you the hearts of all are melted. 39 I hear the name 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa' from the lips of all of them; the bodies of all ripple with gooseflesh and tears are in their eyes. 40 In your form and in your nature are the signs of Īśvara; it is not possible that these immaterial qualities be in a *jīva*."

41 Prabhu replied, "You are the greatest of *mahābhāgavatas*; the hearts of all are melted at the sight of you. 42 What shall I say of others—I am a *māyavādī*

37. "It is not the *dharma* of a *brāhmaṇa* or a *saṁnyāsin* to see or touch a lowly person, one who is concerned with the material world, such as I. But a truly great man (i.e., a *mahānta*) will ignore this, and even visit the house of such as I."

42. Caitanya had taken his *mantra* from Īśvara Pūrī, and had been initiated into *saṁnyāsa* by Keśava Bhāratī, both by their names members of Śaṅkara *advaitin* orders. It is said however that the *mantra* which he received was the Gopala-*mantra*, which might suggest that Īśvara, despite his being a member of the Pūrī order, was himself a Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*. In any case, Caitanya because of his clothing and perhaps sectarian marks on his forehead was recognizable as a member of the Bhāratī-sampradāya.



*saṁnyāsī*; at your touch I float in *prema* for Kṛṣṇa. 43 I know this—that to purify my hard heart, Sārva-bhāuma told me to meet you.” 44 In this way each praised the qualities of the other, and each at the sight of the other got joy in his heart. 45 At that time a vedic Vaiṣṇava *brāhmaṇa* came bowing to extend Prabhu an invitation. 46 He honored the invitation, for he knew him to be a Vaiṣṇava; and smiling a little, Prabhu said to Rāmananda, 47 “I have a desire to hear words of Kṛṣṇa from your mouth, and that again I gain *darśana* of you.” 48 Rāya replied, “If you have come to purify impure ones, not by a single *darśana* can the impurities of my heart be cleansed. 49 Remain for several days and scour it; then my evil heart can be made pure.” 50 Although the separation could not be endured by either of them, still Rāmananda Rāya bowed and went away. 51 Prabhu then went to the house of that *brāhmaṇa* and ate there, and both being restless, the evening finally came. 52 Prabhu bathed and performed the evening rituals and waited there, and Rāya came with a single servant to meet him. 53 Rāya made obeisance, and Prabhu embraced him, and they talked together, sitting in a solitary place.

54 Prabhu said, “Recite a *śloka* which demonstrates ‘that which is to be gained.’” And Rāya said, “Viṣṇu-*bhakti* is in the observance of one’s own *dharma*.”

*Śloka 4. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 3.8.9:*

By those who follow the *varṇāśrama-dharma* is the *para-puruṣa* Viṣṇu worshiped; there is no others means [of gaining] him.

54. *Sādhyā*: “that which is to be gained.” To Vaiṣṇavas, this is the eternal service of Kṛṣṇa in pure *prema*. Rāmananda is saying that one’s own *dharma*, *svadharma*, the proper way of life for any individual, is *bhakti* to Viṣṇu.

*Śloka 4.* There are four *varṇas*, and four *āśramas*, and each has a *dharma* assigned it in the *śāstras*: *brāhmaṇa*: worship, sacrifice, study, teaching, giving, and acceptance of gifts; *kṣatriya*: giving, study, sacrifice, ruling and war; *vaiśya*: giving, study, sacrifice, agriculture, and trade; *śūdra*: the service of the other three. The *āśramas* and their *dharma*s are as follows: *brahmācāra*: living in the house of the guru, pure action, service of the guru, observance of vows, study of the Vedas, reverence and courtesy to the guru, etc.; *gṛhastha*: marriage, earning a living, homage to the gods, *ṛṣis*, and ancestors, etc.; *vānaprastha*: eating only roots and fruits, wearing matted hair, sleeping on the ground, silence, bathing three times a day, homage to the gods, the fire-sacrifice, asceticism, etc.; *bhikṣu* or *saṁnyāsa*: abandonment of *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*, considering all things the same, compassion for all living creatures, abandonment of companionship, etc.

Rāmananda’s choice of this *śloka* to recite in response to Caitanya’s request is interesting, for the *bhakti-śāstras* say that true *bhakti* has nothing to do with the *varṇāśrama-dharma* or any other aspect of life regulated by the vedic tradition. See 2.22.49-50, for example. Rādhagovinda Nātha’s comment is that Rāmananda is using this *śloka* as a starting point for his argument, for he must realize that other texts (e.g., *BhG* 2.37) say that what is gained through the following of the

55 Prabhu said, “This is superficial; say what lies deeper.” And Rāya replied, “The presentation of *karma* to Kṛṣṇa is the essence of *sādhyā*.”

*Śloka 5. Bhagavad Gītā 9.27:*

Whatever you do, or eat, or offer, or give, or mortify, Kaunteya, make it an offering to me.

56 Prabhu said, “This too is superficial; say what lies deeper.” And Rāya replied, “The abandonment of *svadharma*—this is the essence of *sādhyā*.”

*Śloka 6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.11.32:*

He who abandons his own full *dharma*, even though propounded by me, being aware of its qualities and faults, and worships me, he is the best of men.

*Śloka 7. Bhagavad Gītā 18.66:*

Abandon all the Laws and instead seek shelter with me alone.  
Be unconcerned, I shall set you free from all evils.

57 Prabhu said, “This is still superficial; say what lies deeper.” And Rāya replied, “*Bhakti* mingled with *jñāna* is the essence of the *sādhyā*.”

*varṇāśrama-dharma* is heaven, a lower state than that which the Vaiṣṇavas seek to gain. It is true that there are many ways of worshiping, and each of these pleases Śvara in a different way. As a result, he grants grace, but also in different ways. And thus the ends which are gained by different means of worship are different; if one is to gain only heaven (*svarga*), then following the *varṇāśrama-dharma* is the appropriate way.

55. Observance of the *varṇāśrama-dharma* gains heaven for the worshiper, and therefore, since heaven is pleasurable, such observance is selfish and puts enjoyment over indifference to the pleasure or pain of the self. As in the *BhG* quote to follow, action is efficacious only when it is directed toward the deity, without thought of the satisfaction of the self. [*Sāra*: essence, denoting the best part of anything, its pith, heart, cream, and so forth. In the following passage, the connotation is one of process and refinement, and plays on the metaphoric image of gradually churning butter and cream from milk, and with the application of heat, getting thicker and richer, perhaps itself a deliberate pun on the pursuit of *rasa*, which is the pure experience of devotion, but also sap or juice. TKS]

56. Previously (v. 54) Rāmananda used the term “*svadharma*” and quoted a *śloka* to suggest that he meant by this “*varṇāśrama-dharma*”; presumably it should be so read here.

*Śloka 6.* See 2.9.1.21.

*Śloka 7.* See 2.9.1.22; 2.22.1.44.

57. Following Rādhagovinda Nātha: there are three types of knowledge (*jñāna*): knowledge of the truth of godhead, knowledge of the true nature of the *jīva*, or the relationship between the *jīva* and the *bhagavat*, and knowledge of the identity of the *jīva* and *brahma* (*n*). The third form is antagonistic to *bhakti*, but the first two forms of knowledge are acceptable. However, in 2.22.16



Sloka 8. Bhāgavad Gītā 18.54:

Having become *brahman*, serene of spirit, he does not grieve, he does not crave: equable to all creatures he achieves the ultimate *bhakti* of me.

58 Prabhu said, "This is superficial; say what lies deeper." Rāya replied, "*Bhakti* devoid of *jñāna* is the essence of the *sādhya*."

Sloka 9. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.14.3:

O unconquered one, you are often controlled by those in the three worlds who live paying heed in body, heart, and speech to the words and actions of you and your *bhaktas*, and according to the *śrutis* heard from the mouths of *sādhus* and in the place [of *sādhus*], abandoning completely attempts and refuge in *jñāna*.

59 Prabhu said, "This is so, but tell what is deeper." And Rāya said, "*Prema-bhakti* is the essence of all *sādhya*s."

Sloka 10. Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 13 [quoting Rāmananda Rāya]:

O *bhakta*, if he is worshiped with *prema* in various means and attentions, the heart of him who is friend to the wretched is melted in happiness; as when a strong hunger or thirst is felt in the stomach, water and food are the sources of pleasure to it.

Sloka 11. Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* 14 [quoting Rāmananda Rāya]:

If any means can be found, then buy the wisdom which is gained by the self; but one's own strong desire is the sole price in the purchase and this desire cannot be had through good actions in a crore of rebirths.

60 Prabhu said, "This is true, but speak of further things." And Rāya replied, "*Dāsyā-prema* is the essence of all *sādhya*."

below and in other places, it is clear that knowledge by itself is not efficacious; it might lead one to the lowest of the three strata of the ultimate, i.e., *brahma*. But even to reach this level of attainment one must follow *jñāna* mixed with *bhakti*.

Sloka 8. See 2.24.śl.41; 2.25.śl.43.

59. Rādhagovinda Nātha: while *sādhana-bhakti* (i.e., *kṛtana*, listening to the *BhP*, etc.) is going on, by the grace of Bhagavān the mind and heart are purified, and the knowledge of the true relationship between the *jīva* and the deity is gained; the worshiper is then in direct relationship to the *svārūpa*, and the desire for service of the deity, in this condition, is *prema-bhakti*.

60. *Dāsyā* is the first of the four states of relationship to Kṛṣṇa: that of a servant to a master. Some texts add a fifth, coming before *dāsyā*, that is, *śānta*. As we shall see in 2.19.173-174, Kṛṣṇadāsa

Sloka 12. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 9.5.16:

That man who only hears the name becomes pure—what is the want of such servants of him whose feet are to be sought?

Sloka 13. Yamunācārya's *Stotraratna* 48:

When will I, my other desires being stilled, be fulfilled in joy by eternal service to you, and become your constant servant?

61 Prabhu said, "This is so, but there is more further on." And Rāya replied, "*Sakhyā-prema* is the essence of all *sādhya*."

Sloka 14. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.12.11:

They, worshipful for the merit they had earned, played with him, whom the followers of *māyā* consider as a human child, and whom worshipers in the *dāsyā-bhāva* consider to be the god to be fully adored, and whom those who follow *jñāna* consider to be the experience of the pleasure of *brahma*.

62 Prabhu said, "This is most excellent, but there is more." And Rāya replied, "*Vātsalyā-prema* is the essence of all *sādhya*."

Sloka 15. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.8.46:

O *brahmaṇa*: what holy work, engendering such great merit, did Nanda do, or the most blessed Yaśoda, that Hari sucked milk from her breast?

feels that *śānta*, "peaceful," is not valid because it is not an emotional relationship; in *śānta-bhāva*, one feels peace because one is an insignificant creature before the all-powerful deity. This does not give Kṛṣṇa satisfaction; only love gives Kṛṣṇa satisfaction, and as a servant can love a master, the *dāsyā-bhāva* is valid, although it is the lowest of the valid relationships.

Sloka 13. See 2.1.śl.12.

61. *Sakhyā* is the second of the four states, "friendship," as represented in the *Vraja-līlā* by such as Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarāma, and others among the *gopas*, the cowherd boys who were Kṛṣṇa's companions and friends. It is a state more efficacious than *dāsyā*, for in the *dāsyā-bhāva* the *bhakta* looks up to Kṛṣṇa, though with love. In the *sakhyā-bhāva*, he considers Kṛṣṇa as a friend, and from this kind of affection Kṛṣṇa derives satisfaction.

Sloka 14. See 3.7.śl.6.

62. *Vātsalyā* is the third of the four states, "parental love," the love which Kṛṣṇa's foster parents Yaśoda and Nanda showed for him. It involves reprimands, rebukes, and punishments, as well as protection, love, and care. It includes both *dāsyā*, as one cooks for, cares for, and generally serves a child, and *sakhyā*, for one can treat a child as an intimate friend.

Sloka 15. See 3.7.śl.7.







72 Even though the beauty of Kṛṣṇa is the ultimate of sweetness, his sweetness increased by association with the women of Vraja."

Sloka 23. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.33.6:

As a great emerald among the golden ones there, so Bhagavān, son of Devaki, shone forth.

73 Prabhu said, "This is certainly the ultimate of *sādhya*; but I pray, tell me if there is anything more." 74 And Rāya replied, "Such a man who would ask for more than this, I have not known on the earth for such a long time. 75 Within all this, the *prema* of Rādhā is the crest-jewel of *sādhya*; the greatness of this is witnessed by all the *śāstras*."

Sloka 24. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, *uttara-khaṇḍa* 45 [quoting from *Padma Purāṇa*]:

Just as Rādhā is the beloved of Kṛṣṇa, so is she a reservoir of love for him. Among all the *gopīs*, she alone is perfectly loved by him.

Sloka 25. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.30.28:

Surely the Bhagavān Hari was worshiped by her so that he abandoned us and happily led her away in secret.

76 Prabhu said, "Say more, for I gain happiness in hearing; an unprecedented stream of nectar flows from your mouth. 77 He stole Rādhā away in fear of the *gopīs*; if it is dependent upon others, the profundity of *prema* does not manifest itself. 78 If he openly abandoned the *gopīs* in favor of Rādhā, then we know the depth of Kṛṣṇa's love for Rādhā." 79 Rāya said, "Hear the greatness of that love; for in the three worlds there is no equal for the *prema* of Rādhā. 80 Having left the circle of the *rāsa*-dance of the *gopīs*, he wandered lamenting in the forest, looking for Rādhā.

72. [Madhurya: sweetness; opposed to *aiśvarya*, sovereign divinity. TKS]

Sloka 24. Kuṇḍa: reservoir. See 1.4.śl.40; 2.18.śl.2.

Sloka 25. See 1.4.śl.14.

77. I.e., he had to steal her away, and not take her openly, because of the jealousy and hurt that that would cause the others. But, says Caitanya, if this is so, *prema* must to some extent be dependent upon others, or he would not have been afraid to take her away openly.

78. But, Caitanya goes on, if Kṛṣṇa left the other *gopīs* for Rādhā's sake, caring more for her love than the hurt it might cause the others—and presumably himself, for he loved the others too—then that was a true manifestation of *prema*.

Sloka 26. Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda* 3.1:

Kṛṣṇa, foe of the demon Kāmsa, abandoned all the beautiful women of Vraja and held Rādhā to his heart, her, by whom the fetter was tied by the *vāsanas* of worldly existence.

Sloka 27. Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda* 3.2:

And that Mādhava, pained in his heart by the blow of the arrow of Anaṅga, went searching here and there for Rādhā, his heart burning and repentant, in the groves on the banks of Kalinda's daughter.

81 If we examine the meaning of these two *ślokas* we will know; on examination it will rise up like a well of nectar. 82 He was with a hundred crores of *gopīs* in the *rāsa-vilāsa*; yet within it one *mūrti* remained next to Rādhā. 83 Seeing the equality of ordinary *prema* everywhere, the crooked love of Rādhā became trickery.

Sloka 28. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Ujjvalānīlamanī*, [*śṛṅgārabheda-prakaraṇa*] 15.102:

Like a snake are the ways of love, by nature crooked; thus *māna* is produced both with and without reason, in young men and women.

84 Being angry, she left the *rāsa* dance, in pique; and not seeing her, Śrī Hari was very disturbed. 85 The *rāsa-līla* was fully the essence of the desire of Kṛṣṇa; and Rādhika was the fetter to his desire for *rāsa-līla*. 86 Without her the *rāsa-līla* did not blossom in his heart, and leaving the circle he went to search for Rādhā. 87 Wandering here and there, he found Rādhā nowhere; he was repentant, and grieved by the arrow of Kāma. 88 Among the hundred crores of *gopīs*, [the fire of] Kāma was not extinguished; by this can be deduced the qualities of Śrī Rādhika."

89 Prabhu said, "It was for this that I have come to your place, for knowledge of the truth about matters of *rāsa*. 90 Now I have seen a demonstration

Sloka 26. See 1.4.śl.42.

Sloka 27. "Kalinda's daughter": the river Yamunā.

82-83. In the *rāsa*-dance, a *mūrti*, a form, of Kṛṣṇa was between each two *gopīs*, and one *mūrti* in the center of the circle. For a hundred crores of *gopīs* there were a hundred crores of Kṛṣṇa-*mūrtis*, plus one. Rādhā, seeing that she had no more of Kṛṣṇa than did any of the others, became irritated, and to demonstrate her irritation she left the dance, in pique (*māna*). *Bāmata*: trickery or waywardness, lit., "left-ness."

Sloka 28. See 2.14.śl.4.

87. Kāma is Kāmadeva, the god of love and sexual passion.

90. *Sevya*: that which is to be served; *sādhya*: that which is to be gained.



of 'that which is to be served,' and 'that which is to be gained.' But I want to hear a little more. 91 Tell me of the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa, and the *svarūpa* of Rādhikā; what is the truth of *rasa*; what is the form of the truth of *prema*. 92 Being merciful, tell these truths to me; for except for you no one is able to explain the matter." 93 Rāya replied, "I know nothing about these things; I speak the words that you cause me to speak. 94 I recite your teaching—just as a parrot recites. You are the manifest *Īśvara*; who can understand your play? 95 You suffuse my heart, and you cause my tongue to speak; I do not know whether what I say is good or bad." 96 Prabhu said, "But I am a *saṁnyāsīn* who is *māyāvādī*; I do not know the truth about *bhakti*. I float in the *māyāvada*. 97 In the company of *Sārvabhauma* my mind became purified. I asked him questions of the truth of the *bhakti* of Kṛṣṇa. 98 And he said, 'I know nothing of the matters of Kṛṣṇa. Among all people, Rāmananda knows, and he is not here.' 99 So I have come to your place, having heard of your greatness. And you praise me, knowing me to be a *saṁnyāsīn*. 100 Whether a man is a *brahmaṇa* or a *saṁnyāsīn* or a *śūdra*, he who is versed in the truths of Kṛṣṇa is a *guru*. 101 Do not evade [me] by calling [me] a *saṁnyāsīn*; but speak of the truth of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and fill my heart."

102 Even though Rāya was a *premi*, among the *mahābhāgavatas*, the magical power of Kṛṣṇa could not hide from his heart. 103 And so the most powerful desire of Prabhu he understood, and the heart of Rāya was trembling. 104 And Rāya said, "I am the dancer, and you are the holder of the strings; as you cause me to dance, so I want to dance. 105 My tongue is the *vīṇā*-instrument; but you are the holder of the *vīṇā*; what rises up in your mind—it is that which I sound. 106 Kṛṣṇa is the highest *Īśvara*, *svayaṁ bhagavān*, the container of *avatāras*, and the chief cause of everything. 107 The infinite *Vaikuṇṭha* and the infinite *avatāras*, the infinite *Brahmā*-worlds—he is the receptacle of all of these. 108 He is *Vrajendranandana*, whose body is *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*; he possesses all majesty, all *śaktis*, and is full of all *rasa*.

94. "Play" here is *nāṭa*, drama.

100. This was the opinion current in Kṛṣṇadāsa's time in Vṛndāvana, and but a few years later, Narottama Dāsa, who was a *kāyastha*, Śyāmananda, who was a *śaṅkha*, and others took *brahmaṇas* as their pupils (PHM, 80-81). In the lists of the qualities which a proper *dīkṣa-guru* must have, there is no mention of caste (Gopala Bhaṭṭa's *HBhV* 2.238). It was an iconoclastic attitude which set the Bengali Vaiṣṇava community in Vṛndāvana apart.

102. Rāmananda had *prema*, his heart was pure, and he was able to understand the truth about Caitanya, could penetrate the veil of Kṛṣṇa's *māyā*. He knew, in other words, that the talk of Caitanya's being a *māyāvādī saṁnyāsīn* and so forth was for outward show, and that Caitanya's true nature was *svatantra* *Īśvara*, the self-dependent Lord.

Śloka 29. *Brahma Saṁhita* 5.1:

Kṛṣṇa is the highest *Īśvara*, the embodiment of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, beginningless, yet the beginning of all things, Govinda, the cause of all causes.

109 He is the immaterial new Madana in Vṛndāvana, and his worship is in the *kāmagāyatrī* and *kāmabīja*. 110 [Of] men and women, of movable and immovable things, he is the attractor of the hearts of all, the manifest mind-stealing Madana.

Śloka 30. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.32.2:

After the various lamentations of the *gopīs* in the *rāsa-līla*, he suddenly appeared among them, dressed in a yellow robe, with a garland of wild-flowers and a smiling face—like Madana, the mind-stealer manifest.

111 The nectar of the *rasa* of various *bhaktas* is of various kinds, and [he is] both subject and object of the nectar of all these *rasas*.

Śloka 31. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pūrva-vibhāga, sāmānyabhakti-laharī] 1.1.1:

He who is the *mūrti* of the nectar of all the *rasas*, who attracted Tārakā and Palikā by his increasing beauty, and made Śyāma and Lalitā his own, may that moon, beloved of Rādhā, be victorious.

Śloka 29. See 1.2.śl.17; 2.20.śl.19; 2.21.śl.8.

109. Madana: Kāmadeva, "he who enchants." Kṛṣṇa is "immaterial" (*aprakṛta*) and untouched by the material *guṇas*, he is *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*. Kāmadeva is also immaterial, because he was burnt up by the fire from the eye of Śiva when he sought to tempt that god from his meditation (see *Kumāra-sambhava* 3). This is one of the couplets which cause orthodox interpreters a good deal of difficulty, for the *kāmabīja* and *kāmagāyatrī* are Tantric or Sahajīya mantras; this and many other things indicate strongly that Rāmananda was himself a Sahajīya (PHM, 54-56). For *kāmabīja* and *kāmagāyatrī*, see PHM, 149, 228-230. See also 2.21.104-114 below, and *Brhadgautamīya Tantra* for an interpretation of the *kāmabīja* "kṛm."

Śloka 30. See 1.5.śl.22; 2.8.śl.18.

111. Various *bhaktas* taste *rasa* in different ways, each according to his particular *bhāva*; by "subject (*viśaya*) and object (*aśraya*)" is meant that he both gives and receives; he receives the devotion and love of the *bhakta* in whatever *bhāva* the *bhakta* is worshiping, and he gives the taste of the *rasa* of that *bhāva* to the *bhakta* at the same time. Both terms have extensive technical meanings; see Rūpa's *BhRS* and *UNM*.

Śloka 31. Tārakā, et al: the names of *gopīs*.



112 He is the source of the *mārti* which is full of the chief of the *rasas*—*śṛṅgāra*, and thus steals the hearts of all, to himself.

*Sloka 32. Jayadeva's Gītāgovinda 1.46:*

O friend, engendering bliss in the whole world by the beauty of his limbs, dark and soft like a string of blue lotuses, he aroused the celebration of Kandarpa in the hearts of the women of Vraja; thus sweet Hari plays in the spring, like Love incarnate, freely embracing the beautiful women of Vraja, according to his own desire.

113 He steals the hearts of the *avatāras* Lakṣmīkanta and the rest, and attracts [even] Lakṣmī and the rest of the women.

*Sloka 33. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.89.58:*

O Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna! I have brought these *brahmaṇas* in desire to see you both, sources of the protection of *dharma*; again having destroyed the *asuras* and evil things of the earth, quickly return to me.

*Sloka 34. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.16.36:*

O God! Who has the authority, the right, to touch your feet, out of delight for which the playful Śrī performed strict austerities for a long time, abandoning her pleasures?

114 By his own sweetness his own mind is stolen; he himself desires to embrace himself."

*Sloka 35. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Lalitāmādhava 8.34:*

What is this unprecedented, astonishing, ultimate sweetness of mine which throbs so profoundly? When I see this, I am attracted and with greedy mind seek to enjoy it impetuously like Rādhikā.

112. The *mārti*, the form, of Kṛṣṇa, is full of the best of all the *rasas*—the passionate or *śṛṅgāra-rasa*; it is because of this quality, to taste this *rasa*, that he becomes Rādhā. See 1.4.89-178.

*Sloka 32. See 1.4.143.*

113. Lakṣmīkanta: "the husband of Lakṣmī," Nārāyaṇa. Viśvanātha Cakravartī comments on this verse: Lakṣmī, greedy for the beauty of Kṛṣṇa, performs ascetic acts in order to gain him; Kṛṣṇa, appearing before her, asks the cause of her asceticism. Lakṣmī replies that her desire is to sport in the fields as a *gopī*, and when Kṛṣṇa says that this is hard to obtain Lakṣmī says: Then I want to become a golden line on your breast. And Kṛṣṇa granted her wish.

*Sloka 34. See 2.9.17; 2.24.15.*

*Sloka 35. See 1.4.120; 2.20.128.*

115 Briefly he spoke in this way of the true form of Kṛṣṇa. "And now let me speak in brief of the form of the truth of Rādhā. 116 Kṛṣṇa has infinite *śaktis*, of which three are chief: their names are *cit-śakti*, *māyā-śakti*, and *jīva-śakti*. 117 They are also called *antaraṅga*, *bahiraṅga*, and *taṭasthā*. The *svarūpa-śakti* is *antaraṅga*, and is the greatest of all.

*Sloka 36. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 6.7.61:*

The *śakti* of Viṣṇu is of three kinds: *parā*, *kṣetrajñā*, and the third called *avidyā-karman*.

118 The *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa is full of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*, and thus the *svarūpa* of *śakti* is of three kinds. 119 *Hlādinī* is a function of the *ānanda*-part, *sandhinī* of the *sat*-part, and *saṁvit* of the *cit*-part, which is also known as *jñāna*.

*Sloka 37. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 1.12.69:*

*Hlādinī*, *sandhinī*, and *saṁvit* all exist as one in you, who are the foundation of all; but gladness or pain do not exist mixed in you, for you are devoid of all material qualities.

120 'Which gives joy to Kṛṣṇa'—because of that, its name is *hlādinī*; and by that *śakti* he tastes the pleasure of himself. 121 Kṛṣṇa, whose form is pleasure, tastes pleasure, and gives pleasure to his *bhaktas*: and that is the source of *hlādinī*. 122 The most essential *aṁśa* of *hlādinī* is called *prema*; and the glory of *prema* is the *rasa* which is experienced through *ānanda*. 123 The highest essence of *prema* is known as *mahābhāva*, and the form of that *mahābhāva* is Rādhā Ṭhakuraṇī.

*Sloka 38. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Ujjvalānīlāmṇi [rādhā-prakaraṇa] 4.3:*

Between the two of them, Rādhā is superior in every way; her nature is *mahābhāva*, and she surpasses all in qualities.

124 [Her] body is the *svarūpa* of *prema*, she is *prema* [itself] manifest; the best of the beloveds of Kṛṣṇa, famed throughout the world.

117. *Antaraṅga*: intrinsic; *bahiraṅga*: extrinsic; *taṭasthā*: intermediary. [For the Gosvāmin treatment of the three *śaktis*, see 1.2.84-86; 1.7.106-19 (esp. commentary on v. 106); 2.6.131-47; and 2.20.101-102. For Rādhā's role and position, see 1.4.52-88. TKS]

*Sloka 36. See 1.7.17; 2.6.110; 2.20.19; 2.24.188.*

120. *Hlādinī*: she who gladdens (-*hlād*).

*Sloka 37. See 1.4.19; 2.6.111.*

*Sloka 38. See 1.4.111. [The comparison is between Rādhā and her chief rival Candrāvalī. TKS]*



*Śloka 39. Brahma Saṁhitā 5.47:*

I bow to Govinda, the *adi-puruṣa*, who as the soul of all dwells in Goloka in his own true form, with those parts, inspired by *rasa* consisting of bliss and consciousness.

125 That *mahabhāva* is the essential crest-jewel; it fulfills the desires of Kṛṣṇa—this is its function. 126 And the crest-jewel of *mahabhāva* is the *svarāpa* of Rādhā. The bodies of the *sakṣīs*—Lalitā and the rest—are simply extensions of her body. 127 The love of Kṛṣṇa toward Rādhā is a sweet-smelling ointment for the body; by it, her body, the color of glowing fire, becomes even sweeter in scent. 128 The first bath is in the stream of the nectar of compassion; the middle bath is in the stream of the nectar of youth; 129 and the final bath is in the stream of the nectar of beauty. The *śyāma*-colored silk sari which she wears is her own modesty. 130 The passion of Kṛṣṇa is the second, dawn-colored cloth; her breast is hidden by the blouse of her *māna* and her love. 131 The saffron is her beauty, and her sandalwood the love of her *sakṣīs*, and the radiance of her smile is the camphor—with these three her body is anointed. 132 The *rasa* of the burning [passion] of Kṛṣṇa is full of musk; and with that musk her body became anointed. 133 The deceit of her hidden *māna* is the decoration of her hair, and the ground scent on her body is the quality of her own *dhitradhīra*.

*Śloka 39.* See 1.4.śl.12. [*Kalā*: part, probably here referring to the *gopīs* and/or the other members of Kṛṣṇa's *dhama*. A somewhat more strained reading preferred by several commentators extends it to mean the *gopīs* who are skilled in the traditional sixty-four arts (*kalā*). TKS]

126. The problem is: if Rādhā is able to satisfy fully all the desires of Kṛṣṇa, then what is the need of the hundred crores of *gopīs* of which the texts speak? The answer is that all these other *gopīs* are not really different from Rādhā—they are *kāya-vyāhas* (one body becoming many bodies) of her. Rūpa's UNM [*sakṣī-prakarāṇa*] 8.1 defines a *sakṣī* as "one who promulgates, or assists in, the *prema-līla*."

127. [*Sneha*: love or affection. There is an etymological pun on the word *sneha* which alternately means sticky, adhesive or oily unguent. *Ujvala*: glowing, blazing; it would appear that Kṛṣṇadāsa is taking his verbal cues from Rūpa's UNM, which is primarily concerned with the love that only Rādhā can provide. The following passages clearly derive from that work. TKS]

128. Three baths should be taken each day: morning, noon, and evening.

129. *Śyāma*: "dark," the color of Kṛṣṇa.

130. *Māna*: the irritation and jealousy of Rādhā; UNM [*sthāyibhāva-prakarāṇa*] 14.96; *prāṇaya*: UNM [*sthāyibhāva-prakarāṇa*] 14.108 defines this as an intense stage of *māna*, a lack of faith which is however unfounded. See also the commentary to CC 2.2.56.

133. *Dhitradhīra*: according to UNM [*nāyikabheda-prakarāṇa*] 5.35, this refers to a woman separated by a misunderstanding from her lover, who employs irony and tears to get back at him.

134 Her lips burned with the red of the *tambala* of passion, and the guile of *prema* is the kohl on her eyes. 135 With the *sattvika-bhāva* she is *suddipta*, and with *harṣa* and the other *sañcārī-bhāvas*; her body is covered with the ornaments.

134. *Tambala*, or *pana*, stains the lips red with the juice of its chewed areca nut.

135. See ante, 2.6.11-12 and commentary; Rādhagovinda Nātha: the people dwelling in Gokula, in *viraha* for Kṛṣṇa, sweat and tremble and gooseflesh breaks out on their bodies, in their anxiety they rave with flattering words, in their heat of passion they become pale, and, their eyes wet with tears, they are devoured by deep longing—this is the *uddipta sattvikabhāva* of the people of Gokula. It is a condition in which the conflict of the various *bhāvas* is most intense. *Harṣa*: delight. See also 1.7.86-93; 1.17.5; 2.18.151-74; and 2.23.31.

*Sañcārī-bhāva*: the physical effect of the *bhāva* condition on the eyes, brows, speech, and so on, is known as *vyabhicārī-bhāva*; when *vyabhicārī-bhāvas* are diffused throughout the course of all the *bhāvas*, they are known as *sañcārī-bhāva*. *Sañcārī-bhāvas* are thirty-three in number: for examples of *nirveda* (indifference), *viṣāda* (dejection), *harṣa* (delight), and *dhr̥ti* (restraint), see 2.2.65. For *outsukya* (anxiety), *capalya* (inconstancy), *dainya* (humility), *amarṣa* (anger) and *unmāda* (madness), see 2.2.54. The characteristics of the rest are:

*Glāni*: exhaustion, debility, from affliction of the heart and body; its signs are trembling, inertia, pallor, emaciation, and unsteadiness of eye.

*Śrama*: also a type of exhaustion, born from coition, wandering along paths, and dancing; its signs are sleepiness, sweat, spasms, yawning, and sighing.

*Mada*: drunkenness, a condition of intoxication in which intellectual knowledge is destroyed; it is induced by wine or induced by passionate love, and its signs are erring in walking, speech, and lack of control of the body, eyes which do not focus and are red.

*Garva*: arrogance or pride; its signs are sarcastic speech, not replying when spoken to, looking at one's own body, not listening to the speech of others, etc.

*Śaṅka*: doubt or suspicion; its signs are dryness of the mouth, pallor, looking all around, remaining hidden, etc.

*Trāsa*: fear; its signs are such as embracing things on both sides, trembling, paralysis, and wandering about.

*Āvega*: shock. It can arise from love, unrequited love, fire, wind, rain, earthquake, loud roaring, or enemies. All of these have different signs. As an example, those associated with love are trembling, talk about the beloved, unsteadiness, and rising up from one's seat in welcome.

*Apasmṛti*: fits, as in epilepsy; its signs are such as falling on the ground, running, pain in the body, trembling, frothing at the mouth, thrashing with the limbs, and shouting loudly.

*Vyādhi*: illness, such as fever arising from the pain of separation; its signs are such as inertia, coldness of the limbs, heavy breathing, fever, and exhaustion.

*Moha*: an emptiness of the mind, or infatuation, arising from many things, including fear, separation, delight, or dejection; its signs are such as falling on the ground, lack of control of the senses, lack of desire to move, etc.

*Mṛti*: a condition near death, the signs of which include unclear speech, pallor, slight breathing, and hiccupping.

*Ālasya*: lethargy; among its signs are torpor of the body, yawning, sleep, antipathy to activity, rubbing the eyes, drowsiness, and sitting down.



tation of all these *bhāvas*. 136 And decorated with the *kilakiñcita bhāva* and others of the twenty—these clusters of *guṇas* blossomed on her whole body like

*Jādyā*: apathy; its signs are such as unblinking eyes, silence, forgetfulness.

*Bṛīḍā*: bashfulness; its signs are such as silence, hiding the face, meditation or reflection, writing on the ground, and keeping the head bent.

*Avahittha*: feigning at concealing one's feelings; its signs are such as hiding whatever parts of the body might give the emotion away, looking in the other direction, and meaningless attempts to focus attention elsewhere.

*Smṛti*: remembering; its signs are such as trembling of the head and restlessness of the eyebrows.

*Vitarka*: doubt; its signs are such as raising the eyebrows, and restless movement of the head and limbs.

*Cintā*: reflection; its signs are such as sighing, eyes cast down, picking at the ground, sleeplessness, raving, emaciation, and tears.

*Mati*: opining or ascertainment; its signs are such as ascertainment between truth and error in discussion of the *śāstras*, instructing students, and discriminating between logic and illogic.

*Augra*: wrath; its signs are such as killing, imprisoning, reproach, shaking of the head.

*Asāya*: ill will or malice; its signs are such as ill feeling, disrespect, attributing faults to the qualities of the disliked person, defamation, looking askance, and raising the eyebrows.

*Nidrā*: sleepiness; its signs are such as yawning, inertia, sighing, and not focusing the eyes.

*Supti*: dreaming; its signs are such as lassitude of the senses, staring eyes, etc.

*Bodha*: the condition of awareness, doing away with the various kinds of lassitude, unconsciousness, and stupefaction. Its signs are alertness, etc.

136. Rūpa's UNM [*anubhāva-prakaraṇa*] 11.2: when a young *nāyikā* cleaves passionately in all ways to her lover, the manifestation of this is twenty-fold; and these twenty types of manifestation are like ornaments to her body, and her body glows with them. These are:

*Bhāva*: when at the first onslaught of the *śṛṅgāra-rasa*, certain changes take place in her body and mind.

*Hava*: when the movement of her neck, brows, eyes, etc., become more pronounced than in *bhāva*.

*Hela*: when all signs of passionate love are clearly manifested.

*Sobha*: when her body is ornamented by beauty and enjoyment, she is in a condition called "radiant."

*Kānti*: the burning radiance, more intense than in *sobha*, which comes with the satisfaction of the god of love.

*Dīpti*: when the *kānti* condition is intensified by the proper conjunction of age, food or enjoyment, place, time, and qualities.

*Madhurya*: the total absorption of all activities in all conditions.

*Pragalbhata*: total lack of fear in matters of enjoyment.

*Audārya*: the showing of humility in all situations.

*Dhairya*: the stability or calmness of the mind.

*Līlā*: the imitation or copying of the lover by the beloved in actions, dress, etc.

*Vilāsa*: when the time, place, furniture, face, eyes, everything, are uniquely appropriate for a tryst.

garlands of flowers. 137 On her beautiful forehead the *tilaka* of good fortune glowed, and the jewel of *prema-vaicitrya* was in the hollow of her heart. 138 Her hand placed on the shoulder of her friends, fixed in her youthful years, and all around her *sakhīs*, directing their minds to the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. 139 There is a beautiful couch in the fragrant abode of her own body; she remains ensconced on it, eternally thinking of union with *Kṛṣṇa*. 140 The earrings of the glory and qualities of the name of *Kṛṣṇa* dangle from her ear; the glory and qualities of the name of *Kṛṣṇa* flow from her lips. 141 She causes *Kṛṣṇa* to drink the honey of her *śyāma-rasa*, and eternally fulfills all the desires of *Kṛṣṇa*. 142 The pure *prema* of *Kṛṣṇa* is a mine of jewels, his body replete with many incomparable qualities.

Śloka 40. *Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindalīlāmṛta* 11.122:

Who is the fountainhead of love of *Kṛṣṇa*? Only one—Śrīmatī Rādhikā. Who is beloved of him? None other than that Rādhikā alone, who possesses incomparable qualities. Her hair is curled, there is restlessness in her glance, and firmness in her breast; this Rādhā alone is able to fulfill the desires of Hari, and no other.

*Vicchitti*: the nourishment of the beauty of the body, even when dress and ornamentation are little.

*Vibhrama*: restraint at an improper place, when near the beloved at the tryst, even though passion may be strong.

*Kilakiñcita*: when delight, pride, desire, anger, laughter, malice, fear, and weeping all arise at once.

*Mottāyita*: when desire becomes strong at remembering or hearing the voice of the lover.

*Kuṭṭamita*: a show of anger when the breast or lips are touched, even though inwardly the girl might be feeling pleasure and delight.

*Vibhoka*: when out of pride or *māna*, she treats the things which her lover has given her with contempt.

*Lalita*: in which the charm of the raising of the eyebrows, the tenderness, and in general unusual conduct of the whole body is manifested.

*Vikṛta*: in which modesty, *māna* and so on are not manifested as intended, but in altered form. The "clusters of *guṇas*" or qualities of Rādhā are: sweetness, youth, restlessness of sidelong glance, glowing smile, possessing the marks of charming beauty, etc.; see 2.23.39-43.

137. Rūpa's UNM [*śṛṅgārabheda-prakaraṇa*] 15.147: that torment which arises in the mind when one is close to the beloved, a consciousness of separation even in proximity.

141. The color associated with the *śṛṅgāra-rasa* is *śyāma*, the dark emerald color, which is one of *Kṛṣṇa*'s names.



143 Satyabhāma longed for the qualities of such good fortune as was hers, from whom the lovely women of Vraja learned the arts of pleasure; 144 whose qualities of beauty and so on Lakṣmī and Pārvatī envied, whose *dharma* as *pativrata* Arundhatī admired; 145 and the multitude of whose virtues Kṛṣṇa cannot cross over; how then can a worthless *jīva* count those qualities of her?"

146 Prabhu said, "You have made known the *prema-tattva* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; I want to hear of the greatness of their love-play." 147 And Rāya replied, "Kṛṣṇa is charming and confident, and his actions are eternally those of the play of *kāma*."

Sloka 41. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī]  
2.1.230:

He who is clever, young, full of high spirits, and sure, and who is usually controlled by his beloved, is *dhīralalita*.

148 Day and night he plays amorously in the *kuñja* grove with Rādhā, and his youth is fulfilled in the delight of the play.

Sloka 42. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [dakṣiṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-laharī]  
2.1.231:

With words that suggested her boldness in the art of love the previous night, Hari made Rādhā lower her eyes in shame before her friends; and with great skill painted on her breast a picture of a playful crocodile. Thus he made fertile his youth while sporting in the *kuñja*-grove.

149 Prabhu said, "This is so, but say what comes after." And Rāya replied, "Far-

143. Satyabhāma was one of the women on whom Kṛṣṇa bestowed a great affection; but it was not as much as he gave to Rādhā. In his commentary on *BhP* 10.45.36, Śrīdhara Svāmī lists sixty-four such arts; they are such as song, music, dance, stringing of garlands, ornamentation, sleight of hand, ornamental carving, knowledge of metrics, etc.

144. *Pativrata*: a chaste woman, true to her vows to her husband. Arundhatī is the wife of a *muni*, legendary for her chastity. E.g., see 2.20.48 commentary.

146. Or: the *tattva* of Kṛṣṇa, the *tattva* of Rādhā, and the *tattva* of *prema*.

147. *Dhīralalita*: charming and confident; explained in *sloka* 41. "The play of *kāma*": *kāma-kṛīḍā*, love-play. Since Kṛṣṇa does not of course have lust, Rādhāgovinda Nātha is obliged to interpret *kāma* as *prema*; it is not however likely that Kṛṣṇadāsa intended this, since in other places he states categorically that *kāma* and *prema* are qualitatively different.

Sloka 42. See 1.4.16.

149. *Buddhi*: intellect, insight.

ther than this my intellect cannot venture. 150 There is one variation of *prema-vilāsa*; but whether or not you will be pleased when you hear it, I do not know." 151 And so saying he sang a song he had himself composed. In *prema* Prabhu placed his hand over [Rāmananda's] mouth. [And this was the song]:

152 I fell in love in the twinkling of an eye;  
day after day it grew, and still did not reach an end.  
153 He was no *ramaṇa*, nor I a *ramiṇī*;  
the desires of both our hearts were ground together.  
154 O friend! All these tales of love you tell to Kānu,  
lest he forget;  
155 We did not seek a messenger, we sought no other;  
the Five-Arrowed One was intermediary in matters of our union.  
156 Now he is angry, and you are [my] messenger;  
is such the way of a good man?

150. *Vivarta*: variation. Viśvanātha in his commentary interprets *vivarta* as *viparita*: "inverse." Rādhāgovinda Nātha, following Jīva Gosvāmin, says that it means that it "cannot be known by its external signs or characteristics," i.e., that the truth of the relation between the *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*, or Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, cannot be understood by outsiders.

151. [Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out that Caitanya probably did this because the subjects implied by this song are secret and not to be discussed openly. It is also possible that Kṛṣṇadāsa employed this device for the same reason, i.e., not to reveal the esoteric reaches of theology to the uninitiated. TKS]

152. The meter of the song is an abrupt change to a short terse *payāra*. The song is a song of Rādhā, addressed to the messenger or go-between for her and Kṛṣṇa.

153. *Ramaṇa*, "passionate man"; *ramiṇī*, "passionate woman." It is at this point that Viśvanātha's "inverse" interpretation comes in, for as Rādhāgovinda Nātha reads it, this line means that neither Rādhā or Kṛṣṇa were desirous of their own satisfaction, but that their love was unselfish, directed only at the satisfaction of the other. "Ground together" is literally that—*peśala*, mixed as powders in a mortar. The interpretation is that one is thus inseparable from the other, the familiar Vaiṣṇava notion of simultaneous union and separation; for while the desires are inseparable, they still belong to each of the two. *Manobhāva*, which is here translated "desire," might also mean something like "condition of mind or heart," which would give the additional meaning that Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are actually two in one.

155. *Pañca-vāṇa*: The Five-Arrowed One, i.e., Kāndarpa or Kāmadeva.

156. The poem has a slightly different and somewhat clearer form in *Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī*, ed. by Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopadhyāya, p. 136, as has been translated by Denise Levertov and Dimock in *IPK*, p. 41 as follows:

From the time our eyes first met  
our longing grew.  
He was not only the desirer, I not only the desired:



Śloka 43. Rāpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvalāmlāṇī* [sthāyibhāva-prakaraṇa] 14.155:

O lord of these woods and forest groves, the wise architect of passion has slowly melted with sweat the lac, which is your heart and that of Rādhā, and has joined separate elements as one within this Brahmā-world, and in vermilion in the form of the passion of man he has painted pictures in various ways, pleasing himself.

157 Prabhu said, "This is the ultimate of that matter which is to be gained, and it has been known for certain by your grace. 158 And no one can attain what is to be gained without the means of gaining it; be merciful, and explain the method of gaining it." 159 And Rāya said, "I speak those words which you cause me to speak; and I do not know whether I have spoken well or ill. 160 What man is there steadfast within the three worlds, who can be unmoved in the dance of your *māyā*? 161 You are the speaker through my mouth, and you are the hearer. Then hear the most secret description of the *sādhana*; 162 for the *līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is a most profound matter, and is not perceived by the *dāsyā*, *vatsalyā* and the other *bhāvas*. 163 Among them all, only that of the *sakṣīs* has the power; and the spread of this *līlā* is from the *sakṣīs*. 164 Apart from the *sakṣīs*, this *līlā* is not nourished; and in spreading this *sakṣī-līlā*, the *sakṣīs* taste it. 165 Apart from the *sakṣīs*, there is no

passion ground our hearts together in its mortar.

Friend, do not forget to recall to Krishna  
how it was with us then.

Then we required no messenger, sought  
only each others lips for our love.

It was the god of love himself who united us,  
he of the five arrows . . .

But now my lordly lover has learned new manners,  
now he sends you, herald of his indifference!

So, with anger like a king's, increasing,  
sings the poet Rāmānanda Rāya.

The term "*vivarta*" is a technical Sahajiyā term, meaning the Sahajiyā interpretation of Vaiṣṇava texts; Akiñcana Dāsa perhaps took the name for his Sahajiyā commentary on the CC, the *Vivarta Vilāsa*, from this very passage.

157. *Sādhya*: that which is to be gained or striven after; *vastu*: ultimate matter, essential unit.

158. *Sādhana*: process by which the ultimate experience is gained, i.e., usually the disciplined ritual practice; *upāya*: method, means.

162. I.e., it is gained only by *madhura* or *śṛṅgāra*.

163-64. The love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is aided by the *sakṣīs*; they too love Kṛṣṇa, but because their love is unselfish and directed only at Kṛṣṇa's happiness, when Kṛṣṇa is happy with Rādhā they too are happy.

other who participates in this *līlā*; [it is accessible] for him who participates in the *sakṣī-bhāva*. 166 And one gains what is to be striven after: the service of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the grove. There is no other method to gain that.

Śloka 44. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 10.17:

Īśvara is nourished [only] through *cit-śakti*, so the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, self-manifested in the form of intense pleasure, cannot retain the nourishment of *rasa*, apart from those who are his own—should not any *rasa*-knowing person take refuge at the feet of those *sakṣīs*?

167 The nature of the *sakṣīs* is an inexplicable matter; *sakṣīs* are not concerned about their own *līlā* with Kṛṣṇa. 168 But they bring about the *līlā* of Rādhika with Kṛṣṇa, and get a crore of pleasures more than [they would] from their own love-making. 169 The *svārūpa* of Rādhā is the creeper of paradise of the Kṛṣṇa-prema, and the *sakṣīs* are its shoots and flowers and leaves. 170 If the creeper is sprinkled with the nectar of the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa, then the happiness of the shoots, etc., is a crore of times greater than from their own fomentation.

Śloka 45. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛta* 10.16:

The *sakṣīs* of Rādhā, who is like the *prema*-creeper as the essence of all things, the *hlādinī-śakti* of him who is the moon to the lotuses of Vraja, are like new shoots, leaves and flowers, and like Rādhā herself. Thus when that Rādhā is sprinkled and delighted by the water of the juice of the nectar of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, they become a hundred times more delighted than if they had been themselves watered; this is so, and how could it be otherwise?

165-66. [It is unclear whether or not the *sakṣī-bhāva* herein described refers to any actual practice by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community. That the *sakṣīs* are primarily concerned with helping Rādhā meet successfully with Kṛṣṇa suggests the role of the *mañjart*, a preferred figure for worship through the *siddha-deha* (perfected body) gained by the practitioner in yogic *sādhana*. The *mañjarts* are those privileged characters who, as Rādhā's friends and servants, alone of all inhabitants of Vraja are privy to the trysts of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. They themselves do not pretend to the amorous advances of Kṛṣṇa, preferring Rādhā as the recipient of those (see vv. 167-68 below); nonetheless, Rādhā attempts to bring these *sakṣīs* together with Kṛṣṇa (see vv. 171-72 below). This latter possibility was seldom acknowledged by later practitioners of *mañjart-sādhana*, which leaves open the distinct possibility that another practice or an earlier, prototypical form of *sādhana* is here specified. Cf. Rāmānanda Rāya's activities described in 3.5.3-75 and especially the commentary to 3.5.18. TKS]

169. [The floral image is consistent with the interpretation of *mañjart* in vv. 166-67, because *mañjart* means "flower bud" or "stalk." TKS]

170. Watering the roots of the plant is better than sprinkling the leaves.



171 Even though the *sakhīs* have no mind toward union with Kṛṣṇa, still Rādhā, with great care and affection, brings that union about. 172 By many wives she sends them to meet with Kṛṣṇa, and from this gains a crore of times more pleasure than from her own union with him. 173 For pure *prema* between them all nourishes *rasa*, and seeing the love of them all, Kṛṣṇa is satisfied. 174 The *prema* of the *gopīs* is natural; there is no material sexual desire in it; in its similarity to the play of sexual love it is called by the name *kāma*.

Sloka 46. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pārva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-laharī] 1.2.285-86 [quoting an unnamed *tantra*]:

It has been customary to call the erotic love of the *gopīs* pure *prema*; Uddhava and the rest of the *bhaktas* long for this *prema*.

175 *Kāma* means that the source of pleasure is one's own senses. The excellence of the *bhāva* of the *gopīs* is intended for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. 176 The *gopīs* have no desire for the pleasure of their own senses; the love-play of their union with Kṛṣṇa was to give him pleasure.

Sloka 47. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.31.19:

O beloved! In fear that your most delicate lotus feet be injured by our hard breasts, we place them gently down. With those lotus feet you wander about the forest—are they not hurt by those sharp pointed stones? You are our very life, and therefore our minds are rended.

177 He whose greed is for the nectar of that *gopī-bhāva* leaves the *loka* of the *dharma* of the Vedas and worships Kṛṣṇa. 178 He who worships him in the *rāganuga-mārga* gains Vrajendranandana in Vraja. 179 He who worships, taking

174. *Sahaj*: "natural," lit., "born with" or innate. This might well have its *Sahajīya* meaning of "in equilibrium"; to the *Sahajīya* point of view, sexual love is sexual love, but in the religious context it has an unselfish, outer-directed purpose.

Sloka 46. *Kāma*: erotic or sexual love. See 1.4.31.25.

Sloka 47. See 1.4.31.26; 2.18.31.7; 3.7.31.9.

177. *Loka* can mean either popular or social custom, or "the place," heaven, *svarga-loka*. See 1.4.143 text and commentary.

179. The worshiper concentrates his devotion on the character and person of one or another of the people in the *BhP* story, and when the transformation in *bhāva* takes place, he becomes that person, in relation to Kṛṣṇa. [In technical terms of yogic *sādhana*, he gains a perfected body or *siddha-deha* in which he participates as a *nitya-parikara* or permanent member of Kṛṣṇa's entourage in heavenly Vṛndāvana. The identification of such figures is the point of Kavikarṇapūra's *GGUD*. TKS]

any *bhāva* of the people of Vraja, assumes the body appropriate to that *bhāva* and gains Kṛṣṇa in Vraja. 180 An example of this in the *upaniṣads* is those characters in the *śrutis* who, having worshiped in the *rāga-mārga*, gained Vrajendranandana.

Sloka 48. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.87.23:

Sages engaged in severe austerities, disciplining breath, mind, and senses, pray in their hearts for that which even your enemies constantly meditate upon; and those wise and strong women, with arms like the body of the king of Nāgas press to their breasts the nectar of your lotus-feet—we, like them, and according to their example, have gained it.

181 The word '*samādṛśa*' means following along in that *bhāva*; the word '*sama*' says that the bodies of the *gopīs* of the *śrutis* have been gained. 182 '*Aṅghri-padmasudha*' means the bliss of union with Kṛṣṇa; by the means of *vidhi*-injunction one does not gain Kṛṣṇacandra in Vraja.

Sloka 49. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.9.21:

That Bhagavān, son of the *gopikā*, is easily obtainable by those who have *bhakti*; but for those who are concerned with the body, or with *jñāna*, and becoming *ātman*, it is not so easy.

183 Thus they accept the *gopī-bhāva*, and day and night think upon the love-sport of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. 184 They serve there, thinking upon the bodies of the perfected ones, and in the *sakhī-bhāva* they gain the feet of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 48. See 2.9.31.10.

181. This and the following verse explain the meaning of the last line of *sloka* 48. Viśvanātha, in his commentary on this verse, says that "*samādṛśti* means those who have a similar (*sama*) appearance (*dr̥ṣṭi*), those who follow others along a path." Both he and Jīva feel that the meaning is "accepting following the *gopī-bhāva*." On "*samaḥ*" Viśvanātha comments that those who follow the *gopī-bhāva* gain forms like (*sama*) the *gopīs*. *Śruti* here is personified, presumably meaning those characters in the *śrutis*, i.e., the divine figures.

182. *Aṅghri*: feet; *padma*: lotus; *sudha*: nectar; thus "the nectar of his lotus-feet." Jīva here says: the sweetness which is tasted at the touch of Kṛṣṇa's body. *Vidhi-mārga*: the stage of *bhakti* when the *bhakta* is still following the external or enjoined (*vidhi*) rituals; Rāmananda is saying that the ultimate experience is not known until one passes on to the more advanced stage of *bhakti*, that of *rāganuga*.

Sloka 49. See 2.9.31.11; 2.24.31.26; 3.7.31.4.

184. Or perhaps, "in perfected bodies": *siddha-deha cinti*, which would suggest the yogic style *sādhana* hinted at above in vv. 165, 179.



185 Apart from the example of the *gopīs*, if one worships in knowledge of majesty, he does not gain Vrajendranandana. 186 An example of this is that Lakṣmī did worship in that way, but still did not gain Vrajendranandana in Vraja.

Sloka 50. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.47.60:

That grace which rose up for the beautiful women of Vraja, who received the blessing of necks embraced by his arms at the time of the *rāsa*-celebration, was not vouchsafed even to Śrī, eternally beloved, or other heavenly women, whose fragrance is like lotuses; so why others?

187 Having listened to all this, Prabhu embraced him, and both wept on each others' necks. 188 In this way, absorbed in *prema*, they passed the night, and in the morning each went about his own occupations. 189 At the time of departing, holding the feet of Prabhu, Rāmananda said humbly, 190 "Prabhu has come to grant his grace to me; remain for ten days and purify my wicked heart. 191 Apart from you there is no other to save *jīvas*; apart from you there is no other to give the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa." 192 And Prabhu replied, "I came when I heard of your qualities, and listening to your talk of Kṛṣṇa has purified my heart. 193 As I heard, so I have seen your greatness; you are the ultimate in knowledge of the *prema-rasa* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. 194 What is this talk of ten days? As long as I live, I shall never be able to leave your company. 195 You and I shall live together at Nīlacala, and joyfully pass the time in the delight of stories of Kṛṣṇa." 196 So saying, each went to perform his duties, and again in the evening Rāya came to meet him.

197 Having met again they sat together in a solitary place, and joyfully engaged in a dialogue of questions and answers. 198 Prabhu asked, and Rāmananda answered, and in this way they talked together throughout that night. 199 Prabhu asked, "What learning is the essence of all knowledge?" And Rāmananda said, "Apart from Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti* there is no other learning." 200 "Among the famous people, what is the greatest fame of a *jīva*?" "It is the fame of one who is a *prema-bhakta* of Kṛṣṇa." 201 "Among wealthy people what man can be accounted wealthy?" "He whose great wealth is the *prema* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa." 202 "Among sorrows, what sorrow is most grievous?" "There is no greater sorrow than the burning of separation of the Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*." 203 "Among the *muktas*, what *jīva* can be honored as *mukta*?" "He who has Kṛṣṇa-*prema* is the crest-jewel of *muktas*."

185. *Aiśvarya*: majesty; *jñāna*: knowledge.

Sloka 50. See 2.8.17; 2.9.19; 3.7.15.

202. *Viraha*: searing pain of lovers in separation.

204 "Among songs, what song captures the *dharma* of the *jīva*?" "That song whose inner meaning is the *prema*-play of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa." 205 "Among blessings which is the best blessing for *jīvas*?" "There is no greater blessing than the company of a Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*." 206 "On whom does the *jīva* meditate constantly?" "The primary meditation is on the qualities and the *līlā* and the name of Kṛṣṇa." 207 "Among possible objects of meditation, what meditation is the duty of the *jīva*?" "Meditation on the lotus-feet of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is primary." 208 "After abandoning everything, where is it the duty of the *jīva* to live?" "Vṛndāvana and the land of Vraja—where occurred the *rāsa-līlā*." 209 "Among things to be heard, what is the best thing for the *jīva* to hear?" "Most soothing to the ear is the play of the *prema* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa." 210 "Among things to be worshiped, what is the chief thing to be worshiped?" "The best thing to be worshiped is the pair named Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa." 211 "Those who desire *mukti*, and those who desire *bhakti*—what is the end of both of these?" "One is situated in an inanimate body, the other in the body of god, respectively. 212 The crow, ignorant of nectar sucks the tart lemon-fruit of *jñāna*; but the cuckoo, knowing the nectar, eats the blossoms of the mango of *prema*. 213 So the unfortunate follower of *jñāna* tastes tart *jñāna*; but he who is fortunate drinks the nectar of the *prema* of Kṛṣṇa."

214 In this way the two were in the nectar of the talk of Kṛṣṇa, and in weeping and dancing and singing, the night came to an end. 215 At dawn both went to discharge their respective duties, and in the evening Rāya again came to meet with him. 216 They went on with their favorite dialogue for some time; and holding the feet of Prabhu, Rāya made supplication, 217 "The essence of the truth of Kṛṣṇa, the truth of Rādhā, the truth of *prema*, and the truth of *rāsa*, and the truth of *līlā*, have in various ways been discussed. 218 You have made me conscious of all these truths, as Nārāyaṇa taught the Vedas to Brahma. 219 And this is the way of the *Īśvara* who dwells within: he does not speak these matters aloud, but manifests them in the heart.

Sloka 51. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.1.1:

Let us meditate upon the highest truth, from which the birth, etc., of this world derive, who has come from the other side, who is cognizant and of

211. I.e., those who desire *mukti* end up in a condition similar to that of a tree or stone or some other inert object; while those who desire *bhakti* are ultimately perfected. This suggests that the use of the term *mukta* in v. 203 above is meant to be figurative.

217. *Tattva*: truth, especially in its metaphysical delineation.

219. *Antaryāmi*: who dwells within.

Sloka 51. See 2.20.159; 2.25.139.



self-perfected knowledge, who spans the *brahman* with his heart, about whom the original poets and sages are confused, in whom fire, water, and earth are mixed, in whom the three creations serve no purpose, by whom all deception is discarded with its own splendor.

220 But one doubt remains in my mind; be merciful, and speak to me in the certainty of it. 221 First I saw you in the true form of a *saṁnyāsīn*; now I see you as a dark-colored cowherd. 222 Before you I see a golden image, and by the radiance of its golden color your whole body is hidden. 223 I see clearly in it a flute to your lips, and in various emotions its lotus-eyes are restless. 224 Seeing you in this way is most wonderful. Tell me straightforwardly, Prabhu, what is the cause of this?"

225 And Prabhu replied, "It is the depth of your *prema* for Kṛṣṇa. This is the nature of *prema*; know that for certain. 226 The *mahābhāgavatā* looks at animate and inanimate objects, and everywhere is the glowing of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. 227 They look at animate and inanimate objects, but do not see those images; rather everywhere they see the blossoming of their own *iṣṭa-deva*.

Sloka 52. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.45:

He who sees his own god in all things of the earth, and sees all things as in his own Bhagavān, he is the greatest of *bhāgavatas*.

Sloka 53. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.35.9:

All the creepers and trees of the forest, bodies trembling with *prema*, their branches laden with flowers and fruits, branches bending under their burden, as though manifesting in themselves Viṣṇu, rain streams of nectar.

228 You have great love toward Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and everywhere Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are revealed to you."

229 And Raya said, "You are Prabhu! Abandon these wiles. Do not hide your own true form before me. 230 You have embraced the beauty and the *bhāva*

221. *Syāma*: dark-colored.

222. *Iṣṭa-deva*: one's own personal deity, to whom special worship is given, in this case, Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 52. See 2.22.śl.30; 2.25.śl.25.

Sloka 53. See 2.24.śl.77.

229. [The emphasis on the title "Prabhu" is significant, for it literally means "Lord," here clearly Kṛṣṇa *svayam bhagavān*. TKS]

230. Or "the beauty of the *bhāva*." "Embraced" here means "taken on." This is a very signifi-

of Rādhā; to taste your *rasa*, you have descended. 231 Your own profound duty is the tasting of *prema*, and accordingly you spread *prema* in the three worlds. 232 You yourself came to save me, and now you are deceiving me; what does this mean?"

233 Then, smiling, Prabhu showed to him his true form: *rasarāja* and *mahābhāva*, the two in one *rāpa*. 234 And when he saw this Rāmananda fainted with joy; he could not control his body, and fell to the earth. 235 Prabhu with a touch of his hand brought him back to consciousness; and seeing him as a *saṁnyāsīn*, [Raya] was in his mind astonished. 236 Embracing him, Prabhu comforted him. "Except for you, no one has seen this *rāpa*. 237 It is because of your perception of the truth of the *rasa* of my *līlā* that I have shown this *rāpa* to you. 238 The golden-colored body is not mine, but is the touch of the body of Rādhā; she touches no one except the son of Gopendra. 239 I experience in my heart and soul everything she feels; then I taste the *rasa* of the sweetness of myself. 240 None of my acts are secret to you; even though I have hidden them, by the power of your *prema* you understand the secret meaning of everything. 241 But maintain this secret, and do not reveal it anywhere; people will laugh at my madness. 242 I am a madman, and you are another, and you and I are alike."

243 In this way Prabhu passed ten nights with Rāmananda in happiness, delighting in the talk of Kṛṣṇa. 244 There was discussion of the profundity of the *rasa* and the *līlā* of Vraja; they talked much, and still did not reach its farther shore. 245 It was as if someone found a place where copper, brass, silver, gold, and the most precious gems were all buried in one place, 246 and then, as they raised them out, they found even more precious things: so it was with the questions and answers of Prabhu and Rama Raya. 247 On the following day, he begged Raya for permission to depart, and at the time of departure he offered this instruction, 248 "Abandon worldly things, and go to Nīlācala; after a short while, when I have made my pilgrimage, I shall return there. 249 The two of us shall remain together at Nīlācala, and shall pass the time happily in the delight of talk of Kṛṣṇa." 250 So saying, and embracing Rāmananda, he sent him home and himself lay down.

cant passage, for it is here that Caitanya's Rādhā-*bhāva* is emphasized for the first time. From this point on, Caitanya is almost continuously in that *bhāva*. *Avatāra*: descent. See 1.4.179-82.

233. [*Rasarāja*: Kṛṣṇa, the king of *rasa* or *rasikās*; *mahābhāva*: Rādhā; see 1.4.58-61; 2.8.123. It is interesting that the two are referred to by their places in the theological system. This is, theologically, the climax of the book. *Rāpa*: form or body. TKS]

237. *Tattva*: truth, especially metaphysical.

241-42. *Vatula*: mad, madman.



251 Arising in the morning, Prabhu saw Hanumān; and having made obeisance to him, he set off on his journey. 252 As many people of varying opinions who lived at Vidyāpura, at the sight of Prabhu, they became Vaiṣṇavas, abandoning their own [former] beliefs. 253 Rāmananda was anguished in separation for Prabhu, and remained in meditation on Prabhu, abandoning all worldly things.

254 So briefly has been told the meeting of Rāmananda; it could not be described by Thousand-Mouth himself. 255 By their nature the actions of Caitanya are a deep stream of milk, and those of Rāmananda a vast *khaṇḍa* within it; 256 and the *līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are camphor mixed in it: he who is most fortunate can taste it. 257 He who once drinks this through his ears, his ears long [for more], and he cannot abandon it. 258 In the hearing of it comes the knowledge of all truths; and *prema-bhakti* comes at the feet of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. 259 Having once learned of this the most profound truth of Caitanya, listen and have faith, and do not debate it with your mind. 260 This unworldly *līlā* is most profound; when it is gained by faith, philosophical debate recedes far away. 261 He whose all is the feet of Śrī Caitanya, Nityānanda, and Advaita—to him will come this wealth. 262 A crore of my obeisances to Rāmananda Rāya, through whose mouth Prabhu explained *rāsa*. 263 And following the *Kaṇḍa* of Svārūpa Damodara, the *līlā* of the meeting with Rāmananda has been expounded.

264 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

254. Thousand-Mouth: Śeṣa.

255. *Sahaj*: by nature; *khaṇḍa*: a kind of sweet, made from milk, popular in western Bengal; another part of the pun is that *khaṇḍa* is also a pool.

258. *Tattva*: truth.

## Madhya Līlā Chapter 9

Śloka 1.

That Gaura freed by the weapon of his grace the elephants, people of the south, who had been seized by the crocodiles of various opinions, and made them Vaiṣṇavas.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and glory to the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 On his journey to the south, Prabhu did most wonderful things, and saw thousands upon thousands of pilgrimage places. 3 Having touched all those pilgrimage places, he made them great places of pilgrimage, and by that pretext, he saved the people of the country. 4 I cannot describe the order of the places on his pilgrimage; he wandered on his pilgrimage back and forth. 5 Thus only the names of them are counted; I cannot recite the sequence of them. 6 As before, while he was travelling on the path, anyone who saw him, and to whatever village he went, the people of that village 7 all became Vaiṣṇavas, and said 'Kṛṣṇa Hari!' And they, having made Vaiṣṇavas of people of other villages, saved them. 8 There were many kinds of people in the southern country; some were *jñānīs*, and some were *karmīs*, and there were innumerable followers of false doctrine. 9 All those people, affected by the sight of Prabhu, left their own

3. The real reason for his journey to the south was to save the people; his visiting pilgrimage places was only the pretext for his going. [Cf. 2.7.9-12 where Caitanya's search for his brother Viśvarūpa is the ostensible reason for this trip. In vv. 269-73, below, Caitanya discovers the demise of Viśvarūpa. TKS]

4. Back and forth: lit., "to the left, to the right."

8. Followers of the *jñāna-mārga* and the *karma-mārga*, etc.



persuasions and became Vaiṣṇavas. 10 Among the Vaiṣṇavas [that were there], all were worshippers of Rāma; some were *tattvavādīs*, and some Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas. 11 All those Vaiṣṇavas, at the sight of Mahāprabhu, worshiped Kṛṣṇa, and took his name.

*Sloka 2.*

Rāma Raghava Rāma Raghava Rāma Raghava, save me!  
Kṛṣṇa Keṣava Kṛṣṇa Keṣava Kṛṣṇa Keṣava, protect me!

12 He proceeded on, reciting this *śloka* on the way, and reaching the Gautamī-Gaṅgā he bathed there.

13 Arriving at the Mallikāṛjuna *tīrtha*, he saw Maheśa, and caused all the people there to take the Kṛṣṇa-name. 14 He had *darśana* of Dāsārāma-Mahādeva, and went to Ahovalanṣimha. 15 Seeing Nṛsiṃha he prayed to him and praised him; then he went to Siddhivāṭa, where the image of Sītāpati was. 16 Seeing Raghunātha he made obeisance and praised him; and there a *brāhmaṇa* gave him an invitation. 17 That *brāhmaṇa* always took the name of Rāma, and said no word other than the name of Rāma. 18 That day in his house [Caitanya] stayed and ate; and having given his grace to him, Gaurahari went forward. 19 At the Skandakṣetra *tīrtha* he had *darśana* of Skanda; he came to Trimāṭha and saw Trivikrama there. 20 He again came back to Siddhivāṭa, to the house of that *brāhmaṇa*. That *brāhmaṇa* took the name of Kṛṣṇa constantly. 21 When he had eaten there, Mahāprabhu asked him a question, "Tell me, *brāhmaṇa*. How has this condition of yours come to be? 22 Formerly you constantly spoke the name of Rāma; now why do you incessantly take Kṛṣṇa's name?" 23 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "This is the influence of your *darśana*. On seeing you, that which has been my nature since my birth was gone. 24 Since my boyhood I have taken the name of Rāma; but when I saw you, the name of Kṛṣṇa came to me at once. 25 And from that time the name of Kṛṣṇa has remained on my tongue; the name of Kṛṣṇa burst forth, and the name of Rāma receded into the

10. *Tattvavādī*: those who believe that all things are true, that there is nothing false in the world. Radhāgovinda Nātha: at that time, followers of the Madhavācārya *saṁpradāya* were called *tattvavādīs*. Śrī Vaiṣṇavas are those belonging to the Śrī-*saṁpradāya*, followers of Rāmānuja and worshippers of Rāma or of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

*Sloka 2.* See 2.76.3.

14. Mahādeva: Śiva.

15. Sītāpati: Rāma.

16. Raghunātha: Rāma.

19. Skanda: another name for the god Kārtika or Kārtikeya.

distance. 26 From my boyhood it has been my single nature to collect the *śāstras* which speak of the greatness of the Name:

*Sloka 3. Padma Purāṇa, Rāmacandra's śatanāma-stotra 8:*

The *yogīs* get great delight in their conscious soul which is infinite true bliss; for that reason by the word 'Rāma' he [Rāma] is declared as the highest *brahma*.

*Sloka 4. Mahābhārata, udyoga-parvan 71.4:*

The word 'kṛṣ' meaning 'plowing' expresses the earth, and 'ṇa' expresses cessation; together these two denote Kṛṣṇa the highest *brahma*.

27 Thus the two names alike [mean] 'highest *brahma*' and again in another *śāstra* certain distinctions are found:

*Sloka 5. Padma Purāṇa, uttara-khaṇḍa, brhadviṣṇu-sahasranāma-stotra 72.335:*

O pretty-faced One! The name Rāma is equal to the thousand names; by repeating the name of Rāma, I delight in Rāma who delights the heart.

*Sloka 6. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin's Haribhaktivilāsa 11.258 [quoting Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa]:*

That which results from repeating three times the thousand meritorious names of Viṣṇu comes about by a single repetition of the name of Kṛṣṇa.

28 In these words is the infinite greatness of the name of Kṛṣṇa; still I was unable to repeat it. Hear the reason why. 29 My *iṣṭa-deva* is Rāma, and in his name I get pleasure; and getting pleasure I sang that name day and night. 30 When I saw you, the name Kṛṣṇa came [to me], and his greatness struck my heart. 31 This has been perceived: 'You are the manifestation of that Kṛṣṇa.' And so saying, the *brāhmaṇa* fell at the feet of Prabhu.

32 Showing him his grace, the next day Prabhu departed and coming to Vṛddhakaśī he had *darśana* of Śiva. 33 From that place he went forward and came to another village, and took rest there among *brāhmaṇas*. 34 People came to see the glory of Prabhu; a hundred million lakhs of people came—they could not be counted. 35 When they saw the beauty of Gosvāmī they were all overcome with *prema*; and the people of that country all said 'Kṛṣṇa' and became

*Sloka 3.* Another meaning of *rāma* is "delight."

*Sloka 6.* Also found in Rūpa's *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, pūrva-khaṇḍa 5.354.*



Vaiṣṇavas. 36 The philosophers and Mīmāṃsikas and followers of the Māyāvāda, and Sāṃkhya and Pātāñjālas, and followers of *smṛti* and the *purāṇas* and *āgamas*—37 all were vastly learned in their own *śāstras*. Prabhu examined them critically and faulted the opinions of all of them. 38 Everywhere Prabhu established the Vaiṣṇava doctrines, and no one was able to fault the doctrines of Prabhu. 39 Being defeated one after the other, they accepted Prabhu's opinions. In this way Prabhu made the southern country Vaiṣṇava.

40 Hearing of his learning, the followers of false doctrine came; they came in pride and conceit, bringing their pupils with them. 41 A Buddhist teacher, very learned in his own "new faith," began to speak before Prabhu with vast learning. 42 Even though Buddhists were not to be conversed with and unworthy to be seen, still Prabhu talked with them in order to shatter their pride. 43 In the new faith, the Buddhist *śāstras* were primarily philosophical argument; and Prabhu countered those very arguments so that they were unable to prove them. 44 The Buddhist teacher introduced new arguments one after another, and with profound close reasoning Prabhu shattered them all. 45 The philosophically oriented *paṇḍitas* all were defeated; the people laughed, and the Buddhists were ashamed and contrite. 46 Realizing Prabhu was a Vaiṣṇava, the Buddhists went home; they all met together and took evil counsel. 47 Putting impure food on a metal plate, they brought it before Prabhu, calling it "Viṣṇu-prasāda." 48 Just then a bird with a great body came and took the plate of food in his beak. 49 It dropped the impure food on the Buddhists, being impure, and with a ringing sound, the plate crashed on the head of the Buddhist teacher. 50 The plate fell on its edge, and his head was cut; losing consciousness the *acārya* fell to the ground. 51 All his pupils wept with grief, and they all ran for refuge at the feet of Prabhu. 52 "You are Īśvara manifest. Forgive our offences; be merciful and bring our guru back to life." 53 Prabhu said, "Everyone say 'Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Hari!' Loudly say the name of Kṛṣṇa into the ear of your guru. 54 Your guru will then regain consciousness." All the Buddhists together made Kṛṣṇa-

36. *Tārkika*: philosophers, usually followers of the *nyāya-śāstras*; Mīmāṃsikas: followers of the *mīmāṃsa* philosophy; Māyāvāda: the name given to the *advaita* philosophy of Śaṅkara; Sāṃkhya and Pātāñjālas: followers of the *sāṃkhya* philosophy and the *yoga* propounded by Pātāñjali; *āgamas*: Hindu *tantras*.

38. *Siddhānta*: doctrine, conclusion.

41. Buddhist: *baudhacārya*. The "new faith" is that which is in opposition to the old one, the Vedic religion.

42. The *Śabdakalpādruma* calls the Buddhists *paṣaṇḍī* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 3.18 says that *paṣaṇḍīs* should not be conversed with nor touched.

47. *Kavikarṇapūra* calls it "impure food fit for a dog"; *CCN* 7.23. *Thali*: a large metal plate.

*saṃkīrtana*. 55 Into the ear of the guru they yelled, "Say Kṛṣṇa Rāma Hari." Regaining consciousness the *acārya* got up, saying 'Hari.' 56 Saying 'Kṛṣṇa' the *acārya* made obeisance to Prabhu, and when they saw it all the people were astonished. 57 In this way the son of Śaṅkara performed wonders; [then] he vanished, and no one could see him.

58 Mahāprabhu went to Tripaḍī, Trimalla, and saw the four-armed Viṣṇu at Veṅkaṭa-acāla. 59 Coming to Tripaḍī he had *darśana* of Śrī Rāma, and before Raghunātha he made obeisance and praised him. 60 And by his power he astonished all the people. Then the merciful Prabhu came to Pāṇa-narasimha. 61 In a delirium of *prema*, he praised and bowed to Nṛsiṃha, and the people were amazed at his glory. 62 Having come to Śiva-Kāñcī he had *darśana* of Śiva, and in the morning all the Śaivites became Vaiṣṇavas. 63 Having come to Viṣṇu-Kāñcī he saw Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, and there made obeisance and much praise. 64 Absorbed in *prema*, he danced and sang much; he stayed there for two days, and the people became Kṛṣṇa-*bhaktas*. 65 Seeing Trimalla, he went to the place of Trikalahastī. Seeing Mahādeva there, he made obeisance to him. 66 He went to the Pakṣa tīrtha and had *darśana* of Śiva, and then went to Vṛddhakola tīrtha. 67 Seeing Śveta-Varāha, he made obeisance to him, then Gaurahari went to the place of Pīṭambara-Śiva. 68 He had *darśana* of Śyānti-Bhairavi-Devī, and then the son of Śaṅkara came to the banks of the Kaverī. 69 Seeing the Gosamāja-Śiva, he came to Vedāvana, and seeing Mahādeva he bowed to him. 70 He came and had *darśana* of Amṛtaliṅga-Śiva. At all these Śiva-temples he made the Śaivas Vaiṣṇava. 71 Coming to Devasthāna, he had *darśana* of Viṣṇu, and had constant meetings with the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas. 72 He saw the lotus-pond of Kumbhakarṇa-kapāla; then Gaurāṅga-sundara saw the Śiva in Śiva-kṣetra. 73 He had *darśana* of Viṣṇu at Pāpānāśana, and then went to Śrīraṅga-kṣetra.

74 Having bathed in the Kaverī, he saw Raṅganātha; making obeisance and praising him, he honored him fully. 75 In a delirium of *prema*, he danced and sang much, and seeing this the hearts of all the people were astonished. 76 There was one Śrī-Vaiṣṇava, Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa by name, who respectfully extended an invitation to Prabhu. 77 Taking him to his house he washed his feet, and gave that water to his whole family to drink. 78 When he had fed him, he made this

57. Vanishing was presumably one of the wonders; by this, says Radhāgovinda Natha, he demonstrated his divinity.

58. Veṅkaṭa-acāla: Veṅkaṭa mountain.

60. Pāṇa is a sweet drink; this was the sole food-offering to Nṛsiṃha at this place.

78. The four month period of the rains is *cāturmasya*; it is the period when mendicants remain in one place.



supplication, "Prabhu, the rainy season retreat has come. 79 Be gracious, and stay in my house during the period of the rainy season retreat; tell me of Kṛṣṇa, and save me by your mercy." 80 Prabhu stayed at his house, in the *rasa* of talk of Kṛṣṇa, and with Bhaṭṭa he passed the four months in happiness. 81 He bathed in the Kaveri and had *darśana* of Śrīraṅga, and every day danced, absorbed in *prema*. 82 All the people saw his absorption in *prema* and his beauty; they came to see him, and the misery and sorrow of them all was dispelled. 83 Lakhs and lakhs of people came from many countries, and all spoke the name of Kṛṣṇa when they saw Prabhu. 84 No one said anything except the name of Kṛṣṇa; they all became Kṛṣṇa-*bhaktas*, and the people were amazed. 85 All of the many *brāhmaṇas* who lived at Śrīraṅga-*kṣetra* invited him in turn one day after another. 86 Eventually, day by day the rainy season retreat came to an end, and many *brāhmaṇas* were unable to have their day to feed him.

87 Living at Śrīraṅga-*kṣetra* there was a Vaiṣṇava *brāhmaṇa* who sat in the temple and recited the *Gītā*. 88 He read the eighteen chapters in an ecstasy of delight; but he read imperfectly, and the people smiled. 89 Some laughed, and some abused him, but he minded nothing; engrossed, he recited the *Gītā* with delighted heart. 90 When he recited he had goose flesh and tears, and he trembled and sweated, and when he saw this the heart of Mahāprabhu was delighted. 91 And Mahāprabhu asked him, "Hear me, honored one; let me know what 'artha' brings about this happiness of yours?" 92 The *brāhmaṇa* replied, "I am ignorant, and do not know the 'śabda' and 'artha'; whether well or poorly, I recite the *Gītā* at the command of my guru. 93 Kṛṣṇa in the chariot of Arjuna, the rope in his hands—that beautiful dark one, the reins in his hands, 94 speaking with Arjuna, giving advice and counsel—this I see, and I am engrossed in joy. 95 When I recite, I get that vision, and because of that my heart does not abandon the recitation of the *Gītā*. 96 Prabhu said, "You are foremost, in recitation of the *Gītā*, and you know the essential meaning of that text." 97 So saying, he embraced that *brāhmaṇa*; and holding the feet of Prabhu, the *brāhmaṇa* praised him greatly. 98 "When I see you, my happiness is twice as great as that. That 'you are Kṛṣṇa' comes to my mind." 99 His heart was purified by the glory of Kṛṣṇa, and thus he knew all the truth of Prabhu. 100 Then Mahāprabhu instructed him, "Do not speak of this matter to anyone." 101 That

82. *Āveśa*: absorbed, overwhelmed, possessed, ecstatic.

91. *Artha*: "meaning," but perhaps better translated as something like "aspect"; in esthetic theory and criticism, texts have two general qualities or aspects: *śabda*—the external, strictly prosodic features; and *artha*—semantic, contextual, and cognitive values of the text.

*brāhmaṇa* became a great *bhakta* of Mahāprabhu; for four months he was with Prabhu, and never left his side.

102 In this way Gauracandra lived in the house of Bhaṭṭa constantly with his *bhaktas* in the delight of the talk of Kṛṣṇa. 103 Bhaṭṭa was a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava, and served Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Seeing his firm *bhakti*, Prabhu's heart was pleased. 104 Being always with him, *sakhyā-bhava* arose [between them], and laughing and joking, both [revealed their] nature as friends. 105 Prabhu said, "Bhaṭṭa, your Lakṣmī Ṭhākuraṇī is the crest-jewel of *pativrata* women, resting on the breast of her husband. 106 My Ṭhākura Kṛṣṇa is a cowherd who tends cattle; as a pure woman, why does she want union with him? 107 For this she abandoned for a long time happiness and pleasure, and with stringent vows performed severe penance."

Sloka 7. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.16.36:

O god! Who has the authority, the right, to touch your feet, out of delight for which the playful Śrī performed strict austerities for a long time, abandoning her pleasures?

108 Bhaṭṭa replied, "Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa are but one *svatāpa*; but to Kṛṣṇa the *līlā* which is sensuous and fun is primary. 109 The *dharma* of the *pativrata* does not disappear at his touch; in delight Lakṣmī desires union with Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 8. Rūpa Gosvāmī's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu [pārva-vibhāga, sadhanabhakti-lahart] 1.2.59:

Although in theory the true forms of Śrī's husband and Kṛṣṇa are undivided, by *rasa* the form of Kṛṣṇa gains superiority; he is the abode of *rasa*.

110 With Kṛṣṇa the *dharma* of a caste woman is not destroyed, but is increased even more in *rāsa-vilāsa*. 111 So Lakṣmī who gives delight has desire for Kṛṣṇa; what is the fault in that? Why do you laugh?" 112 Prabhu said, "There is no fault in it, that I know. But Lakṣmī did not gain the *rāsa*-dance; this we hear in the *śāstras*:

105-106. Ṭhākuraṇī: goddess; ṭhākura: god; *pativrata*: the ideal wife, strict in vows of devotion.

Sloka 7. See 2.8.śl.34; 2.24.śl.15.

109. As Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa are one in *svatāpa*, when Lakṣmī desires Kṛṣṇa she is also desiring Nārāyaṇa, to whom are her vows. Therefore she is still *pativrata*.

Sloka 8. See 2.9.śl.13.



Sloka 9. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.47.60:

That grace which rose up for the beautiful women of Vraja, who received the blessing of necks embraced by his arms at the time of the *rāsa* celebration, was not vouchsafed even to Śrī, eternally beloved, or other heavenly women, whose fragrance is like lotuses; so why others?

113 Why did not Lakṣmī gain this? What is the reason for it? How did the strict observers of *śruti* gain Kṛṣṇa by asceticism?

Sloka 10. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.87.23:

Sages, engaged in severe austerities, disciplining breath, mind, and senses, pray in their hearts for that which even your enemies constantly meditate upon; and those wise and strong women, with arms like the body of the king of the Nāgas, press to their breasts the nectar of your lotus feet—we, like them, and according to their example, have gained it.

114 The *śruti*-people gained it, Lakṣmī did not gain it; what is the reason for this? And Bhaṭṭa said, "My mind cannot penetrate this; 115 I am a *jīva*; my wisdom is very slight, and my nature inconstant. The *līlā* of Īśvara is as deep as a crore of seas. 116 You are the manifest Kṛṣṇa, and know your own doings. That which you cause people to know, they know; this is the inner meaning of your *līlā*." 117 Prabhu responded, "Kṛṣṇa's nature has one peculiarity; he constantly attracts everything by his own sweetness. 118 In the *bhāva* of the people of Vraja one gains his feet. The people of Vraja do not know him as Īśvara. 119 Some, knowing him as a son, tie him to a mortar; some, knowing him as a friend, conquer him and climb on his shoulders. 120 The people of Vraja know him as the son of Vrajendra, Vrajendranandana; they have no knowledge of his divine sovereignty, but consider their own relationship to him. 121 He who worships in the *bhāva* of the people of Vraja, gains Vrajendranandana in Vraja.

Sloka 11. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.9.21:

That Bhagavān, son of the *gopīka*, is easily obtainable by those who have

Sloka 9. See 2.8.17; 2.8.150; 3.7.15.

113. *Śruti-gaṇa*: strict observers of *śruti*, as described in *śloka* 10; see below vv. 122-26.

Sloka 10. See 2.8.148.

116. *Sakṣat*: manifest; see 1.10.54.

117. *Madhurya*: sweetness.

119. As Yaśoda did.

Sloka 11. See 2.8.149; 2.24.126; 3.7.14.

*bhakti*; but for those who are concerned with the body, or with *jñāna*, and becoming *ātman*, it is not so easy.

122 All the *śruti*-people followed the example of the *gopīs*, and worshiped the son of Vrajeśvarī according to the *bhāva* of the *gopīs*. 123 When in *vyāha* they took the bodies of *gopīs* in Vraja, they had *rāsa*-sport with Kṛṣṇa in those bodies. 124 Kṛṣṇa is a *gopa* by *jāti*, and the *gopīs* are his beloved ones. Kṛṣṇa does not accept the Devī or other women. 125 Lakṣmī wanted union with Kṛṣṇa in that body; she did not worship after the manner of the *gopīs*. 126 She did not gain the joy of *rāsa* in another body, so Vedavyāsa has said in the '*nāyaṃ*' *śloka*."

127 Formerly in the mind of Bhaṭṭa there had been a prideful consideration that Śrī Nārāyaṇa was *svayaṃ bhagavān*, 128 and that worship of him was the best of all, and that the worship of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas was the best of all. 129 Prabhu, to shatter this pride of his, spoke all these joking words. 130 Prabhu said, "Bhaṭṭa, do not doubt it; this is the true nature of Kṛṣṇa: *svayaṃ bhagavān*. 131 And Śrī Nārāyaṇa is a *mūrti* of the *vilāsa* of Kṛṣṇa. This is the reason that the hearts of Lakṣmī and the others were lost.

Sloka 12. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.3.28:

All these souls are but parts and fractions of parts of the *puruṣa*; but Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*. They incarnate themselves in every age to protect people persecuted by Indra's enemies.

132 The qualities of Kṛṣṇa are more unique than those of Nārāyaṇa; thus Lakṣmī always thirsts for Kṛṣṇa. 133 The *śloka* which you recited is proof of this; for it comes in this *śloka* that Kṛṣṇa is *svayaṃ bhagavān*.

123. *Vyāha* is the assumption of multiple forms; assumedly they retained their own forms and at the same time those of the *gopīs* in Vraja.

124. *Jāti*: caste; *gopa* is a cowherd. Devī: Lakṣmī.

125. I.e., in her own body, as Lakṣmī.

126. *Śloka* 11 above begins: *nāyaṃ sukhāpo*.

131. See 1.1.38-39 and commentary, and 1.1.135.

*Śloka* 12. See 1.2.13; 1.5.11; 2.20.120; 2.25.129.

132. I.e., Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa share many of the qualities of divinity, but according to Rūpa's *BhRS* [*daṣṣṇa-vibhāga, vibhāva-lahari*] 2.1.41-43, there are four "unique" (*asādharaṇa*) qualities of Kṛṣṇa, which Nārāyaṇa does not share: *līlā*; primacy among those who have *prema* towards him; the sweetness of his flute; and the irresistible sweetness of his form.



*Sloka 13.* Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pūrva-vibhāga, sādhanabhakti-lahari] 1.2.59:

Although in theory the true forms of Śrī's husband and Kṛṣṇa are undivided, by *rasa* the form of Kṛṣṇa gains superiority; he is the abode of *rasa*.

134 By his own qualities as Bhagavān, Kṛṣṇa steals the heart of Lakṣmī; but Nārāyaṇa is not able to steal the hearts of the *gopīs*. 135 Why speak of Nārāyaṇa—Śrī Kṛṣṇa himself, to amuse the *gopīs*, became Nārāyaṇa. 136 He showed his four-armed form before them, and the *gopīs* had no love for that Kṛṣṇa."

*Sloka 14.* Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitāmādhava* 6.14:

What learned man is able to understand the process of the *bhāva* of the *gopīs*, devoted to the Lord of Cattle, scion of Nanda, who passes along paths difficult to comprehend? It is wonderful that when he appeared in his Viṣṇu-body, with its four all-conquering arms, endowed with radiance, the wave of their passion dissipated.

137 So saying, Prabhu pulverized his pride; then to give him happiness he reversed his argument. 138 "Do not be sorrowful, Bhaṭṭa; it has been in fun. Listen to the arguments of the *śāstras*, in which the Vaiṣṇavas have faith. 139 As Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa have a single true form, so the *gopīs* and Lakṣmī are not separate: they also have one form. 140 By the *gopīs*, Lakṣmī tastes union with Kṛṣṇa. If one considers them separate in divinity, it is an offence. 141 There is one single Īśvara, according to the worship of *bhaktas*, and though a single *vīgraha* he takes many varied forms."

*Sloka 15.* Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Laghubhagavatāmṛta*, pūrva-khaṇḍa [quoting *Nārada-pañcarātra*] 3.86:

As [the radiance of] a jewel, if divided into parts, is made up of blue, white and other colors, so Acyuta has different forms according to aspects of meditation.

*Sloka 13.* See 2.9.śl.8.

*Sloka 14.* See 1.17.śl.8.

137. [The preceding argument points up the important theological distinction that Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas make in contrasting the two primary features of Kṛṣṇa: his sovereign majesty (*aiśvarya*) and his loving sweetness (*mādhurya*); see esp. the commentary to v. 132 above. TKS]

142 Bhaṭṭa said, "I am a most lowly *jīva*, and you are that very Kṛṣṇa, the manifest Īśvara. 143 I know nothing of the unfathomable *līlā* of Īśvara. What you tell me, that I honor as true. 144 Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa have been fully merciful to me; by their mercy I have gained the sight of your feet. 145 Being gracious, you have told me of the greatness of Kṛṣṇa, of whose divinity and qualities and form no one can find the limit. 146 Now I know the superiority of Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*; you have fulfilled me, having spoken to me in your grace."

147 So saying, Bhaṭṭa fell at the feet of Prabhu; and in his mercy Prabhu embraced him. 148 The four month period came to an end, so taking the permission of Bhaṭṭa, Prabhu, having seen Śrīraṅga, continued south. 149 Bhaṭṭa went with him, he did not go to his house; and with much tenderness Prabhu bade him farewell. 150 Bhaṭṭa fell unconscious when he had to separate from Prabhu; and in this way, Śrī Śacīnandana carried on his activities.

151 Gaurahari travelled on, and came to Rṣabha mountain; seeing Nārāyaṇa, he bowed and praised him greatly. 152 Hearing that Paramānanda Purī was staying there for four months, Prabhu went to Purī Gosvāmī. 153 Prabhu bowed to the feet of Purī Gosvāmī, and in *prema* Purī Gosvāmī embraced him. 154 For three days both remained together in the house of a certain *brahmaṇa*. 155 Purī Gosvāmī said, "I am going to Puruṣottama; and having seen Puruṣottama I shall go to Gauḍa and bathe in the Gaṅgā." 156 Prabhu said, "Go again to Nīlācala. I shall come there from Setubandha in a little while. 157 To remain with you is my wish; if you come to Nīlācala, you will be being merciful to me." 158 So saying, he took leave of him, and Prabhu journeyed to the south in great pleasure. 159 Then Paramānanda Purī headed for Nīlācala;

142. *Sakṣāt*: manifest; see v. 116 above.

146. [According to the 5th chapter of Yadunandana Dāsa's *Karṇānanda*, written several decades after the CC, this Veṅkata Bhaṭṭa was the father of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. According to Yadunandana, who is quoting Rāmacandra, the disciple of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya, Gopāla performed intimate service to the person of Caitanya during the four month sojourn, and talked with him frequently. Before Caitanya took leave, he instructed Gopāla to go to Vṛndāvana. Telling the story, Rāmacandra refers explicitly to this chapter (*madhya* 9): *yerāpe dakṣiṇa tīrthe kaila paryayaṇa / śrīcāitanya caritāmṛte ache e likhāna // madhyakhaṇḍe dekhiha navama paricheḍe / dakṣiṇera tīrtha yātra kariha āsvāde // ... eimata cāturmāsya vyatīta haila / veṅkaṭera balaka śrī gopāla bhaṭṭa nāma //*. And then Caitanya reputedly instructs Gopāla to go to Vṛndāvana and join Rūpa and Sanātana (whom he has not yet met): *... paścate tumi tave yābe vṛndāvana // vṛndāvane śrī rūpa sanātana saṅge / ...* TKS]

152. Paramānanda Purī was a pupil of Madhavendra Purī, a co-pupil of Īśvara Purī, the guru of Caitanya.

155. Puruṣottama: Jagannātha in the city of Purī.



Mahāprabhu travelled and travelled and came to Śrīśaila. 160 The one dressed as a *brāhmaṇa*, who tended Śivadurgā, saw Mahāprabhu; and both were greatly delighted. 161 He offered him an invitation, and fed him for three days; the two sat in a lonely place and talked of secret things. 162 With him Mahāprabhu had conversation befitting an intimate; then taking leave of him, he came to Puri Kāmakōṣṭhi.

163 From Kāmakōṣṭhi he went to Dakṣiṇamathurā, and there he met a *brāhmaṇa*. 164 That *brāhmaṇa* extended an invitation to Mahāprabhu; he was a Rama-*bhakta*, a great and ascetic man. 165 Having bathed in the Kṛtāmala, he came to his house: Would he give him food? The *brāhmaṇa* was not cooking. 166 Mahāprabhu said to him, "Hear me, sir. The midday rituals have been completed; why do you not cook?" 167 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "Prabhu! My house is in the forest. The items to cook have not yet been gathered from the forest. 168 Lakṣmaṇa will bring vegetables and fruit and forest rice, and then Sītā will prepare them." 169 Recognizing his devotion, Prabhu was pleased; and the *brāhmaṇa* cooked in a random fashion, 170 and Prabhu ate—in the third watch of the day. The *brāhmaṇa* was upset, and fasted. 171 Prabhu queried, "*Brāhmaṇa*, why do you fast? Why do you burn in such sadness?" 172 The *brāhmaṇa* replied, "There is no purpose in my life; I shall enter either fire or water, and abandon it. 173 The mother of the world, Mahālakṣmī Sītā Thākuraṇī was touched by a *rākṣasa* demon—this I heard with my own ears. 174 It is not right to retain this body; my body burns in this fire, but my life does not leave me." 175 Prabhu said, "Do not trouble yourself more in this way; you are a learned man; why not examine the matter? 176 Sītā is the beloved of Īśvara, and the image of *cit* and *ānanda*. One does not have the power to see her with the material senses. 177 How can she be touched, if she is not seen? Rāvaṇa stole a *māyā*-form of Sītā. 178 When Rāvaṇa came, Sītā disappeared, and sent a *māyā*-Sītā

160. "Dressed as a *brāhmaṇa*" or "in the guise of a *brāhmaṇa*" is problematic, but the text is clear: *śivadurgā rahe tāhā brāhmaṇera beṣe*. The grammatical construction is somewhat ambiguous. It is possible that Śivadurgā could refer to the man's name, but it seems more likely that the *brāhmaṇa* is identified as the attendant to a *mārti* of Śiva and Durgā, especially given the following lines, which are unambiguous.

161. *Gupta-kathā*: talk of secret things.

167. Obviously, the *brāhmaṇa* is in the midst of meditation on the Rāma story, and of the exile of Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa in the forest.

172. Commit suicide.

176. She is made up of *cit* and *ānanda*, not of material nature, and therefore cannot be touched by material nature. Nor can she be perceived with the material senses; therefore no matter what has been heard about her, that cannot be true.

before Rāvaṇa. 179 Immaterial objects are not perceived by the material: this is constantly pointed out in the Veda and *purāṇas*. 180 Have faith in my words, and do not again think these bad thoughts." 181 At the words of Prabhu, the *brāhmaṇa* had faith; he ate, and again had hope in life.

182 Having consoled him, Prabhu went on his way. Having bathed in the Kṛtāmala, he went to Durveśana. 183 He had *darśana* of the Raghunātha at Durveśana, and bowed to the Paraśurāma at Mahendraśaila. 184 Coming to Setubandha he bathed at the Dhanutīrtha, and having seen Rameśvara, he rested there. 185 In an assembly of *brāhmaṇas*, he listened there to the *Kārma Purāṇa*, and in it came the stories of the *pativrata*. 186 He heard in the story that Rāvaṇa had taken a *māyā*-Sītā, and when he heard this, Prabhu was delighted in his heart. 187 The daughter of Janaka was the crest-jewel of *pativratas*, the mother of the world, Sītā, wife of Śrī Rāma. 188 Seeing Rāvaṇa, Sītā took refuge with Agni, and Agni concealed Sītā from Rāvaṇa. 189 Taking Sītā, he kept her in the place of Parvatī, and with the *māyā*-Sītā Agni tricked Rāvaṇa. 190 After Raghunātha came to kill Rāvaṇa, when he brought back Sītā, he submitted her to an ordeal by fire. 191 And then Agni consumed the *māyā*-Sītā, and brought the real Sītā and gave her to the wise Rama. 192 Hearing this, Prabhu was delighted in his heart, as he reflected on the *brāhmaṇa* who was a servant of Rāma. 193 Hearing all this discussion, Prabhu was very pleased; requesting it from the *brāhmaṇa*, he took that page [on which the story was written], 194 and wrote a new page and placed it in the book; he requested and took the old page, that people might believe. 195 Taking the page, he again came to Dakṣiṇamathurā, and he brought and gave that page to the *brāhmaṇa* who was the servant of Rāma.

Sloka 16-17. *Kārma Purāṇa*:

16 Propitiated by Sītā, the fire-god made a Shadow-Sītā; Rāvaṇa stole that; Sītā had gone to the city of the fire-god. 17 At the time of the ordeal, it was that Shadow-Sītā who entered the fire. The fire-god brought [the real] Sītā from his own city and presented her [to Rama].

183. Raghunātha: Rāma.

185. *Pativrata*: Sītā, the ideal wife, who was true to her husband Rāma. Cf. 2.23.60 and 3.20.48 commentary.

188. Agni: the god of fire.

193-95. [This is an interesting sequence because it suggests that the older, worn manuscript is deemed more authentic and of greater reliability than a fresh one. This raises interesting questions about the practice of copying and destroying old MSS. TKS]

Sloka 16-17. *Chāya-sītā*: shadow Sītā.



196 Getting the leaf, the *brāhmaṇa* was delighted, and held the feet of Prabhu and wept. 197 The *brāhmaṇa* said, "You are the manifest Śrī Raghunandana; in the guise of a *saṁnyāsī* you have given me *darśana*. 198 You have saved me from great sorrow; consent to eat today in my house. 199 That other day I did not feed you well, because of the sorrow in my heart; yet by my good fortune I have again seen you." 200 So saying, the *brāhmaṇa* quickly prepared food, and fed Prabhu in the best possible way. 201 Gaurahari remained there that night, being merciful to him, then he came to Tāmrāparṇī in the country of the Pāṇḍyas.

202 Then Prabhu bathed on the banks of the Tāmrāparṇī; seeing the Nayatri-padī, he wandered in delight. 203 At Cīḍayatāla *tīrtha* he saw Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and had *darśana* of Śiva when he came to Tilakāñcī. 204 He saw the Viṣṇu image at Gajendramokṣaṇa *tīrtha*, and Sitapati at Panagaḍī *tīrtha*. 205 Coming to Cāmatāpura he saw Śrī Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and had *darśana* of Viṣṇu at Śrīvaikuṇṭha. 206 At the Malaya mountain he bowed to Agastya, and had *darśana* of Kanyakumārī. 207 At Āmalītālata, Gaurahari saw Rāma, and came to the Mallā country, where the Bhaṭṭamāris were. 208 He saw Tamāla-Kartika and came to Batāpānī; having seen Raghunātha there, he passed the night. 209 The *brāhmaṇa* Kṛṣṇadāsa was with Gosvāmī and met the Bhaṭṭamāris. 210 Showing him women and wealth, they aroused his greed, and destroyed the wisdom of the simple respectable *brāhmaṇa*. 211 Getting up in the morning, the *brāhmaṇa* went to the house of the Bhaṭṭamāris, and Prabhu came quickly in search of him. 212 Coming there, he said to all the Bhaṭṭamāris, "Why do you keep my *brāhmaṇa* here? 213 You are *saṁnyāsīs*, and you see that I am also a *saṁnyāsī*; you give me much sorrow, and I do not consider this as just." 214 When they heard this, all the Bhaṭṭamāris got up and took their weapons, and came running from all around to beat him. 215 Their weapons in their hands fell on their own bodies; and in great disorder, the Bhaṭṭamāris fled in all directions. 216 In the house of the Bhaṭṭamāris there rose up a great weeping. [Prabhu] seized the *brāhmaṇa* by the hair and led him away.

217 That day he went to the banks of the Payasvini; he bathed there and went to the temple of Ādikeśava. 218 Seeing Keśava, he was overcome with *prema*; he danced and sang many prayers and praises. 219 Seeing this *prema*, people were greatly astonished; all the people treated Prabhu with the greatest defer-

207. Bhaṭṭamāris: left-hand Tantric *saṁnyāsīs*; v. 214 below suggests that it was a militant order.

209. [The *brāhmaṇa* Kṛṣṇadāsa is Caitanya's servant on his trip south. TKS]

ence. 220 He entered into conversation with great *bhaktas*, and there he got the section of the *Brahma Saṁhita*. 221 When he got this manuscript, the joy of Prabhu was unbounded; its manifestations were trembling and weeping and sweating and gooseflesh and paralysis. 222 There is no scripture of theology equal to the *Brahma Saṁhita*; it is the primary source for knowledge of the greatness of Govinda. 223 In a few syllables it speaks profound doctrines; among all the *śāstras* of the Vaiṣṇavas it is the most essential. 224 He had the manuscript copied with great care, and came in great delight to Anantapadmanābha.

225 For two days he had *darśana* of Padmanābha, and in joy came to see Śrī Janārdana. 226 He stayed there two days, singing and dancing and coming to Payoṣṇī, he saw Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa. 227 He came to the Siṁhārī *maṭha*, the place of Śaṅkarācārya, and seeing the Matsya *tīrtha*, he bathed in the Tuṅgabhadra. 228 He came to the place of Madhvācārya, where there were many followers of the *tattvavāda*; when he saw the Uḍupa-Kṛṣṇa there, he became mad with *prema*. 229 The Narttaka-Gopāla Kṛṣṇa, in his most entrancing [way], had come to Madhvācārya in a dream. 230 He was on a boat with the *gopīcandana* sandalwood paste. And somehow Madhvācārya gained that Kṛṣṇa, 231 and brought him and established him, and the *tattvavādīs* performed his service. 232 When he saw the image of Kṛṣṇa, Prabhu was very happy, and overcome by *prema* he danced and sang for a long time. 233 The *tattvavādīs*, considering Prabhu to be a *māyavādī*, did not talk with him when they first saw him. 234 But when they saw him absorbed in *prema*, they were much surprised. 235 Gauracandra knew the pride in the hearts of all of them, and began a conversation with them all. 236 The *ācārya* of the *tattvavādīs* was much learned in the *śāstras*, and Prabhu, as if lowly and ignorant, asked him questions. 237 "I do not know well what is to be gained nor the manner of gaining it. Tell me the best *sādhya* and *sādhana*." 238 The *ācārya* replied, "The *varṇāśrama-dharma* and presenting

220. Rādhagovinda Nātha says that *adhyāya* refers to the fifth section of the *Brahma Saṁhita*, a section particularly revered by Vaiṣṇavas, and the only portion extant.

222. *Siddhanta-śāstra*: scripture of theology.

228. *Tattvavāda*: the extreme dualist position of Madhvācārya and his followers.

229-231. The story is that a merchant was coming from Dvārakā by boat; on the boat he had a load of a particular kind of sandalwood paste (*gopīcandana*) and an image of a dancing Kṛṣṇa. As he approached the place of Madhvācārya, the boat sank, taking the image with it. Kṛṣṇa in this dancing form then appeared in a dream to Madhva, instructing him to take the image from the water; Madhva did so, and established its worship there. Caitanya is now in South Kanara District in Karnataka. Uḍupi is still the center of Madhva *saṁpradāya*.

237. *Sādhya-sādhana*: what is to be gained and the manner of gaining it.



[oneself] to Kṛṣṇa: these are the best *sādhana*s of the Kṛṣṇa-*bhakta*. 239 Gaining the five kinds of *mukti* and going to Vaikuṇṭha: this is the ultimate *sādhya*, and the *śāstras* attest it." 240 Prabhu countered, "The *śāstras* say 'listening to *kīrtana*', and that Kṛṣṇa-*prema* as a result of service is the highest *sādhana*.

Sloka 18-19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.5.23-24:

18 Listening [to stories] of Viṣṇu, praising him, meditating on him, serving his feet, proper action, obeisance, service, friendship, and presentation of the self— 19 anyone who performs these nine kinds of *bhakti*, openly dedicated to Bhagavān Viṣṇu, I consider most learned.

241 For *prema* comes to Kṛṣṇa from *śravaṇa* and *kīrtana*: and that is the high-end of man, the limit of the goals of men.

Sloka 20. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.2.40:

The man thus aroused, his affection inspired by his own *nāma-saṁkīrtana*, with spinning thoughts, like a madman, transported beyond the world of men, sometimes laughs out loud, sometimes weeps, sometimes cries out, and sometimes sings and dances.

242 The abandonment of *karma* and the vilification of *karma*—this the *śāstras* attest; there is never any *prema-bhakti* of Kṛṣṇa from *karma*.

Sloka 21. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.11.32:

He who abandons his own full *dharma*, even though propounded by me, being aware of its qualities and faults, and worships me, he is the best of men.

Sloka 22. *Bhagavad Gītā* 18.66:

Abandon all the Laws and instead seek shelter with me alone. Be unconcerned, I shall set you free from all evils.

239. For the five kinds of *mukti*, see 1.3.16 and 2.6.239.

Sloka 18. *Kīrtana*: praising; *smaraṇa*: meditating; *arcana*: proper action, especially ritual praise.

241. *Śravaṇa*: listening to stories and praises of Kṛṣṇa.

Sloka 20. See 1.7.14; 2.23.120; 2.25.134; 3.3.19.

Sloka 21. See 2.8.16.

Sloka 22. See 2.8.17; 2.22.144.

Sloka 23. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 11.20.9:

You shall work until a condition of renunciation arises, or until faith, in listening, etc., to my story, is born in the heart.

243 *Bhaktas* abandon the five kinds of *muktis*; they consider *mukti* as vain and equal to hell.

Sloka 24. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.29.13:

Even if I myself am prepared to give it, my people do not take to *śalokya*, *sārṣṭi*, *sārūpya*, *sāmīpya*, or *ekatva* without serving me.

Sloka 25. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.14.44:

That the king did not want all those things hard to abandon: the earth and sons and followers and wealth and wives—even that Lakṣmī of the gentle glance, begged for by the immortals—that was necessary, for even *mokṣa* is meaningless to those great ones whose minds are fixed on service to the enemy of Madhu.

Sloka 26. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 6.17.28:

All followers of Nārāyaṇa fear nothing at all; for they look upon heaven, *mukti*, and hell as the same.

244 So *bhaktas*, you must abandon *karma* and *mukti*, both these; you see that I am a *saṁnyāsī*; do you deceive me because of that? 245 These are not the proper *sādhya* and *sādhana* of a Vaiṣṇava, but you argue for the establishment of them both as *sādhya* and *sādhana*."

246 When he heard this, the *tattvācārya* was ashamed in his heart; seeing the Vaiṣṇava qualities of Prabhu he was astonished. 247 The *ācārya* said, "What you say is true. In all the *śāstras* these are the certainties of Vaiṣṇavas. 248 Still, that which Madhvācārya propagated [we] observe fully, being related to him in sect." 249 Prabhu said, "Those who follow *karma* and *jñāna* are both devoid

Sloka 23. See 2.22.125.

Sloka 24. See 1.4.136; 2.6.123; 2.19.124; 3.3.12.

Sloka 26. See 2.19.138.

244. "Do you say these things, upholding the *advaita* position, because you see that I am dressed like a *saṁnyāsī*, and therefore believe in the *advaita-vāda*?"

248. The *ācārya* is saying that Madhva preached *mukti* as the *sādhya* and dedication of one's work (*karma*) to Kṛṣṇa as the *sādhana*, and that although this is not what is said in the Vaiṣṇava *śāstras*, they, as followers of Madhva, also follow his teachings.



of bhakti; I see those two signs in your *sampradāya*. 250 In all, I see one quality in your *sampradāya*: having considered the *vigraha* as true, you have established it as *Īśvara*."

251 In this way he crushed the pride in that house; then Gaurahari went to the Phalgu *tīrtha*. 252 He had *darśana* of the Tritakūpa of Viśāla, and the son of Śaṭi came to the *tīrtha* called Pañcāpsara. 253 Having seen the Gokarṇa-Śiva, he came to Dvaipāyāni; the crest jewel of *saṁnyāsins* came to Śūrparaka *tīrtha*. 254 He saw the Lakṣmī at Kolāpura, and Kṣīra-Bhagavati, and Laṅga-Gaṇeśa, and Corā-Bhagavati. 255 From there, Gaurahari went to Paṇḍupura, and when he saw Viṭṭhala Ṭhākura, he was greatly delighted. 256 In an ecstasy of *prema* he danced and sang much; and when they first saw Prabhu the minds of all were stunned. 257 There a *brahmaṇa* extended him an invitation. When he had eaten, he received some good news: 258 A pupil of Mādhava Puri, Śrīraṅga Puri by name, was resting in that very village, in the house of a *brahmaṇa*. 259 Hearing this, Prabhu went to see him, and saw him seated in the house of the *brahmaṇa*. 260 Overwhelmed in *prema*, he made obeisance to him, with goose-flesh and trembling and tears, sweat rolling down his limbs. 261 When he saw him, the mind of Śrīraṅga Puri was astonished. He said, "Rise up, rise up, Śrīpāda! 262 Śrīpāda! You hold a relationship to my Gosvāmī; none other exhibits such signs of *prema* as these." 263 So saying, he raised Prabhu up and embraced him, and both wept hanging on each other's necks. 264 After a time, having left this ecstasy, both became calm, and Prabhu informed him of his relationship with *Īśvara* Puri. 265 The two spent night and day speaking of Kṛṣṇa, and in this way passed several days. 266 Out of curiosity, Puri asked him the place of his birth; Gosvāmī delightedly told him Navadvīpa. 267 Śrīraṅga Puri had formerly gone with Mādhava Puri to Navadvīpa, 268 and had taken a meal in the house of Jagannātha Miśra, and had eaten there a wonderful dish made of plantain flowers. 269 "The wife of Jagannātha was a *mahāpativrata*, in affection as if she was mother of the world. 270 There is none as skilled in cooking in the three worlds, and she cares for *saṁnyāsins* with the same love she

250. I.e., although you, like the followers of *jñāna*, consider that *mukti* is the desirable end of men, you do not, as the followers of *jñāna* do, consider that the image is merely *māya*; you consider it as true, as made up of *sat*, *cit*, and *ananda*. [This episode is perhaps significant in the light of the later and still divisive controversy surrounding the attempts by a small minority to affiliate the Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava *sampradāya* with the Mādhva *sampradāya*. TKS]

254. Caitanya is at this point travelling up the west coast of India, and is in Maharashtra.

256. See commentary v. 82.

260. [For these signs of *prema*, see text and commentary to 2.8.135 and 2.23.31-32. TKS]

would show her sons. 271 She had a son who had become an ascetic and taken *saṁnyāsa* when he was very young; Śaṅkarāraṇya was his name. 272 It was at this *tīrtha* that Śaṅkarāraṇya gained his perfection . . . Śrīraṅga Puri spoke much along these lines. 273 Prabhu replied, "In a former stage of my life he was my brother, and in that stage Jagannātha Miśra was my father." 274 And in this way the two conversed according to their desires, and Śrīraṅga Puri departed to see Dvārakā. 275 For four days the *brahmaṇa* kept Prabhu there, and when he had bathed in the Bhīmarathi, he had *darśana* of Viṭṭhala.

276 Then Prabhu came to the banks of the Kṛṣṇabehnā, and saw many *tīrthas* and temples of gods in that place. 277 The society of *brāhmaṇas* was Vaiṣṇava in action; Vaiṣṇavas all, they read the *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta*. 278 When he heard the *Karmāmṛta*, Prabhu was delighted; he eagerly had the manuscript copied. 279 There is nothing like the *Karmāmṛta* in the three worlds, from which there is knowledge of the pure Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 280 It is the ultimate in the sweetness and beauty of the Kṛṣṇa-*līla*; he knows [these things], who constantly reads the *Karmāmṛta*. 281 So he obtained the *Brahma Saṁhitā* and the *Karmāmṛta*, these two manuscripts; he took them with him as if they were great jewels.

282 He bathed in the Tāpī, and came to Mahīśmatīpura; he saw various *tīrthas* there on the banks of the Narmadā. 283 Seeing the Dhanu *tīrtha*, he bathed in the Nirvindhya, and came to the Rṣyamukha mountain in the Daṇḍaka forest. 284 There within the forest were the seven trees, very old and very firm and very tall. 285 When he saw the trees, Prabhu embraced them; bodily the seven *tāla*-trees went to Vaikuṇṭha. 286 When they saw the empty place, the people were astonished, and they said, "This *saṁnyāsin* is an *avatāra* of Rāma. 287 The *tālas* have bodily gone to Śrīvaikuṇṭha-*dhāma*; who except for Rāma alone could have such power?" 288 Prabhu came and bathed in Pampa Lake; he came to Pañcavaṭī and rested there. 289 Having seen Nāsika and Tryambaka, he went to Brahmagiri; he came to Kuśāvartta, where the Godāvarī is born. 290 He saw Saptagodāvarī and many *tīrthas*, and again came to Vidyānagara.

291 When Rāmananda Rāya heard of Prabhu's coming, he joyfully came to meet him. 292 Bowing low, he fell and held his feet; and Prabhu raised him up

271. The reference is to Caitanya's elder brother Viśvarūpa. Śaṅkarāraṇya was the name he took at his *saṁnyāsa*.

272. *Siddhi*: perfection; Viśvarūpa had died at Paṇḍupura.

277. Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta*.

285-87. [See Kavikarmapūra's *KCCM* 13.17-19. TKS]

289. Kuśāvartta: the source of the Godāvarī river.



and embraced him. 293 Both wept in an ecstasy of *prema*. Overwhelmed in this *prema* the hearts of both were wrung out. 294 After a time they became calm; they sat together and talked of what was in their hearts. 295 Prabhu told everything about his pilgrimage, and gave him the two manuscripts, *Karṇāmṛta* and *Brahma Saṁhita*. 296 Prabhu said, "That which you explained is all witnessed in these two manuscripts." 297 Rāya received the books with great joy. With Prabhu he tasted them, and he kept them and copied them down. 298 "The Gosvāmī has come" was echoed in the village, and the people all came to see the Gosvāmī. 299 When he saw the people, Rāmananda went to his own house; at midday Prabhu rose up [and went] to eat. 300 At night Rāya came once again, and the two sat up, talking of Kṛṣṇa. 301 The two spent night and day, speaking of Kṛṣṇa, and thus in great joy several days passed. 302 Rāmananda said, "Gosvāmī! When I received your command, I wrote an entreaty to the king. 303 The king gave me his permission to go to Nīlācala, and I have begun to make preparations to go." 304 Prabhu said, "This is the reason for my coming: I shall take you to Nīlācala." 305 Rāya said, "Prabhu, you go first to Nīlācala. With me are noisy soldiers and horses and elephants. 306 I shall make all arrangements in ten days' time, and I shall follow after you." 307 Then Mahāprabhu gave him his command to come, and in great joy departed for Nīlācala.

308 Travelling on that path on which he had formerly gone, Prabhu saw many Vaiṣṇavas. 309 Wherever he went, people raised the cry 'Hari'; and when he saw this Gaurahari was greatly pleased. 310 When he came to Ālalanātha, he sent Kṛṣṇadāsa [ahead] and summoned Nityānanda and the rest of his people. 311 When Nityānanda Rāya heard of the coming of Prabhu, he jumped up, and because of *prema* he could not be still. 312 Jagadānanda and Dāmodara, and Paṇḍita Mukunda danced about; their bodies could not contain their delight. 313 Gopināthācārya also went, in great joy, and they all met Prabhu on the road. 314 Prabhu, overcome by *prema*, embraced them all; they all wept in joy [likewise] overwhelmed with *prema*. 315 Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya came in great delight, and he met Prabhu on the shore of the sea. 316 Sārvabhauma fell at the feet of Mahāprabhu, and Prabhu raised him up and embraced him. 317 Sārvabhauma wept, overcome with *prema*; and with them all, Prabhu went to have *darśana* of Īśvara. 318 When he saw Jagannātha, Prabhu was overcome with *prema*, and his body trembled and sweat and had gooseflesh, and floated

293. See commentary v. 82. The same expression is used repeatedly in the following passage.  
317. Īśvara: Jagannātha.

in tears. 319 Prabhu, absorbed in *prema*, danced for a long time, and a crowd of pilgrim guides all came, bringing garlands and *prasāda*. 320 When he received the garlands and *prasāda*, Prabhu became calm; and all the servants of Jagannātha met him joyfully. 321 Kāśī Mīśra came and fell at the feet of Prabhu; honoring him, Prabhu embraced him. 322 And a temple servant of Jagannātha came to meet Prabhu. Sārvabhauma took Prabhu to his own home, 323 offering him an invitation to take food at his house. And he had wonderful *mahāprasāda* brought. 324 When he had performed the midday rituals, Prabhu took his own people, and went to eat in the house of Sārvabhauma. 325 When he had fed him, he made him lie down, and Sārvabhauma himself massaged his feet. 326 Prabhu sent him to eat, and remained that night in his house, in love for him. 327 With Sārvabhauma and others of his own people, he stayed awake the night, speaking of his pilgrimage. 328 Prabhu said, "I have wandered to so many *tīrthas*, but have not seen a single Vaiṣṇava like you. 329 There was one Rāmananda Rāya, who gave me happiness." And Bhaṭṭa said, "For this I asked you to meet [him]."

330 This is the completion of the story of the pilgrimage. It has been told in brief, it cannot be expanded. 331 For the story of Caitanya is infinite, and I do not know how to tell it. But because I am greedy and proud I have tried. 332 He who hears the story of the pilgrimage of Prabhu gains the feet of Caitanya in a profound wealth of love. 333 Listen with reverence and devotion to the deeds of Caitanya; abandon your pride and envy and with your mouths say 'Hari, Hari!' 334 In this Kali age there is no other *dharma*: this is at the heart of Vaiṣṇavas and Vaiṣṇava *śāstras*. 335 The *līla* of the moon Caitanya is incomparable and profound; I cannot enter it, but only touch it as I stand on its shores. 336 Those who listen with respect to the deeds of Caitanya, as much as they search, so much of the wealth of *prema* do they gain.

337 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

319. Paṇḍa: pilgrim guide, conducting pilgrims around the temple complex.  
322. Paṇḍita: temple servant of Jagannātha.



Madhya Līlā  
Chapter 10

Sloka 1.

I pay homage to that golden cloud, who nourishes by the nectar of his own *darśana* the *bhakta*-crops withered by separation [from himself].

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*. 2 Formerly, when Mahāprabhu had gone to the south, the Rājā Pratāparudra had sent for Sārvabhauma. 3 He made obeisance and gave him a seat to sit upon, and asked him questions about Mahāprabhu. 4 "I heard that there is a great man in your house who has come from Gauḍa, and who is full of greatest mercy. 5 That he has been most merciful to you, all the people say. Now you be kind, and arrange for me to have *darśana* of him." 6 Bhaṭṭa said, "What you have heard is true; but your *darśana* of him cannot come about. 7 He is a *saṁnyāsī* indifferent to the world, and remains by himself. Even in a dream he would not have *darśana* of a king. 8 Still, because of your entreaty, I would arrange a *darśana* for you; but he has now gone to the southern country." 9 The king asked, "Why has he gone, leaving Jagannātha?" 10 "To purify the *tīrthas* he has gone in pilgrimage to them; and in that guise he saves the people of the world.

Sloka 2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.13.10:

Bhāgavatas like you are themselves the true forms of pilgrimage places; they make pilgrimage to all the pilgrimage places by means of Gadādhara, who is situated in their own hearts.

Sloka 2. See 1.13.31; 2.20.32.

11 This is the firm nature of a Vaiṣṇava; and he is not a *jīva*, he is the self-dependent *Īśvara*." 12 The king said, "Why did you allow him to go? Why did you not keep him, falling at his feet, imploring him?" 13 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "He is the self-dependent *Īśvara*; he is the manifest *Kṛṣṇa*—and is not manipulated by others. 14 So even though I tried to keep him, imploring him, the desire of *Īśvara* is independent, and he could not be restrained." 15 The *rājā* asked, "Bhaṭṭa, you are the crest-jewel of scholars; you call him *Kṛṣṇa*, and I honor that as true. 16 So when he comes here again, let me see him once; let my eyes be fruitful." 17 Bhaṭṭācārya replied, "He will come in a little time; we must find a solitary place for him to stay. 18 It should be near the *ṭhākura* and isolated. Find out such a place and have it set aside." 19 The *rājā* said, "Such is the place of Kāśī Mīśra: it is near the *ṭhākura* and very private." 20 So saying, the king waited anxiously, and Bhaṭṭācārya went to Kāśī Mīśra and told him everything. 21 Kāśī Mīśra said, "I am most fortunate. For the feet of Prabhu will be placed in my house." 22 In this way all the dwellers of Puruṣottama were anxious in their hearts to meet Prabhu. 23 And just as the anxiety of all the people had become unbearable, Prabhu came back from the south.

24 When they heard this, the hearts of all were overjoyed, and all together entreated Sārvabhauma. 25 "Allow us all to meet Prabhu; by your grace let us gain the feet of Caitanya." 26 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Tomorrow Prabhu will go to the house of Kāśī Mīśra, and there he will meet you all." 27 The next day Mahāprabhu, with Bhaṭṭācārya, in great pleasure had *darśana* of Jagannātha. 28 The *sevakas* met him, and gave him *mahāprasāda*, and Mahāprabhu embraced them all. 29 When he had had *darśana*, Mahāprabhu went outside, and Bhaṭṭācārya took him to the house of Kāśī Mīśra. 30 Kāśī Mīśra came and fell at the feet of Prabhu, and offered himself and his house to him. 31 Prabhu showed to him his four-armed form, and having accepted him, he embraced him. 32 Then Mahāprabhu sat there on a seat, and all around him sat Nityānanda and the other *bhaktas*. 33 When he saw the situation of the house, Prabhu was pleased; all that Prabhu needed was in that house. 34 Sārvabhauma said, "Prabhu, this

11. *Svatantra*: self-dependent.

13. *Sakṣāt*: manifest, lit., before one's eyes.

18. Near the temple of Jagannātha; *ṭhākura*: lord, here the image of Jagannātha.

23. Sanātana's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* 1.4.33: whenever and in whomever the desire to gain Bhagavān arises, he appears to him in that place. The Caitanya-*avatāra* itself came about for the same reason: the anxiety and prayers of Advaita; see 1.13.61-69.

31. Why he did this is unclear; Rādhāgovinda Nātha says that "people, unless they see some manifestation of divinity, ordinarily do not believe."



dwelling is fit for you; that you accept it is the hope of Mīśra." 35 Prabhu said, "This body belongs to you all; what you tell me, I shall agree to." 36 Then Sārvabhauma sat at Prabhu's right hand, and he began to introduce all the dwellers of Puruṣottama. 37 "All these people, Prabhu, dwell at Nīlācala, and have been anxious to meet you. 38 As the thirsty *cātaka* bird calls to the cloud, so are these all. Accept them all. 39 This man's name is Janārdana, and he is a *sevaka* of Jagannātha; he serves the holy image of Prabhu during *anavasara*. 40 And this man, holding a golden wand, is Kṛṣṇadāsa by name; and this is Śikhi Mahitī, chief among scribes. 41 And he is Pradyumna Mīśra, a foremost Vaiṣṇava. And he, Dāsa by name, is chief among the preparers of food for Jagannātha. 42 And Murāri Mahitī, the brother of Śikhi Mahitī, has no refuge other than your feet. 43 And this is Candaneśvara, and this Simheśvara, and this is the *brāhmaṇa* Murāri, and this is Viṣṇudāsa, whose meditation is on your feet. 44 And this is the great-minded Praharāja Mahāpātra, and with him is Paramānanda Mahāpātra. 45 All these Vaiṣṇavas are jewels to this Kṣetra, and they all single-mindedly worship your feet."

46 Then they all fell prostrate at his feet; and Prabhu was gracious to them and embraced them all. 47 At that time Bhavānanda Rāya came there, and with his four sons he fell at the feet of Mahāprabhu. 48 And Sārvabhauma said, "And this is Bhavānanda Rāya. Rāmānanda Rāya is his first son." 49 Then Mahāprabhu embraced him, and with much praise told him of Rāmānanda. 50 "Who has a jewel like Rāmānanda for a son, people cannot describe his greatness. 51 You are Paṇḍu manifest, and your wife Kuntī, and your five great-minded sons the five Paṇḍavas." 52 Rāya replied, "I am a *śūdra*, a lowly man concerned with material things; having touched me, you have shown the signs of Īśvara. 53 With my five sons, and servants, and wealth, and house, I offer myself at your feet."

38. *Cātaka* birds are said to live on raindrops, and in fact cannot live without them. This recollects the old image of Kṛṣṇa as the dark raincloud, shedding his rain of *prema* to his thirsty *bhaktas*.

39. *Anavasara* is the time when none except for *sevakas* or servants of Jagannātha can have *darśana* of the image.

40. The golden wand (*svaṇavetra*) leads Rādhāgovinda Nātha to speculate that this Kṛṣṇadāsa was a guardian or watchman of Jagannātha. The scribe presumably kept the accounts of the temple.

44. Praharāja and Paramānanda were their names; *mahāpātra* was a title signifying that they were important figures in the government, or that their families had held such posts.

48-58. [This reference is not a simple hyperbole, but one of identity as attested in v. 56 which confirms that they are members of Caitanya's *dhama*. Kavikarṇapūra lists Rāmānanda Rāya as Arjuna, among his alternate identities as the *gopī* Lalitā and Arjuntā, in *GGUD*, 120-24. None of the others is found in his list. See also CC 1.10.130-32 and 3.9.129 text and commentary. TKS]

51. The heroes of the *Mahābhārata* epic.

54 This [son] Vāṇinātha will remain at your feet, and carry out whatever orders you give to him. 55 Consider him as your own, and do not hesitate; whenever you have a wish, command him." 56 Prabhu replied, "What of hesitation; you are not strangers to me. From birth to birth, you and your lineage have been my servants. 57 Within a few days Rāmānanda will come, and in his company my joy will be fulfilled." 58 So saying, Prabhu embraced him, and placed his feet on the heads of all the sons. 59 Then Mahāprabhu sent him home, and Vāṇinātha Pāṭṇāyaka remained nearby. 60 Bhāṭṭācārya bade farewell to all the people, and then Prabhu summoned Kalakṛṣṇadāsa. 61 Prabhu said, "Bhāṭṭācārya, hear the actions of this man; he went with me to the south, 62 and abandoned me and went to become a Bhāṭṭamāri. But he was saved from the Bhāṭṭamāris. 63 Now I bring him here and bid him farewell: 'I have no responsibility for where you go.'" 64 When he heard this, Kṛṣṇadāsa began to weep, and Mahāprabhu got up and went to perform the midday ritual.

65 Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Mukunda and Dāmodara, these four then decided among themselves, 66 "We want to send a man to the land of Gauḍa, to tell Āi of the coming of Prabhu. 67 Advaita and Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas* all will come, when they hear that Prabhu has returned. 68 So let us send this Kṛṣṇadāsa to Gauḍa." So saying, they supported him, giving him courage. 69 The next day they made submission to Prabhu, "Give us your permission, that we may send a man to the Gauḍa country. 70 When they heard of your trip into the south, Śācī-āi, Advaita, and the other Vaiṣṇavas were most sorrowful. 71 Let us have one man go, and tell them the good news." Prabhu said, "Do what you will." 72 So they sent Kṛṣṇadāsa to Gauḍa, and gave him *mahāprasāda* to give to all the Vaiṣṇavas.

73 So Kalakṛṣṇadāsa came to Gauḍadeśa, and went to Navadvīpa, to the side of Śācī-āi. 74 Giving her *mahāprasāda*, he made obeisance to her, and spoke the news, "Prabhu has returned from the south." 75 When she heard this, the heart of Śācīmātā was delighted, and Śrīnivāsa and all the other *bhaktas* who were there, 76 when they heard were all overjoyed. Kṛṣṇadāsa went to the house of Advaitācārya. 77 He gave *prasāda* to the Ācārya, and made obeisance, and gave a full report of Mahāprabhu. 78 When he heard it, Ācārya Gosvāmī was

55. *Ātmīya*: "own," a close relation.

59. *Pāṭṇāyaka*: a high official in the government of Orissa.

60. The Kṛṣṇadāsa who had accompanied Caitanya on his southern pilgrimage.

63. The second half of the verse is addressed to Kṛṣṇadāsa, not Sārvabhauma.

66. *Āi*: "mother," Śācī the mother of Caitanya.

78. *Āveśa*: possession, paroxysm, overwhelmed.



greatly pleased, and in a paroxysm of *prema*, he began to shout and dance and sing. 79 Haridāsa Ṭhākura was greatly pleased, and Vāsudeva Datta, and Murāri Gupta, and Śivananda, 80 and Ācāryaratna and Vakreśvara Paṇḍita, and Ācāryanidhi and Gadadhara Paṇḍita, 81 and Śrīrāma Paṇḍita, and Paṇḍita Dāmodara, and Śrīman Paṇḍita, and Vijaya and Śrīdhara, 82 and Raghava Paṇḍita, and Ācāryanandana, and how many others of Prabhu's people should I mention? 83 Hearing [the news], they were all greatly delighted, and they all together came to Śrī Advaita. 84 They all bowed at the feet of the Ācārya, and Ācārya Gosvāmī embraced them all. 85 For two or three days the Ācārya had a festival, and took a firm resolve to go to Nīlācala. 86 They all gathered together at Navadvīpa, and having taken leave of Śācīmātā, they set off for Nīlādri. 87 When they heard the news of Prabhu, those who dwelt at Kulīnāgrama, Satyārāja and Paramānanda, also came there and joined [the party]. 88 And Mukunda and Narahari and Raghunandana from Khaṇḍa, came to the place of the Ācārya to go to Nīlācala. 89 At that time Paramānanda Pūrī came from the south, along the banks of the Gaṅgā, to the city of Nadiyā. 90 He took rest happily in the house of the Mother and the Mother respectfully gave him food. 91 He heard there of the coming of Prabhu, and he wanted to go to Nīlācala immediately. 92 There was a *bhakta* of Prabhu, Dvija Kamalākānta by name, and he took him and set off for Nīlācala. 93 They quickly came and met Prabhu there, and Prabhu was greatly delighted at finding them. 94 Overcome with *prema* he bowed to their feet, and they, overcome with *prema*, embraced Prabhu. 95 Prabhu said, "I have a desire to stay with you; be gracious to me, and make Nīlādri your dwelling place." 96 Pūrī replied, "I have a desire to stay with you; and so I have come from Gauḍa to Nīlācalapūrī. 97 Hearing that you had returned from the south, Śācī was delighted, [as were] the *bhaktas* there. 98 All are coming to see you; but seeing that they would be delayed, I came quickly." 99 There was an empty room in the house of Kāśī Mīśra; Prabhu gave him that, and a servant.

100 The next day Svarūpa Dāmodara came, the infinite ocean of the secret *rasa* of Prabhu. 101 His name in his former estate had been Puruṣottama Ācārya, when he was at Navadvīpa, at the feet of Prabhu. 102 When he saw Prabhu's *saṁnyāsa*, he became mad, and he went to Benares, and took *saṁnyāsa*. 103 Caitanyānanda was his *guru*, and gave this instruction to him, "Study the

85. *Mahotsava*: festival, a "great celebration."

92. *Dvija*: twice born; the *brāhmaṇa* Kamalākānta.

101. "Former estate": before he had taken orders.

102. *Unmatta haiya*: became mad.

Vedānta, and teach it to all people." 104 He was a man completely indifferent to the world, and very learned, and with body and mind took refuge in the deeds of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. 105 "I shall worship Kṛṣṇa single-mindedly"—this was the reason that he had taken *saṁnyāsa* when maddened. 106 He took *saṁnyāsa*, abandoning his top-knot and his thread; he did not wear the *yogapaṭṭa*, and his name became Svarūpa. 107 Begging his *guru*'s permission, he came to Nīlācala, and night and day was overwhelmed with the joy of Kṛṣṇa-*prema*. 108 His learning was vast; he spoke with no one but remained alone, and the people did not know him. 109 He was versed in the *tattva* of Kṛṣṇa-*rasa*, and his body was the very form of *prema*; he was the second *svarūpa* of the manifest Mahāprabhu. 110 Some would bring books and *śloka*s and songs before Prabhu; Svarūpa examined them all, and only afterwards did Prabhu listen to them. 111 For those which were opposed to the perfection of *bhakti*, or lacking in *rasa*, Prabhu was not pleased to hear. 112 Thus Svarūpa examined them first, and if they were pure, he had Prabhu hear them. 113 Vidyāpati, Caṇḍīdāsa, and the *Gīta-govinda*—in the songs of these three Prabhu found great pleasure. 114 He was like a *gandharva* in music, a *Bṛhaspati* in the *śāstras*; there was no one as noble-minded as Dāmodara. 115 He was most deeply beloved of Advaita and Nityānanda, and like the very life of Śrīvāsa and the other *bhaktas*. 116 That very Dāmodara came and bowed, and falling at [Prabhu's] feet, he began to recite a *śloka*:

104. "He" refers to Svarūpa.

106. When one enters an order of *saṁnyāsins* his head is shaved and his sacred thread torn off. In this way indifference to the world and social order is signified. *Yogapaṭṭa* is a cloth worn over the back and the knees during meditation. It is not clear why he did not accept this, although Sukumar Sen in conversation has suggested that the name "*svarūpa*" means that he retained his "own form"; perhaps the order into which he went was not one of the usual orders, but was an order, possibly even *tāntric*, in which some activities, forbidden to any ordinary *saṁnyāsin*, were kept up. Kṛṣṇadāsa's constant statements that it was Svarūpa who knew the "secret meaning" of the Caitanya-*līlā* lead one to believe that it is quite possible that Svarūpa had *tāntric* or *Sahajīya* leanings.

109. [This difficult line provides a possible second etymology, or back-formation of the name Svarūpa, with the obvious theological play on the word *svarūpa*. *Sakṣāt*: manifest, lit., appearing before one's eyes, i.e., "in the flesh." The syntax, however, admits of a second possibility, that *sakṣāt* modifies *svarūpa*, providing the reading of "the manifest second *svarūpa* of Mahāprabhu" (*sakṣāt mahāprabhura dvitīya svarūpa*). It should be noted that in this text *sakṣāt* seldom appears with Mahāprabhu or any name other than Kṛṣṇa. Rādhāgovinda Nātha glosses *svarūpa* as *mārti* (image/body) which can be justified by a passage in the next chapter; see 2.11.65. TKS]

114. Svarūpa was like a *gandharva* (heavenly musician), and as learned as *Bṛhaspati* in the *śāstras*.



Sloka 3. Kavikarṇapūra's Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka 8.14 [śloka 10]:

O ocean of Śrī Caitanya's compassion, may your compassion appear quickly, as a result of the highest limit of sweetness, by which fatigue is playfully dispelled, which is pure, whose joy shines forth, which settles disputes about the śāstras, which gives *rasa*, which intoxicates the mind, which is the eternal delight of *bhakti*, and which gives honor and joy.

117 Raising him up, Mahāprabhu embraced him, and both fell unconscious, absorbed in *prema*. 118 After a time, both became calm, and Mahāprabhu began to speak to him, 119 "That you would come, I saw today in a dream. It is good; it is as if I was blind, and have gotten back my eyes." 120 Svarūpa said, "Prabhu, forgive my offences. I abandoned you and went elsewhere, I made a stupid mistake. 121 I did not possess even a trace of *prema* for you feet, so sinner that I am, I left you and went to another country. 122 I abandoned you, but you did not abandon me. With the rope of your mercy about my neck, you brought me back to your feet." 123 Then Svarūpa bowed to Nityānanda, and Nityānanda Prabhu embraced him in *prema*. 124 Jagadananda, Mukunda, Śaṅkara, Sārvabhauma—he was properly introduced to all. 125 He bowed to the feet of Paramānanda Purī, and Purī Gosvāmī embraced him in *prema*. 126 Mahāprabhu gave him a solitary room, and a servant for attending to water and so on.

127 Another day, with Sārvabhauma and the rest of the *bhaktas*, Mahāprabhu was sitting, in the pleasure of stories of Kṛṣṇa. 128 At that time, Govinda came and, bowing, spoke these humble words, 129 "My name is Govinda, a servant of Īśvara Purī; I have come to you by the command of Purī Gosvāmī. 130 At

119. As Rādhāgovinda Nātha points out, in this period Caitanya was always in the Rādhā-*bhāva*, and none among his intimate followers really understood that *bhāva*. Although Nityānanda was very close to him, his *bhāva* was that of Balarāma, the *sakhyā-bhāva*; so it was with most of the rest. In the later period of his life, Svarūpa and Rāmananda, who had revealed to Caitanya his Rādhā-*bhāva*, were his most intimate companions. Rāmananda had not yet arrived in Purī.

120. I.e., he had gone to Kāśī and taken *saṁnyāsa*. Whether the mad or mistaken thing (*pramāda*) was his taking of *saṁnyāsa* or the leaving of Caitanya is not clear. The former would lend weight to Sukumar Sen's idea that the name "*svarūpa*" is applied to someone who has taken orders either incompletely, or renounced them, as did Nityānanda, who is also called Svarūpa in some places.

126. I.e., to Svarūpa.

129. Purī Gosvāmī is Īśvara Purī, disciple of Madhavendra Purī, and with whom Caitanya met in Gaya.

130. *Siddhi*: perfection, i.e., at the time of his death.

the time of his gaining of perfection, the Gosvāmī commanded me: 'Remain near Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya and serve him.' 131 Kāśīśvara will come when he has seen the pilgrimage places; at this order of Prabhu, I have come running to your feet." 132 Gosvāmī said, "Purīśvara was very affectionate towards me, and in his mercy has sent you to me." 133 When he heard this, Sārvabhauma asked Prabhu, "How did Purī Gosvāmī keep a *śūdra* as a servant?" 134 Prabhu said, "Īśvara is totally independent; the mercy of Īśvara is not dependent on the Veda. 135 The mercy of Īśvara does not respect caste and family and the rest; Kṛṣṇa took food in the house of Vidura. 136 Only by the grace of Īśvara can one expect a drop of love; and one who is controlled by love acts independently. 137 One's conduct in love is a crore of times more happy than respect: there is the highest joy in hearing of someone like this." 138 So saying, he embraced Govinda, and Govinda bowed to the feet of Prabhu.

139 Prabhu said, "Bhaṭṭācārya, decide this. The servant of a *guru* is to be honored by me. 140 It is not right to have him serve me. [But] the *guru* gave him a command. What is the answer to it?" 141 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "The command of a *guru* is powerful. The command of a *guru* is not to be transgressed, and the śāstras are proof of it."

Sloka 4. Raghuvamśa 14.46:

At the command of his father, his mother was struck like an enemy by Bhargava; he honored the command of his elder brother; for the orders of *gurus* are to be obeyed unhesitatingly.

142 Then Mahāprabhu embraced him, and gave him permission to serve his holy body. 143 And all honored him as the beloved servant of Prabhu, and Govinda

131. Kāśīśvara was another of the servants of the Īśvara Purī.

133. Evidently, although they themselves had done away with markings of caste, *saṁnyāsins* did not accept *śūdras* as servants. Caitanya replies that to truly religious men such things as caste and family did not matter.

134. [The ambiguity (in this and the following verses) of the word Īśvara—either Caitanya's *guru*, Īśvara Purī, or the supreme lord, *svayaṁ bhagavān*—is theologically appropriate for the disciple (*śiṣya*); the expression "*svatantra* Īśvara" or "non-dependent lord" has been applied to Caitanya as Kṛṣṇa on numerous occasions. TKS]

135. Vidura was the son of a servant woman, a poor man, who humbly and in love and self-effacement offered Kṛṣṇa bananas to eat. Kṛṣṇa, because of this humility, accepted the food.

136. *Sneha*: love; *vaśa*: control.

141. See Jiva Gosvāmī's *Bhakti-sandarbhā*, 238 [śl.717].



served all the Vaiṣṇavas. 144 There were two *kīrtantya*s, Choṭa and Baḍa Hari-dāsa, and Rāmāi and Nandāi, who remained at Govinda's side. 145 With Govinda they served Prabhu; the extreme good fortune of Govinda cannot be described.

146 Another day, Mukunda Datta said to Prabhu, "Brahmananda Bhārati has come to see you. 147 If you give the order, I shall bring him here." But Prabhu said, "He is a *guru*, I shall go to him." 148 And so saying, Mahāprabhu with all his *bhaktas* came before Brahmananda Bhārati. 149 Brahmananda was wearing a garment of deer-skin, and when he saw this, Prabhu was very sad in his heart. 150 Even though he saw him, he pretended that he did not, and he asked, "Where is Bhārati Gosvāmī?" 151 Mukunda replied, "That is he whom you see before you." Prabhu said, "That is not he; you are mistaken. 152 You call this one that, and know nothing at all. Could Bhārati Gosvāmī wear a skin?" 153 When he heard this, Brahmananda thought to himself, 'He does not like my wearing of a skin, 154 and he speaks well; I wear the skin because of vanity. I do not cross over ocean of existence by wearing a skin. 155 I shall not wear this skin, from today onwards.' Prabhu knowing his heart, had an outer garment brought. 156 Putting aside the skin, Brahmananda put on the other cloth, and Prabhu came and bowed to his feet. 157 Bhārati said, "Your business is to teach people; but do not bow again, for my mind is afraid. 158 For now there are two *brahmas* here, mobile and immobile. Jagannātha is the immobile *brahma*, and you the mobile. 159 You are golden-colored, he is dark; the two *brahmas* save all the worlds." 160 Prabhu said, "Because of your coming here, you speak the truth. Two *brahmas* are manifest in Śrī Puruṣottama. 161 You are the mobile golden-colored *brahma*, Brahmananda by name; and the dark-colored *brahma*, Jagannātha, is sitting motionless." 162 Bhārati replied, "Sārvabhauma, being between [us], put your mind to and understand my argument with him. 163 We know the *jīva* and *brahma* as that which is to be pervaded and that which pervades [respectively]: the *jīva* is pervaded, the *brahma* pervades, as it is explained in the *śāstras*. 164 He caused me to remove the skin, and so purified me. The reason for this is the relationship between us of pervader to pervaded."

144. Or, as Rādhāgovinda Nātha interprets it, "the *kīrtantya* Choṭa Haridāsa, and Baḍa Haridāsa," which seems to fit the facts, although the Bengali is confusing: *choṭa baḍa kīrtantya dui haridāsa* / Choṭa Haridāsa, the younger Haridāsa, or Haridāsa-*kīrtantya*, was the one who led the singing in *kīrtana* (3.2.100-164). Baḍa Haridāsa should not be confused with Haridāsa Ṭhakura, who was most famous for his constant repetition of the names of the deity (see 3.11 *passim*). These two are called "servants" of Caitanya, and Rāmāi and Nandāi were two others. Govinda however was primary among them.

154. He does not refer to vanity of appearance, but the vanity of showing the extent of his renunciation of society and the world. For all but the most indifferent ascetics would fear the contamination and impurity which comes from contact with a dead animal.

157. Bhārati says that Caitanya has bowed to him because this external show is necessary to teach people to act properly; but Caitanya should not do it twice.

158-63. [*Brahma* (n) is used here in both the technical sense of the principle of cosmic unity, in the general sense of supreme divinity, and as a synonym for the masculine *īśvara*; it is a play on Jagannātha's common epithet as the "Wooden Lord," *dārubrahma*. TKS]

nātha, is sitting motionless." 162 Bhārati replied, "Sārvabhauma, being between [us], put your mind to and understand my argument with him. 163 We know the *jīva* and *brahma* as that which is to be pervaded and that which pervades [respectively]: the *jīva* is pervaded, the *brahma* pervades, as it is explained in the *śāstras*. 164 He caused me to remove the skin, and so purified me. The reason for this is the relationship between us of pervader to pervaded."

Śloka 5. *Mahābhārata*, *anuśāsana-parvan* [dānadharmā] 127.75 [viṣṇu-sahasranāma-stotra]:

Of a golden body and golden color, of the best of bodies, wearing an armlet of sandalwood, he who will take *saṁnyāsa* is tranquil, equal-minded, devoted to peace, and firmly fixed on God.

165 All these names are his own; the thread-*prasāda*, smeared with sandalwood, are the armlets on his two arms." 166 Bhāṭṭācārya said, "O Bhārati, I see you as victorious." Prabhu said, "What you say is true. 167 In debate between *guru* and disciple, it is true that the disciple is [always] defeated." Bhārati said, "This is not so; there is another cause. 168 It is your nature to reprimand your *bhaktas*; hear another power which you have. 169 All my life I have meditated on the formless one; seeing you, Kṛṣṇa has become manifest to me. 170 Kṛṣṇa's name is in my mouth, and he bursts forth in my mind and in my eyes. Seeing you in that form, my heart thirsts. 171 As Bilvamaṅgala described his own condition, so, seeing you, that condition is my own."

Śloka 6. Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [pāścīma-vibhāga, śāntabhaktirasalahari] 3.1.44 [quoting Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala]:

Worshiped by those who follow the road of *advaita*, consecrated on the lion-throne of joy in the *ātman*, we have become maid-servants, forced by some rogue, who has seduced the wives of the *gopas*.

164. Caitanya acted from within Bhārati, and caused Bhārati himself to remove the skin. Thus he is the indwelling *īśvara*, and Bhārati is that in which *īśvara* dwells or pervades, the *jīva*.

Śloka 5. See 1.3.18; 2.6.15.

165. All of the epithets given in the *śloka*. The thread is the thread worn by Jagannātha, smeared with the sandalwood paste with which his body had been rubbed, and it is appropriate that Caitanya should wear this.

Śloka 6. See 2.24.1.42. [Rādhāgovinda Nātha and the Haridāsa Dāsa edition of Rūpa's *BhRS* attribute this *śloka* to Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala; for the source see Wilson, *The Love of Krishna*, 8-9. TKS]



172 Prabhu said, "Your profound *prema* is to Kṛṣṇa; wherever your eyes fall, there Kṛṣṇa blooms forth." 173 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Both are most true words; when Kṛṣṇa is before you, he makes himself manifest. 174 Without *prema* he is never manifest; by his grace one has *darśana* of him." 175 Prabhu said, "Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu! What are you saying? Sārvabhauma, this is excessive praise, and has the signs of censure." 176 So saying, he took Bhāratī and went to his own dwelling place; and Bhāratī Gosvāmī remained near Prabhu. 177 Rāmabhadraācārya and Bhagavān Ācārya [also] remained near Prabhu, abandoning all other work.

178 Another day, Kāśīśvara Gosvāmī came, and Prabhu, honored him, kept him at his own place. 179 He had Prabhu take him for *darśana* of Iśvara; before them was a crowd of people, and they blocked the way. 180 As rivers and streams mingle in the sea, so were the *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu, everywhere. 181 They all came and gathered at the holy feet of Prabhu; and Prabhu, in his grace, kept them all near him. 182 And so has been told the meeting of the Vaiṣṇavas with Prabhu; he who listens to it gains the feet of Caitanya.

183 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

## Madhya Līlā Chapter 11

Śloka 1.

Gauracandra, his body ornamented with many emotions, danced wildly in the great *tāṇḍava* dance with his *bhaktas* in the house of Jagannātha, and by his own power he inundated the universe with a flood of *prema*.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and the hosts of Gaura-*bhaktas*.

2 On another day Sārvabhauma said to Prabhu, "Allay my fears and then let me make petition to you." 3 Prabhu said, "Speak, and have no fear at all. If it is proper I shall do it; if it is improper I shall not." 4 Sārvabhauma said, "There is Pratāparudra Rāya, who is very anxious to meet with you." 5 Putting his hands over his ears, Prabhu recalled 'Nārāyaṇa!' and said to Sārvabhauma, "You speak improper words. 6 For me, a *saṁnyāsin* who has abandoned the world, to meet a king—such a worldly thing would be like meeting a woman.

Śloka 2. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 8.27 [śloka 23]:

He who wants to cross to the other shore of the ocean of the world, who is without material possessions, and has his face turned toward the

Śloka 1. *Uddāṇḍa*: dancing with the arms upraised and the body upright and stiff. *Tāṇḍava*: in a general sense a dance with violent gesticulation, but is also specific to the cosmic dance of Śiva, and carries that connotation here.

2. I.e., fears that you will be angry when you hear what I ask.

4. Pratāparudra: the king of Orissa; his request for audience is found in 2.10.2-22.

5. See 2.6.56 text and commentary.

6. *BhP* 9.19.17: The pull of the senses is strong, and attracts even the wise among men; not to speak of others, one should not remain in the same place with mother, sister, or even one's own daughter.

175. "Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu" is a mild epithet, voiced when hearing something improper. "Signs of censure": *nindara lakṣaṇa*, excessive praise borders on reproach.



worship of God, for him, the sight of women and of people who are concerned with worldly things, alas, is more harmful than a drink of poison.

7 Sarvabhauma said, "Your words are true. But the *rāja* is the best of *bhaktas*, a servant of Jagannātha." 8 Prabhu said, "Still, a *rāja* has the shape of a black snake; it is just as the touch of a woman of wood can affect.

*Śloka 3. Kavikarṇapūra's Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka 8.28 [Śloka 24]:*

Much fear should be felt even for the appearance of people concerned with the world and from women. As anxiety is born in the mind from a snake, so also is it born from the mere appearance of it.

9 Do not bring again such words to your mouth; if you say such things, you will not see me here." 10 Afraid, Sarvabhauma went to his own house. At just that time, Prataparudra came to Puruṣottama.

11 Rāmananda Rāya came with the Gajapati; and first of all he came and met with Prabhu in great delight. 12 Rāya bowed to him, and Prabhu embraced him, and both wept in a passion of *prema*. 13 Seeing this manifestation of Prabhu's affection for Rāmananda, the minds of all the *bhaktas* were astonished. 14 Rāya said, "At your command, the *rāja* has been told; according to your desire, he has allowed me to abandon worldly affairs. 15 I said, 'Concern with worldly things is not for me; I shall remain at the feet of Caitanya, if you will permit me.' 16 When he heard your name, the king was greatly pleased, and getting up from his throne he embraced me. 17 When he heard your name, he was in a delirium of *mahāprema*, and holding me by the hand, he spoke with special love, 18 'The salary which you are getting, you will continue to get; with your mind free of care, serve the feet of Prabhu. 19 I am impure and there is no way for me to have *darśana* of him. Whoever serves him, his life is fulfilled. 20 He is the most merciful Vrajendranandana; in some birth he will certainly give *darśana* to me. 21 That humility of *prema* which I have seen in you, not a drop of that love is in me.'" 22 Prabhu said, "You are chief among *bhaktas* of

8. Even though the form of a snake—a snake made of wood or clay—has no poison and is harmless, fear arises in the mind at the sight of it. So even though the *rāja* might himself be a good man, he is a king, and that fact is enough to arouse thoughts of the material world. At the sight or touch of even a woman carved from wood, the mind is distracted.

11. Gajapati: "lord of elephants," a title of the king Prataparudra.

17. *Āveśa*: delirium, possession.

Kṛṣṇa; he who has love for you is fortunate. 23 The *rāja* has so much love for you, that because of it Kṛṣṇa will accept him."

*Śloka 4. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, uttara-khaṇḍa 6 [quoting Ādi Purāṇa]:*  
O Arjuna, those who are my *bhaktas* are not my *bhaktas*; for those who are *bhaktas* of my *bhaktas* are counted as the best of *bhaktas*.

*Śloka 5-6. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.19.21-22:*

5 Diligence in service, respectful greeting with the whole body; constant *pūjā* to my *bhaktas*, knowing me in all things, 6 physical labor in my causes, the recitation of my qualities in speech.

*Śloka 7. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, uttara-khaṇḍa 4 [quoting Padma Purāṇa]:*

Of the worship of all [deities], the worship of Viṣṇu is best. O Devī, [but] even higher than that is the worship of his *bhaktas*.

*Śloka 8. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 3.7.20:*

For him of little power, service [to God] is indeed difficult on the roads to Vaikuṇṭha, where Janārdana the god of gods is celebrated.

24 Then Rāya made obeisance to the feet of the four Gosvāmīs: Purī, Bhāratī, Svarūpa, and Nityānanda. 25 And as was appropriate, he met Jagadānanda, Mukunda, and the rest of the *bhaktas*. 26 Prabhu asked, "Rāya, have you seen Kamalālocana?" Rāya replied, "Let me now go to have *darśana*." 27 Prabhu said, "Rāya, what have you done? Why did you come here first, without having seen Īśvara?" 28 Rāya replied, "The feet are the chariot, and the heart the charioteer. Wherever they take him, the *jīva*-chariot-rider goes. 29 What could I do? My heart brought me here. It did not decide to have *darśana* of Jagadānanda." 30 Prabhu said, "Go quickly and have *darśana*; then go to the house and meet your relatives." 31 Getting these instructions from Prabhu, Rāya went to have *darśana*. Who can understand the ways of the *prema-bhakti* of Rāya?

32 Having come to Kṣetra, the *rāja* summoned Sarvabhauma; having bowed to Sarvabhauma, he asked him, 33 "Have you petitioned the feet of Prabhu on my behalf?" Sarvabhauma replied, "It has been done most carefully. 34 Still

24. Paramānanda Purī and Brahmananda Bhāratī.

26. Kamalālocana: the "lotus-eyed one," Jagadānanda.



he will not have *darśana* of a king. He would leave Kṣetra, if I petitioned him again." 35 Hearing this, sorrow grew in the king's heart, and dejectedly he began to speak, 36 "His *avatāra* is to save sinners and the lowly; I have heard how he saved Jagāi and Madhāi. 37 'Except for Prataparudra I shall save the world.' I know that he has come as *avatāra* with this promise.

*Sloka 9. Kavikarṇapūra's Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka 8.34 [Sloka 28]:*

He gives *darśana* even to people of low caste, inappropriate for *darśana*; alas, he still does not at all give *darśana* to me. Abandoning only me, he will grant his grace—why has that *deva* descended, having decided this?

38 His promise is that he will not have *darśana* of a *rāja*. My promise is that without him, I shall leave this life. 39 If I do not gain a sight of that Mahāprabhu, that wealth of mercy, what is this kingdom, and what is this body: everything is baseless." 40 When he heard this, Bhaṭṭācārya was sunk in thought; seeing the passion of the *rāja*, he was astonished. 41 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "O *deva*, do not be distressed. Assuredly Prabhu's grace will be upon you. 42 He is subservient to *prema*, and your *prema* is very profound. Certainly he will have mercy upon you. 43 Still, I shall tell you a way. Follow this way, by which Prabhu will see you. 44 On the day of the Car Festival, Prabhu with all his *bhaktas* dances before the chariot, overcome with *prema*. 45 In his delirium of *prema* he enters the flower-garden; at that time you will be there alone, having put off your kingly clothes. 46 Having gone there alone to read the *Kṛṣṇa-rāsa-pāñcadhyāyī*, you will clasp the feet of Mahāprabhu. 47 At that time, having heard the name of Kṛṣṇa, he has no consciousness of external things; he will embrace you, seeing you as a Vaiṣṇava. 48 Today Rāmananda Raya has spoken to Prabhu of the qualities of your *prema*, and has caused the mind of Prabhu to change." 49 When he heard this, happiness was born in the heart

36. [See above 1.8.17 commentary. The story of Jagāi and Madhāi can be found in Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *CBh* 2.13. TKS]

44. Caitanya had not been in Puri for the Car Festival until this time. The two years previous to this one, he had been on pilgrimage to the south and west, and it is obvious that Vasudeva could not know what Caitanya's habits were in this situation. However, although this incident appears in this same place in all MSS, it probably shows Kṛṣṇadāsa's dependence on the CCN at this point, even though that text may refer to some later year. The suggestion which Vasudeva makes to the king is not acted upon until 2.14, which however is still descriptive of this Car Festival.

46. *Kṛṣṇa-rāsa-pāñcadhyāyī*, the five chapters which describe the *rāsa-līlā* of Kṛṣṇa; *BhP* 10.29-33.

47. [*Bahya-jñāna*: consciousness of external things; see 3.18.74-77 for a description of the three states of Caitanya's consciousness. TKS]

of the Gajapati, and he resolved in that way to meet Prabhu. 50 "When will the Bathing Festival be?" he asked Bhaṭṭa, and Bhaṭṭa said, "The festival will be in three days time."

51 When he saw the Bathing Festival, Prabhu gained great happiness; and at the *anavasara* of Īśvara he became greatly saddened. 52 Prabhu, in the *gopi-bhāva*, was very pained in *viraha*, and leaving everyone went to Ālalanātha. 53 But behind him his *bhaktas* followed, and at the feet of Prabhu, they informed him that the *bhaktas* had come from Gauḍa. 54 Sārvabhauma accompanied Prabhu to Nīlācala; and going to the *rāja* he said that Prabhu had come. 55 Just then Gopīnāthācārya came there, and having given his blessing to the king he said, "Listen, Bhaṭṭācārya, 56 two hundred Vaiṣṇavas have come from Gauḍa, all great *bhāgavatas*, *bhaktas* of Mahāprabhu. 57 They are all now at Narendra; arrangements for lodging and *prasāda* must be made for all of them." 58 The *rāja* said, "I shall give an order to the temple servant, and he will arrange everything—lodging and whatever else is wanted. 59 As many of Mahāprabhu's people as have come from Gauḍa, Bhaṭṭācārya, show them to me one by one." 60 And Bhaṭṭa said, "Climb to the top of the palace; Gopīnātha knows them, and will point them out to you. 61 I do not know any of them, but want to know; Gopīnāthācārya will introduce them all." 62 Having said this, the three climbed up to the room on the roof, and just at that time the Vaiṣṇavas were just arriving. 63 Svarūpa Dāmodara and Govinda, these two, brought garlands and *prasāda* to those Vaiṣṇavas who were there. 64 For in *prema* Mahāprabhu had sent them both. The *rāja* said, "Who are these? Make them known to me." 65 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "This is Svarūpa Dāmodara, who is a second body to Mahāprabhu. 66 And the second man is the servant Govinda; by them both Prabhu, to honor them, has sent garlands." 67 First of all, Svarūpa put a garland on Advaita, and afterwards Govinda gave him a second garland. 68 Then Govinda made obeisance to the Ācārya; the Ācārya did not know who he was, and so asked Dāmodara. 69 Dāmodara said, "His name is Govinda; he was a servant of Īśvara Puri, possessed of many great qualities. 70 Puri gave him an

50. *Snāna-yātra*: the Bathing Festival of the image of Jagannātha.

51. After his bath, Jagannātha is ornamented and dressed, and during that time no-one but his body-servants can see him (*anavasara*).

58. *Paṇḍita*: temple servant of Jagannātha.

65. [*Kalevara*: body; Svarūpa is called the "*dvitīya kalevara*" of Mahāprabhu, i.e., his second body. In 2.10.109 he is the manifested second "*svarūpa*" of Mahāprabhu. TKS]

66. To honor the Vaiṣṇavas who had arrived from Bengal.



order to serve Prabhu, and thus Prabhu keeps him close to him." 71 The *rāja* said, "Who is he to whom the two gave garlands? He has the brilliance of an *ācārya*; is he some great man?" 72 [Gopīnātha] *Ācārya* replied, "His name is Advaita *Ācārya*; he is the receptacle of the respect of Mahāprabhu, and most venerated by us all. 73 That one is Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita, and he is Paṇḍita Vakreśvara; and there is Vidyānidhi *Ācārya*; and Gadādhara Paṇḍita. 74 And that is Purandara *Ācārya*, a jewel among *ācāryas*; and Gaṅgādāsa Paṇḍita and Saṅkara Paṇḍita. 75 And there is Murāri Gupta, and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, and Haridāsa Ṭhākura, the purifier of the world. 76 And there is Hari Bhaṭṭa, and there Śrī Nṛsiṃhānanda, and Vasudeva Datta, and Śivānanda. 77 And Govinda, Madhava, and Vasudeva Ghoṣa, three brothers who delight Prabhu much in *kīrtana*. 78 And Raghava Paṇḍita, and that is the son of the *ācārya*, and Śrīman Paṇḍita, and Śrīkanta Nārāyaṇa. 79 And that is Śuklāmbara, and that Śrīdhara, and Vijaya, and Vallabha Sena, and Puruṣottama, and Saṅjaya. 80 And that is Satyarāja Khān, who lives in Kulīnagrāma, and those are Rāmananda and others, most learned men. 81 And there see Mukunda Dāsa and Narahari and Śrī Rāghunandana, Cirañjīva and Sulocana who live in Khaṇḍa. 82 There are so many people; how shall I name them? They are all followers of Śrī Caitanya, his very life."

83 The *rāja* said, "I am astonished to witness this. I have never seen such radiance of Vaiṣṇavas. 84 The radiance of them all is like a crore of suns; and never have I heard such sweet *kīrtana*. 85 *Prema* like this, and dancing and the sound of the name of Hari: never have I seen or heard it anywhere." 86 Bhaṭṭācārya said, "Your words are most true; the creation of Caitanya is this *prema-saṅkīrtana*. 87 Caitanya has appeared to propagate this *dharma*; for the *dharma* of the Kali age is the Kṛṣṇa *nāma-saṅkīrtana*. 88 For he who worships with the sacrifice of *saṅkīrtana* is wise; all others are destroyed by the Kali age."

Sloka 10. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.5.32:

Good and wise people indeed worship [him] by sacrifice, [namely] chiefly *saṅkīrtana* together with his followers and weapons of *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, black-colored yet light-colored in his glory.

89 The *rāja* said, "By the proof of the *śāstras*, Caitanya is Kṛṣṇa; why then are all the *paṇḍitas* averse to him?" 90 Bhaṭṭa said, "He to whom is granted a drop of his mercy is able to accept him as Kṛṣṇa. 91 He who does not have his

71. *Teja*: brilliance, lustre.

Sloka 10. See 1.3.śl.10; 2.6.śl.4; 2.20.śl.53; 3.20.śl.2.

mercy, however great a *paṇḍita* he be, although he sees him and hears him, he does not honor him as 'Īśvara'."

Sloka 11. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.14.29:

O god, O Bhagavān! The man who is favored by the least favor of your lotus feet can know the truth of your greatness; others, even though searching single-mindedly for a long time, cannot.

92 The *rāja* said, "All of these people came running to the house of Caitanya, without first having seen Jagannātha." 93 Bhaṭṭa said, "This is the natural way of *prema*; the hearts of all are anxious to meet Mahāprabhu. 94 After they have met him and presented him to the entire group, they will go with him to see Jagannātha." 95 The *rāja* said, "Vāṇīnātha, the son of Bhavānanda, with several other people, is taking *mahāprasāda*. 96 They have gone to the place of Mahāprabhu; why is so much *mahāprasāda* needed?" 97 Bhaṭṭa said, "Knowing that the *bhaktas* have come, at the order of Prabhu they take the *prasāda* there." 98 The *rāja* said, "The rule at pilgrimage places is shaving and fasting; how can they eat and drink without doing this?" 99 Bhaṭṭa said, "You speak of the external *dharma*; in this *rāgamārga* is the delicate inner meaning of *dharma*. 100 The indirect command of Īśvara is shaving and fasting; but the direct command of Prabhu is the eating of *prasāda*. 101 Where there is no *mahāprasāda*, there is fasting; the abandonment of the *prasāda* of Prabhu is the offence. 102 Particularly [when] Prabhu distributes [it] with his holy hands—abandoning what is thus obtained, how can we do this and fast? 103 Once Prabhu brought and gave me food of *prasāda*; I ate it in the morning, sitting on the bed. 104 To whom he sends his grace, transmitting it to his heart, he is in the refuge of Kṛṣṇa, and he abandons the Vedas and the *dharma* of society."

Sloka 11. See 2.6.śl.2.

92. I.e., ordinarily they would first have gone to the temple, then to see Caitanya.

99. *Vidhi*: external, injunction, that which is enjoined by the *śāstras*. In the way of passion, the *rāgamārga*, all such injunction is no longer valid; the *bhakta* has passed beyond it and is in direct relationship to the deity.

100. *Parokṣa*: indirect, that which is done through another, in this case the texts of regulation; *sākṣat*: manifest, actual, here translated as "direct."

103. I.e., in what would be usually considered neither proper time nor place: he had not bathed, nor performed the morning rituals. But *mahāprasāda* knows neither proper time nor place.

104. See 2.8.177 for *loka-dharma*.



Sloka 12. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 4.29.46:

When, strengthened in his soul, Bhagavān grants grace to someone, that one then abandons the opinions well-established in the Vedas and world.

105 Then the *rāja* descended from the roof of the palace. And he summoned both Kāśī Miśra and the temple servant, 106 and Prataparudra gave this order to both of them, "As many *bhaktas* as have come to the place of Prabhu, 107 provide for all of them, according to their desires, houses, and according to their desires, *prasāda*. And give them *darśana* as they desire; leave nothing out. 108 Both of you honor the command of Prabhu carefully; and not at his order—but understanding his signs—do for him." 109 So saying, he bade farewell to the two; and seeing Sārvabhauma he came to the assembly of the Vaiṣṇavas. 110 Gopinātha Ācārya and Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, remaining at a distance, watched the assembly of the Vaiṣṇavas of Prabhu. 111 All the Vaiṣṇavas left the lion-gate to the right, and went on the way to the house of Kāśī Miśra.

112 At that same time Mahāprabhu, with his own people, came mingling with the Vaiṣṇavas along the way in great delight. 113 Advaita clasped the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu embraced the Ācārya with *prema*. 114 Both were highly agitated in the joy of *prema*; yet, seeing the time, Prabhu calmed down somewhat. 115 Śrīvāsa and the others clasped the feet of Prabhu, and Prabhu embraced each of them in *prema*. 116 One by one he conversed with all the *bhaktas*, and with all of them he went within. 117 The dwelling-place of Miśra was small, yet it was sufficient for innumerable Vaiṣṇavas. 118 Prabhu seated them all around himself, and he gave garlands and sandalwood to all with his own holy hands. 119 Bhaṭṭācārya and the Ācārya came to the place of Prabhu, and according to propriety met with all of them. 120 Prabhu said with humble words to Advaita, "Today, with your coming, I have become fulfilled." 121 Advaita said, "This is the nature of Īśvara, even though he is filled with the six divine

108. I.e., do what he wants before he asks.

111. There is a large square in front of the main gate ("lion gate") of the temple of Jagannātha; the *bhaktas* were evidently moving across this square, with the main gate on their right.

114. *Samaya dekhiya*: seeing the time. For some reason Caitanya evidently felt the time to be inappropriate for such expression.

117. Rādhāgovinda Nātha puts a theological interpretation on this: when the eternal *līlā* becomes manifest, not only the person of Kṛṣṇa is manifested, but the whole of his *dhama*, his environment. As we have seen, this environment, the eternal Vṛndāvana, is made up of *cit* and while it might appear to the ordinary human eye as material, it is actually immaterial and infinite. Where Kṛṣṇa is, is infinite, and Kṛṣṇa was at this moment in the house of Kāśī Miśra.

119. The Ācārya is Gopinātha Ācārya.

attributes, 122 he has great pleasure from the company of his *bhaktas*. With his *bhaktas* he constantly has various delights."

123 Seeing Vāsudeva, Prabhu was delighted; putting his hands on his body he said a few words to him. 124 "Even though Mukunda has been with me from childhood, seeing you gives me even greater happiness." 125 Vāsu replied, "Mukunda had your company in the beginning; gaining your feet is another birth; 126 though he is younger than I, Mukunda now is elder. For he is the receptacle of your grace, in which is the best of all qualities." 127 Again Prabhu said, "Because of you, I have brought two books from the south. 128 They are with Svarūpa; have them copied and take them." Vāsudeva was delighted, having received the books. 129 Each of the Vaiṣṇavas copied and took [the books], and gradually the two books spread over the world. 130 Prabhu said with great love to Śrīvāsa and the others, "I am indebted to you four brothers." 131 Śrīvāsa asked, "Why do you say that which is contrary [to truth]? We four brothers are indebted to you!" 132 Seeing Śaṅkara, Prabhu said to Dāmodara, "I am proud of my affection for you; 133 but towards him my affection is pure and simple; thus let Śaṅkara stay with me." 134 Dāmodara said, "Śaṅkara is younger than I; but now in your grace he is my elder brother." 135 Prabhu said to Śivānanda, "Between us is a profound attachment; I have known it for a long time." 136 When he heard this, Śivānanda Sena became absorbed in *prema*, and falling prostrate he recited this śloka:

Sloka 13. Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya Nāṭaka* 8.57 [śloka 41] [quoting Yamunācārya's *Stotraratna* 26]:

O infinite one, for a long time I was fallen into the ocean of worldly life; now I have gained you, my home. O Bhagavān, by you now this peerless receptacle of your mercy has been gained.

137 At first Murāri Gupta did not meet Prabhu, but remained prostrated outside. 138 Not seeing Murāri, Prabhu inquired, and many people went run-

125. I.e., now that I have gained your feet, I have been born again as a devotee.

126. I.e., Mukunda, having gained your feet before I did, was born a second time before I was, and is in terms of the ultimate reality elder than I.

130. *Toma-cāri bhāira āmi hai mālyakṛta*. Caitanya seems to be saying that he is won over by the devotion of the four brothers; and Śrīvāsa replies that rather, the four are won over by Caitanya's grace.

132. Śaṅkara was the younger brother of Dāmodara, and as will be seen, he served Caitanya in humble ways: he massaged his feet late into the night, and sometimes let his body serve as footstool for Caitanya. Dāmodara, on the other hand did not hesitate to speak his mind to Caitanya when he felt that Caitanya was in some way wrong.



ning to bring Murāri. 139 Murāri, holding two bunches of grass in his teeth, went humbly before Mahāprabhu. 140 Seeing Murāri, Prabhu got up to greet him; but drawing back, Murāri began to say, 141 "Do not touch me, for I am lowly and vile; this body full of sin is not fit to be touched by you." 142 Prabhu said, "Murāri, restrain your humility; seeing your humility my heart is torn." 143 So saying, Prabhu embraced him, and brushing him seated him nearby so that their bodies touched. 144 Ācāryaratna, Vidyānidhi and Gadadhara Paṇḍita, Hari Bhaṭṭa, Gaṅgādaśa, and Purandara Ācārya, 145 Prabhu sang the praises of all of them in the assembly, and embracing them again and again he paid them respect.

146 And thus honoring them all, Prabhu was delighted. But not seeing Haridāśa he inquired, "Where is Haridāśa?" 147 Haridāśa Gosvāmī was watching from a distance, having fallen prostrate at the edge of the road. 148 Having come to the place of the meeting, he did not meet Prabhu; he fell at the edge of the road and remained at a distance. 149 All the *bhaktas* came running to bring Haridāśa, "Prabhu wants to meet you; come quickly." 150 Haridāśa said, "I am of low *jāti* and vile as ashes; I have no right to go near the temple. 151 If I find a lonely place in the jungle, there I shall settle down alone and pass my days. 152 My touch is not for a servant of Jagannātha. There I shall remain—this is my desire." 153 The people went and told these words to Prabhu; and when he heard them, Mahāprabhu was greatly delighted in his mind.

154 At that time Kāśī Mīśra and the temple servant, these two came and bowed to the feet of Prabhu. 155 Seeing all the Vaiṣṇavas, they were most happy, and they mingled with them all according to propriety and with joy. 156 At the feet of Prabhu, the two made this petition, "Give your command about the settlement of the Vaiṣṇavas. 157 We have arranged for enough dwelling places for all and have made arrangements for food of *mahāprasāda* for all." 158 Prabhu said, "Gopīnātha, go and take everyone, and settle each wherever he says. 159 Give them food of *mahāprasāda* at the place of Vāṇīnātha; he will make arrangements for all the Vaiṣṇavas. 160 Near my [house], in a flower garden,

139. Holding grass in the teeth, like a beast of the fields, was a sign of humility.

143. Murāri had fallen in the dust of the road; Caitanya brushed the dust from his clothing.

147. *Rājapatha*: road, highway. Haridāśa's humility is legendary, and stems, so tradition has it, from his having been born in a Muslim family.

153. Rādhagovinda Nātha points out that in some MSS, the reading *duḥkha*, "sorrow," for *śukha* "delight," is found. Either one is possible. Caitanya could have been saddened by Haridāśa's humility, and he could have been pleased, since Haridāśa was upholding the laws of purity which Caitanya, in his external manifestation at least, was also at pains to uphold.

there is a house, most isolated. 161 Give that house to me, for I have need of it; there, sitting alone, I shall meditate." 162 Mīśra said, "Everything is yours, why do you even ask? Take whatever you desire—whatever place you want. 163 We two are your servants, ready to carry out your commands; whatever you want, command it in your mercy."

164 So saying, the two took their leave, and he sent Gopīnātha and Vāṇīnātha with them. 165 They showed Gopīnātha all the rooms and houses, and to Vāṇīnātha they gave vast quantities of *prasāda*. 166 Vāṇīnātha came, bringing rice and *piṭha* and *pāṇa*, and Gopīnātha came, having ritually purified the dwelling-places. 167 Mahāprabhu said, "Hear, all you Vaiṣṇavas. Each of you go to your own dwelling-place. 168 Having bathed in the sea, have *darśana* of the cupola [of the temple], and then return here; we shall feast today." 169 Making obeisance to Prabhu, all went to their quarters, and Gopīnāthācārya arranged dwelling-places for them all.

170 Then Prabhu came to meet Haridāśa. Haridāśa in *prema* was making *nāma-saṅkīrtana*. 171 When he saw Prabhu he fell prostrate before him; Prabhu embraced him and raised him up. 172 The two then wept, overcome with *prema*; his servant was overcome with the qualities of Prabhu, and Prabhu by the qualities of his servant. 173 Haridāśa said, "Prabhu, do not touch me; I am a lowly untouchable, most vile." 174 Prabhu replied, "I touch you to become cleansed, for your pure *dharma* is not in me. 175 You always bathe at all pilgrimage places, and you always give charity, and mortify yourself and sacrifice. 176 You constantly study the teachings of the four Vedas; you are purer than those who are twice-born."

Sloka 14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3.33.7:

How wonderful! That *śvapaca* on the tip of whose tongue your name is current is worthy of worship. Those who praise your name are endowed with proper action—they do ascetic deeds, offer sacrifices in the fire, bathe at pilgrimage places, and study the Vedas.

168. *Cuḍā* is the cupola of the temple. It is possible that going to the temple was for some reason out of the question at that time; it might still be the *anavasara* period of Jagannātha.

174. I.e., I do not have in me a *dharma* which is as pure as yours.

176. There is a difference between studying the Vedas and studying their meaning; the former would presumably not have been possible for one born a Muslim. As the verse following suggests, however, people of whatever birth who are *bhaktas* do what is right, and that is the inner meaning of the Vedas.

Sloka 14. See 2.19.śl5; 3.16.śl4.



177 Having said this, Prabhu took him into the flower garden, and gave him a place to live in that most lonely house. 178 "Remain here, and perform *nāma-saṅkīrtana*; I shall come each day to meet you. 179 When you see the *cakra* of the temple, make obeisance; food of *prasāda* will come to you in this place." 180 Nityānanda, Jagadānanda, Dāmodara, and Mukunda met Haridāsa and gained great joy.

181 Having bathed in the sea, Prabhu came to his own place; and Advaita and the others went to bathe in the sea. 182 Returning, they had *darśana* of the cupola of the temple of Jagannātha, and came to the house of Prabhu to eat. 183 Prabhu seated them all in order, according to propriety. Gaurahari served them with his holy hands. 184 The hand of Prabhu did not come to give little food; he put on the leaves of each of them food for two or three men. 185 Prabhu had not eaten, and no one else ate; the *bhaktas* remained seated with their hands raised. 186 Svarūpa Gosvāmī then said to Prabhu, "If you do not sit down, no one can eat. 187 As many *saṁnyāsins* as stay with you, Gopīnāthācārya has invited them. 188 The Ācārya has come, bringing food proper for *saṁnyāsins*; and Purī and Bhārati are waiting. 189 Sit down to eat with Nityānanda, and I shall serve the Vaiṣṇavas." 190 Then Prabhu put *prasāda*-food into the hand of Govinda, and with great consideration sent it to Haridāsa Ṭhākura. 191 He himself sat down with all the *saṁnyāsins*, and the Ācārya served them in delight. 192 Svarūpa Gosvāmī, Dāmodara, and Jagadānanda, these three served the Vaiṣṇavas. 193 They ate various *pīṭhās* and *pānās* and were filled up to the throat; and from time to time they called "Hari" aloud. 194 The meal was finished, and they rinsed their mouths; Prabhu presented them all with garlands and sandalwood. 195 Then all went to their own places to rest. And in the evening they again came to meet Prabhu.

196 At that time Rāmānanda came to the place of Prabhu, and Prabhu introduced him to the Vaiṣṇavas. 197 Then Prabhu went, with all of them, to the temple of Jagannātha, and there began the *kīrtana*. 198 Seeing the *sandhya-dhūpa*, they began the *saṅkīrtana*, and the temple servant brought and gave garlands and sandalwood to them all. 199 Four groups sang *saṅkīrtana* on all

179. *Cakra*: the wheel situated on the very top of the temple of Jagannātha.

183. It is not clear whether "propriety" means according to the usual caste order, or in terms of primacy in *bhakti*, the latter often ruling the social interaction of the Vaiṣṇavas in this group.

198. In the evening, a brazier filled with coals and emitting a strong, resinous, acrid smelling but pleasantly scented smoke is waved before the image; this is the *sandhya-dhūpa*.

four sides while Prabhu Śacīnandana danced in the center. 200 Eight *mṛdaṅga* drums played, and thirty-two *karatāla* cymbals; the sound of "Hari" arose, and the Vaiṣṇavas said, "Excellent!" 201 That most auspicious sound of *kīrtana* which arose filled the fourteen worlds and pervaded the universe. 202 The people who dwelt at Puruṣottama came to see, and when they saw the *kīrtana* the Oḍiyā people were dumbfounded.

203 Then Prabhu circumambulated the temple; and as he circumambulated it he danced. 204 Before and behind him sang the four groups, and when he fell down, Nityānanda Rāya supported him. 205 His tears and gooseflesh and trembling and sweat and shouting—seeing these manifestations of *prema* the people were struck with wonder. 206 Tears flowed from his eyes like a stream from a fountain and the people all around him were wet. 207 Prabhu danced about [the temple] for some time; stopping in back of the temple he performed *kīrtana*. 208 In all four directions the four groups sang in loud voices, and amongst them Gaura Rāya danced like Śiva. 209 Having danced for a long time, Prabhu became quiet, and commanded the four *mahāntas* to dance. 210 Advaita Ācārya danced in one group, and in another one Nityānanda Rāya. 211 Paṇḍita Vakreśvara danced in another one, and Śrīvāsa within the next. 212 Mahāprabhu remained watching in their midst, and there one of his divine powers became manifest. 213 Many people danced and sang all around, and all saw that "Prabhu is looking at me." 214 Prabhu wanted to see the dance of all four, and because of that desire he manifested his divine power. 215 Each one thought that he was looking only at him, absorbed in his gaze; how he could look in all directions cannot be known. 216 It was as when Kṛṣṇa was in the center, at the *pulīnabhojana*, and all around his companions said—"He is looking towards me." 217 Whoever came nearby while dancing, Mahāprabhu gave him a deep

200. *Mṛdaṅga*: a kind of two-headed drum; *karatāla*: small cymbals, but in this version, two blocks of wood—each containing 16 cymbals in rows of four (in a manner reminiscent of the cymbals on a tambourine)—are clapped together by inserting the fingers in one block and the thumb in the other.

203. *Pradaṅga kariyā*: circumambulated, keeping the temple to his right.

205. For the signs of *prema*, see text and commentary 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; 2.23.31-32.

208. *Tāṇḍavan nṛtya kare*: like Śiva.

209. Four *mahāntas*: Advaita, Nityānanda, Vakreśvara, and Śrīvāsa.

214. *Aiśvarya*: divine power.

216. The *pulīnabhojana* was a picnic on the river bank which Kṛṣṇa and his cowherd friends had; they were all sitting in a circle around him, and he in the center. This particular manifestation of divine power is also familiar from the *rāsa-līlā*.



embrace. 218 Seeing this great dance, great *prema*, great *saṁkīrtana*, the people of Nīlacala floated in the joy of *prema*. 219 Gajapati Rājā, having heard the *kīrtana*, climbed to the roof of his palace with his people and watched. 220 Seeing the *saṁkīrtana*, the *rājā* was astonished, and his desire to meet Prabhu grew infinitely. 221 When the *kīrtana* was finished, Prabhu watched the offering of flowers, and then with all the Vaiṣṇavas came to his dwelling place. 222 The temple servant brought and gave them much *prasāda*; dividing it, Śvara distributed it to all. 223 He bade farewell to them all, telling them to go to bed; such was the *līlā* of Śaī's son. 224 As many days as they were all with Mahāprabhu, they performed the delight of *kīrtana*. 225 So the *kīrtana-vilāsa* has been related; and he who hears it becomes the servant of Caitanya.

226 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

221. *Puṣpāñjali*: the offering of flowers to the feet of Jagannātha.

## Madhya Līlā Chapter 12

Śloka 1.

That Gaura, having washed and cleansed with his followers the temple of Śrī Guṇḍicā, and having made it cool as his own mind, made it fit for receiving Kṛṣṇa.

1 Glory, glory to Mahāprabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, glory, glory to Nityānanda, glory to the auspicious Advaita. 2 Glory, glory to Śrīvāsa and the other Gaura-bhaktas. Give me power, that I might describe Caitanya.

3 When Prabhu came back from the south to the east, the Gajapati was most desirous of meeting him. 4 From Kaṭaka he sent a letter to Śārvabhauma: "If it is the wish of Prabhu, I shall go to see him." 5 Bhaṭṭācārya wrote that Prabhu did not permit it; and again the *rājā* sent a letter to him: 6 "As many *bhaktas* as there are near Prabhu, approach them all on my behalf. 7 They are all merciful, and being merciful to me they will petition the feet of Prabhu. 8 By the grace of them all, I shall be joined with the feet of Śrī Prabhu. For without the mercy of Prabhu, this kingdom is nothing to me. 9 If Gaurahari does not give his grace to me, I shall abandon the kingdom and become a beggar; I shall give up my life." 10 When Bhaṭṭācārya saw the letter he was amazed, and he took it to the *bhaktas*. 11 Meeting with them all, he described the king, and afterwards he showed the letter to them. 12 When they saw the letter, all were astonished,

Śloka 1. Guṇḍicā: at the time of the Car Festival (*ratha-yātra*), Jagannātha is taken from his own temple, and spends a few days at another one, called the Guṇḍicā temple. This place is empty the year round, except for those few days, and thus becomes dirty and full of dust and trash. Also, as the festival comes in the hot weather, it was necessary to make the temple cool with water, comfortable for the deity. Caitanya and his *bhaktas* every year, as long as he lived, cleaned the Guṇḍicā temple for Jagannātha to occupy.

4. Kaṭaka: Cuttack.

9. [The outcome of this vow has been anticipated in 2.11.23. TKS]



so great was the *bhakti* of Gajapati for the feet of Prabhu. 13 They all agreed, "Prabhu will never meet him; and when we speak about it, he will be pained." 14 Śārvabhauma suggested, "Let us all go at once; we shall not speak about a meeting, we shall speak of the behavior of the king."

15 So saying, all went to the place of Mahāprabhu; all were anxious to speak, but did not speak a word. 16 Prabhu said, "Have you all come to say something? I see that you want to speak, why don't you speak?" 17 And Nityānanda said, "We want to petition you; if we do not speak we cannot bear it, yet there is fear in our hearts to speak. 18 We all wish to make known to you a matter [both] good and evil. If he does not meet you, the king wants to become a *yogi*." 19 When he heard this, the heart of Prabhu became softened, though outwardly he spoke harsh words. 20 "This is what you all want—'Take all of us and go to Kāṭaka to meet the king.' 21 Matters of my aims aside, people will condemn [me]. And people aside, Dāmodara will rebuke [me]. 22 I shall not meet with the king, as you all request. If Dāmodara tells me, then I shall meet him." 23 Dāmodara said, "You are the non-dependent *Īśvara*. What should be done and what should not be done, all this is known to you. 24 Should I, an insignificant creature, give you instruction? But you will meet him of your own accord, and I shall see it. 25 For the king loves you, and you are conquered by love. By his love, he will make you touch him. 26 Even though you are *Īśvara*, and completely non-dependent, still by nature you are dependent on others through *prema*." 27 And Nityānanda said, "Is there such a man who can say to you—'Go and meet the king!'" 28 But the nature of passionate people is always this: if they do not get the object of their desire, they give up their lives. 29 The proof of this is the *yājñika brāhmaṇa* woman, who gave up her life before her husband, for the sake of Kṛṣṇa. 30 Thus I advise you, if you pay heed; there

21. The *dharma* of a *saṁnyāsin* is to remain aloof from worldly things; this is Caitanya's aim (*paramārtha*). Śvarūpa Dāmodara, as has been pointed out before, was a very outspoken man, not at all afraid to rebuke and chastise Caitanya for what he considered impropriety.

23. *Svatantra*: non-dependent.

25. *Vaśa*: controlled, conquered; see 1.4.216; 1.7.138; 1.17.71, *śl.5*.

26. *Parama-svatantra*: utterly non-dependent.

29. The story is this: after Kṛṣṇa had stolen the clothes of the *gopīs* while they were bathing, Kṛṣṇa returned the clothes to them and they went home. Then Kṛṣṇa and the cowherd boys returned to tending the cattle, and as the cattle grazed and the boys played in the forests, they found themselves on the bank of the Yamunā, where they watered the cattle. The boys were hungry, and asked Kṛṣṇa what they should do. He told them that nearby there was a *brāhmaṇa* who was conducting a sacrifice (*yājñika*), and that they should go and in Kṛṣṇa's name ask for food. This they did, but no one paid them any attention. Kṛṣṇa then told them to go and ask the wives of the

is a way to save his life, even if you do not meet with him. 31 If then, being merciful, you give an outer garment and send it to him, his life is saved by faith in you."

32 Prabhu said, "You are all most wise. That which is appropriate, you decide."

33 Then Nityānanda Gosvāmī [went] to Govinda, and asked for and took an outer garment of Prabhu. 34 That outer garment he gave to Śārvabhauma, and Śārvabhauma sent the cloth to the king. 35 When he received the garment, the heart of the king was overjoyed, and he made *pūjā* to the garment, as if it were Prabhu himself.

36 When Rāmananda Rāya came from the south, he requested the king to allow him to stay with Prabhu. 37 Then the king, in delight, gave him the permission and began to try for a meeting of his own. 38 "Mahāprabhu has great mercy towards you; try to arrange a meeting with him for me." 39 When the two came together at Kṣetra, Rāmananda Rāya met Prabhu. 40 At the feet of Prabhu he made him know of the *prema-bhakti* of the king, and he spoke thus on the subject again and again. 41 Rāmananda was the minister of the king, and skilled in such procedures; and speaking of the love of the king, he melted the heart of Mahāprabhu. 42 Pratāparudra in his anxiety was not able to restrain himself, and he pleaded with Rāmananda about the meeting with Prabhu. 43 Rāmananda submitted this request at the feet of Prabhu, "Show your feet to Pratāparudra once." 44 And Prabhu said, "Rāmananda, make this judgment. Is it proper for [me], a *saṁnyāsin*, to meet a king? 45 For in a meeting with a king comes the destruction of both worlds for a mendicant; apart from the next world, people laugh at him [in this]." 46 Rāmananda said, "You are the non-dependent *Īśvara*. You are dependent on no one; whom then do you fear?" 47 Prabhu said, "I am human, I am a *saṁnyāsin* by *āśrama*; and I have fear about my actions of body, mind, and speech. 48 Everyone talks of the tiniest fault of a *saṁnyāsin*; an ink-spot is not able to hide on a white cloth." 49 Rāya said, "How many sinners have you saved; Gajapati is a servant of *Īśvara*, and your *bhakta*." 50 Prabhu replied, "As no one touches a jar full of milk into which a drop of wine has fallen, 51 so it is with Pratāparudra: though he possesses all

*brāhmaṇas*, for the women loved him much. Hearing that Kṛṣṇa was nearby, the wives of the *brāhmaṇas* became greatly agitated, and prepared much food and went off to bring it to Kṛṣṇa. But there was one woman whose husband did not allow her to go, and kept her in the house. She loved Kṛṣṇa greatly, and locked in the house she embraced Kṛṣṇa in meditation, and while she was doing that, died of her love.

36. See 2.11.11-23.

47. *Manuṣya*: human.



qualities, the name 'rāja' stains him. 52 Still, if you have such great suffering, then bring his son to meet with me. 53 'One's self is his son'—this is the word of the śāstras; in my meeting with his son it will be as if he himself is meeting me."

54 Then Rāya said all that to the rāja, and according to the order of Prabhu, he brought his son. 55 The son of the rāja was a beautiful boy, dark in color, of adolescent age, with long and lively eyes. 56 He wore a yellow garment, and on his limbs were ornaments and jewels: he was reminiscent of Kṛṣṇa. 57 When he saw him, Mahāprabhu was reminded of Kṛṣṇa; and welcoming him in a delirium of love, he began to speak. 58 "This is a great bhāgavata, by the sight of whom all people are reminded of Vrajendranandana. 59 I have become fulfilled by the sight of him." And so saying, again he embraced him. 60 At the touch of Prabhu, the prince became ecstatic with prema, and had all the signs—sweat, trembling, tears, and stupor. 61 He cried out 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa' and danced, weeping aloud; and seeing his good fortune, the bhaktas praised him. 62 Then Mahāprabhu calmed him down, and gave this command, "Come daily to see me." 63 Then Rāya took his leave and came [to the rāja] with the rāja's son. When he saw his son's condition, the rāja was most glad. 64 Embracing his son, he was overcome with prema, as if he had gained the touch of Mahāprabhu in the flesh. 65 From that [time], the son of the mahārāja was fortunate, and he became one among the bhaktas of Prabhu.

66 In this way Mahāprabhu, in the company of his bhaktas, always played in the delight of saṅkīrtana. 67 Ācārya and the other bhaktas invited him, and the bhaktas fed him in their places. 68 In this way, many days passed in various delights, and the day of the Car Festival of Śrī Jagannātha came. 69 First, Prabhu brought Kaśī Mīśra, and summoning the temple servant, he also brought Sarvaabhauma. 70 To the three men Prabhu spoke laughingly, and asked permission to serve and cleanse the Guṇḍicā temple. 71 The temple servant said, "We are all your servants; that which is your wish is our duty. 72 And a special order of the rāja has come to me, that that which is Prabhu's wish shall be quickly done. 73 Cleansing of the temple is not proper service for you; but this

60. For the signs of prema, see 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; 2.23.31-32.

64. Saksat: in the flesh, manifest before one's very eyes.

73. Rādhāgovinda Nātha suggests that it was in fact appropriate work, for three reasons: Caitanya's bhāva was multiple, and as a bhakta, such service as this would be appropriate; as Bhagavān, that service in which love is primary, love in this case for the bhaktas, would be appropriate; and as Rādhā, such service would be appropriate.

is a līla which is in your heart. 74 Many waterpots and brooms are needed; give me the command, and I shall bring these here today." 75 Then the temple servant brought a hundred waterpots and a hundred brooms, all new, and put them before Prabhu.

76 The next morning Prabhu took his own people, and anointed the bodies of all with sandal paste, with his holy hands. 77 And with his holy hands he gave each one a broom; and taking them all, Prabhu himself went. 78 They went to the Guṇḍicā temple to clean it; first taking a broom, he swept it. 79 Within the temple and on top of it, they all swept; sweeping the lion-throne they cleaned all four sides. 80 Within the temple they swept and purified, and afterwards in the same way they cleaned the Śrī Jagamohana. 81 On four sides, a hundred bhaktas swept; and himself sweeping, Prabhu taught them all. 82 In the joy of prema he purified the house and took the name of Kṛṣṇa; and the bhaktas said 'Kṛṣṇa' and did their own work. 83 His body, gray with dust, was beautiful to see, and he cleansed various places with the water of his tears. 84 He cleansed the bhoga-maṇḍapa and the courtyard, and gradually he cleansed the whole house. 85 He brought together in one place the grass and dust and broken vessels, and took them outside in his outer garment, and threw them away. 86 This the bhaktas too did with their own garments—in great joy they tossed out the grass and dust. 87 Prabhu said, "By the proof of the grass and dust I shall know exactly how much each has cleaned." 88 He had them all put the piles of sweepings in one place—Prabhu's was the biggest of all.

89 In this way they cleansed the inner parts [of the temple]; and again he apportioned [work] to all: 90 "The tiniest bits of grass and dust and sand—take them all away. Cleanse well all the inner quarters of the Lord." 91 With all the Vaiṣṇavas then he cleansed it a second time, and when he saw it, there was joy in the heart of Mahāprabhu. 92 A hundred people, carrying a hundred clay waterpots, were waiting for the proper time, having brought them beforehand. 93 And when Mahāprabhu said, "Bring the water," they brought the hundred waterpots and put them before Prabhu. 94 Then Prabhu washed the temple, the roof, the floor, the walls, and the lion-throne within the house. 95 Filling the pots, he splashed water upwards, and with that water the upper walls were washed. 96 Thus first Prabhu cleaned the temple; with his holy hands he cleansed the lion throne. 97 The bhaktas washed within the house, and with their own hands they cleaned the temple. 98 Some gave pots of water to Mahāprabhu, and some,

80. The jagamohana is the part of the temple outside the inner sanctum.

84. The bhoga-maṇḍapa is where food is prepared and taken.



pretending [to do that], poured water on his feet. 99 And some, secretly, drank that water. Some begged for it, some gave it to others. 100 Having washed the room, they put the water down a drain, and with that water the whole courtyard was filled. 101 With his own garment Prabhu cleansed the house; Mahāprabhu with his own garment cleansed the lion throne. 102 With a hundred clay pots of water the temple was cleansed, and he made the temple as pure as his own heart. 103 He made the temple stainless and cool and pleasant, as if he had pulled out his own heart.

104 Hundreds and hundreds of people bore water from the tank; there was no room at the landing steps, so some took water from the well. 105 Hundreds of *bhaktas* came, bringing full vessels, and hundreds of others went, carrying empty pots. 106 Nityānanda, Advaita, Svarūpa, Bhāratī, and Purī—except for these, all the others carried water. 107 Many of the clay pots were broken, because of striking one against the other, for people came there carrying hundreds upon hundreds of pots. 108 Filling them with water, they washed the room, and made the sound of Hari's name. 109 Nothing else was heard, except for the sound of 'Kṛṣṇa, Hari!' They said 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa' as they passed the waterpots, and as they asked for waterpots they said 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa.' 110 Whatever they said, they said in the name of Kṛṣṇa; the name of Kṛṣṇa was implicit in all their work. 111 Under the control of *prema*, Prabhu repeated the name 'Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa,' and out of *prema* he did the work of a hundred people. 112 It was as if with a hundred hands he washed and cleaned; and he went beside each man and instructed him. 113 Seeing good work, he commended it; if it was not according to his liking, he made a holy reprimand, 114 "You have done well, teach others, that they do good work like this." 115 When they heard this, all were much ashamed, and all put their minds to doing work well.

116 Then Prabhu cleansed the Śrī Jagamohana, and then the eating place. 117 He washed the dancing hall and the sacrifice courtyard, and the kitchen and the rest—he washed it all. 118 He cleaned all four sides of the temple, and caused the whole interior to be washed well. 119 At that time a man from Gauḍa, honest and intelligent, put water from a pot on the feet of Prabhu. 120 Taking that water, he drank it himself. Seeing that, Prabhu was sorrowful and angry in his heart. 121 Even though the Gosvāmī was happy with him, for the sake of teaching others he put on a show of anger. 122 He brought Svarūpa Gosvāmī and said to him, "See the conduct of your man of Gauḍa. 123 In the temple of Īśvara

109. Among the Vaiṣṇavas it is common practice to call the attention of someone to something by saying the name of Kṛṣṇa.

he washes my feet, and taking the water he drinks it himself. 124 Because of this offence what will be the outcome for me, when your man of Gauḍa performs such an infamous act?" 125 Then Svarūpa Gosvāmī put his hand on his shoulder, and giving him a shove he sent him outside the place. 126 Coming again, he entreated at the feet of Prabhu, "It would be gracious to forgive this error of ignorance." 127 Then Mahāprabhu was delighted in his heart. He caused everyone to sit on two sides in rows. 128 He himself sat in the middle. With his own hands he began to collect grass and thorns and straw. 129 "As much as anyone collects I shall gather together in one place. We shall take our *piṭha* and *panā* from him who collects the least." 130 In this way he cleaned the whole place; he made it cool and stainless as his own heart. 131 When he cleared the drains the water flowed, like a new river flowing to the sea.

132 In this way, as many paths as there were before the gates of the city, he cleansed them all. Who can describe it all? 133 He cleansed inside and out the temple of Nṛsiṃha, and resting for a little while he began to dance. 134 All around the *bhaktas* made *kīrtana*, and in the midst of them Prabhu danced like a drunken lion. 135 Sweat and trembling and pallor and tears and goose-flesh and shouting—streams of tears flowed down before him, cleansing his own limbs. 136 And they washed the limbs of the *bhaktas* all around him, as rain from the clouds in the month of Śrāvaṇa. 137 The sky was filled with great loud *saṅkīrtana*, and the earth trembled with the wild dancing of Prabhu. 138 Prabhu always liked the loud singing of Svarūpa, and Gaura Rāya danced madly in joy. 139 In this way they danced for some time, and Prabhu rested when he understood that it was time. 140 The son of Ācārya Gosvāmī was named Śrī Gopāla; Bhagavān told him to dance. 141 In his dance, under the control of *prema*, he fainted, and fell unconscious to the ground. 142 Immediately Ācārya Gosvāmī took him into his lap; seeing that he did not breathe, he was overcome with grief. 143 He recited the *mantra* of Nṛsiṃha and threw water on him; with the sound of his cries the universe was rent. 144 He did many things, but [his son]

125. "The place" is *purī*; it does not refer to the city, which at this time was not called by that name.

129. I.e., that individual will have to provide food for everyone. This is a curious proposition, however, because many of the devotees would seize the opportunity to feed the group as an act of humility and devotion; here it seems to be proposed more as an incentive to ensure the temple is completely cleaned.

133. There is a temple of Nṛsiṃha near the Guṇḍica-mandira.

135. See commentary to v. 60 above.

136. Śrāvaṇa: the fourth month of the Bengali calendar, July-August.



did not regain consciousness; Ācārya wept, and all the *bhaktas* wept. 145 Then Mahāprabhu put his hand upon his breast, and in a loud voice said, "Arise, Gopāla." 146 When he heard this, Gopāla became conscious; saying "Hari," all the *bhaktas* danced. 147 Vṛndāvana Dāsa has described this *līla*; thus I have touched on it only briefly.

148 Then Prabhu rested for a while, and played with the *bhaktas* in the waters of the lake. 149 Getting up on the bank, they dressed in dry clothes. Having made obeisance to Nṛsiṃhadeva, they went into the grove. 150 Prabhu sat down in the garden with his *bhaktas*, and Vāṇīnātha came bringing *prasāda*. 151 Kāśī Mīśra and the temple servant named Tulasī, these two brought as much food as five hundred people could eat. 152 They sent so much rice and *piṭha* and *pāṇa* that seeing it Prabhu's mind was delighted. 153 Purī Gosvāmī, Mahāprabhu, Bhāratī Brahmananda, Advaita Ācārya and Nityānanda Prabhu, 154 and Ācāryaratna, Ācāryanidhi, Śrīvāsa, Gadādhara, Śaṅkarāraṇya, Nyayācārya, Raghava, and Vakreśvara were there. 155 And receiving the request of Prabhu, Sārvabhauma himself sat there. Prabhu was seated on a low wooden stool in the company of all these *bhaktas*. 156 Others sat around him according to their ranked order. Filling the garden the *bhaktas* sat down to eat. 157 Prabhu loudly called "Haridāsa." But Haridāsa kept his distance and made this request, 158 "You take the *prasāda*, Prabhu, with your *bhaktas*; it is not proper for me to sit with them, for I am a vile man. 159 Afterwards Govinda will give me *prasāda* outside." Knowing his mind, Prabhu did not ask him again. 160 Svarūpa Gosvāmī, Jagadānanda, and Dāmodara, Kāśīśvara, Gopīnātha, Vāṇīnātha and Śaṅkara— 161 these seven served him. From time to time the *bhaktas* made the sound of Hari. 162 As Kṛṣṇa had formerly feasted on the riverbank, Mahāprabhu remembered that *līla*. 163 Even though overcome with *prema*, Prabhu was anxious, understanding the proper time, he made his mind calm. 164 Prabhu said, "Give me *lapharā*-curry, and give to the *bhaktas* *piṭha* and *pāṇa* and nectarous sweets." 165 Understanding all, Prabhu knew exactly what each one liked, so he had Svarūpa serve him that. 166 Jagadānanda moved among them to serve them; he suddenly put good things on Prabhu's [banana] leaf. 167 When he had given him these things, Prabhu was angry with him; he said, "He has given me this by trickery, but when he gives it he is happy." 168 And again he came, [to see if] he had eaten those things; for fear of him, Prabhu ate a little bit. 169 For if he did not eat, Jagadānanda would fast, so he ate a little

147. In fact, it does not appear in any of the CBh editions we have consulted. The commentary to the GM edition confirms this.

of what was in front of him, with this fear in his mind. 170 Svarūpa Gosvāmī took some fine sweet-*prasāda*, and bowing before him he requested Prabhu [to eat it]. 171 "Taste a little of this *mahāprasāda*; see, Jagannātha has eaten from it." 172 With gentle cajoling he placed a little in front of him. Prabhu would then eat a little out of his love of him. 173 In this way the two came again and again; wonderful was the manner of the love of these two.

174 Prabhu had seated Sārvabhauma by his own side, and seeing the affection of the two *bhaktas*, Sārvabhauma smiled. 175 And Prabhu fed the best *prasāda* to Sārvabhauma again and again, for he loved him. 176 Gopīnāthācārya brought the finest *mahāprasāda*, and giving it to Sārvabhauma he said in most beautiful words, 177 "Where is the former meaningless way of the Bhaṭṭācārya; and where is this highest joy? Please explain." 178 Sārvabhauma responded, "I was a deluded philosopher; but by your grace [I have] attained this my goal. 179 Except for Mahāprabhu there is none other full of grace, for who is there who can thus make a crow into Garuḍa? 180 With that mouth which used to bay with the pack of the jackals of sophistry, I now say always the name of 'Kṛṣṇa Hari.' 181 Where [previously] was the companionship of the pupils of philosophy who argue with faces averted [from Kṛṣṇa], now are the waves of the sea of nectar of your company." 182 Prabhu said, "Your love for Kṛṣṇa was already attained, and your companionship has become the way to Kṛṣṇa for all of us." 183 Thus to cause the greatness of the *bhaktas* to increase, and to give them pleasure, there was none like Mahāprabhu in the three worlds.

184 Then Prabhu called each *bhakta* by name, and causing them to be given *piṭha* and *pāṇa* he distributed *prasāda*. 185 Advaita and Nityānanda sat in one place, and a mock dispute broke out between them. 186 Advaita said, "I eat together in the same row with an *avadhūta*; who knows what my fate will be? 187 Prabhu is a *saṁnyāsīn* and for him there is no loss; there is no *doṣa* for a *saṁnyāsīn* in the food-*doṣa*. 188 'No fault attaches [to a *saṁnyāsīn*] because of

177. "Where are these two things in relation to one another?"

179. Garuḍa: the divine bird, vehicle of Viṣṇu.

186. Nityānanda was a *haṁsāvadhūta*, who, according to the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* 8.283, among other things wear signs neither of caste nor *āśrama* (e.g., *saṁnyāsa*). Advaita, as a *brāhmaṇa*, is wondering (sarcastically?) what fault will accrue to him.

187. For a person of high caste to eat with an untouchable is a fault (*doṣa*) with respect to food (*annadoṣa*). But a casteless *saṁnyāsīn* can take food with anyone at any time and in any place, and no *doṣa* attaches to him.

188. *Nānndoṣeṇa maskart*: no *doṣa* attaches to a *saṁnyāsīn* because of food; *Samnyāsa Upaniṣad* 72.



food—this is proven in the *śāstras*. But I am a householder *brāhmaṇa*, and this is a *doṣa* for me. 189 Whose family and birth, whose nature and conduct I do not know—[being] with him in the same row is highly improper.” 190 Nityānanda said, “You are Advaita Ācārya; the performance of pure *bhakti* is hindered by the *advaita*-doctrine. 191 Whoever is associated with your doctrine, except for a single component, knows no second. 192 I am eating together in the same place with such as you; I do not know of what sort is [my] fate for associating with you.” 193 In this way the two argued, and they railed ironically against each other. 194 Then Prabhu called all the Vaiṣṇavas by name, and caused them to be given *prasāda*, distributing the nectar of his grace. 195 And all began to eat, singing the name of Hari, and the sound of Hari rose, filling the earth and the sky. 196 Then Mahāprabhu put garlands and sandalwood on all his own *bhaktas* with his holy hands. 197 Then Svarūpa and the others—those who were distributing the food—sat within the house and ate *prasāda*. 198 Govinda kept carefully the remains of Prabhu’s food, and took it and gave it to Haridāsa. 199 The *bhaktas* begged for a little of this food from Govinda, but Govinda kept it to himself.

200 Prabhu, the self-dependent Īśvara, thus played many games; this *līlā* is called “the washing and cleaning.” 201 On another day was the festival of Jagannātha called “*netrotsava*.” It was a great festival, like life itself for the *bhaktas*. 202 The people were saddened, for they had no sight of Prabhu for a fortnight; on [the festival day] they were overjoyed, for they had a sight of Jagannātha. 203 Mahāprabhu in happiness took all his *bhaktas*, and went for

190. *Siddhānta*: doctrine, conclusions.

191. *Eka-vastu*: single component, essence, matter. Nityānanda is saying that Advaita is a teacher of the *advaita* philosophy, monism, and that belief in monism is an obstacle to *bhakti*; for if one believes in the unity of *atmān* and *brahman* (n), there can be no *bhakti*. *Bhakti* implies a difference between the two; if there were no difference, worship could not take place. Rādhāgovinda Nātha is constrained to find double meanings in all of this. Here, for example, he says that Nityānanda is praising Advaita, saying that Advaita and his followers know only Kṛṣṇa and no other. Rādhāgovinda Nātha, himself a good *bhakta*, cannot bear the thought that there were differences of opinion between Advaita and Nityānanda, despite the fact that this seems to be historically undeniable (PHM, 88-89).

199. Govinda would not part with the *prasāda* since it was set aside especially for Haridāsa.

201. *Netrotsava*: for a few days after the bath or Bathing Festival (*snāna-yātrā*), no one can have *darśana* of Jagannātha; during this time the image is being clothed and decorated. On the day before the *ratha-yātrā*, the image is given eyes (*netra*), and the time is called the “*netrotsava*,” “the festival of the eyes.” From this time on, the image can be seen again.

202. Prabhu: Lord Jagannātha.

*darśana* of Jagannātha. 204 Kāśīśvara went before him and dispersed the people, and behind him Govinda went, bearing a pot of water. 205 Purī and Bhārati went before Prabhu, and Svarūpa and Advaita walked at his sides. 206 And beside him and behind him came the other *bhaktas*; impatiently they went to the house of Jagannātha. 207 In their anxiety for *darśana* they transgressed respect, and went to the eating room to have a sight of the sacred face. 208 The eyes of Prabhu were like thirsty bees [alighting] on the glittering cheeks, drinking deep and strong at the lotus-face of Kṛṣṇa. 209 His eyes conquered the blooming lotus, his cheeks glittered like beauty mirrored in blue jewels. 210 The beautiful color of his lips conquered that of the flower of the *bandhulī*; the glory of his slight smile was a wave of nectar. 211 The honey of the beauty of this holy face grew moment after moment, and the bees which were the eyes of crores and crores of *bhaktas* drank there. 212 As much as they drank, still their thirst grew endlessly; their eyes could not leave the lotus of his face for an instant. 213 In this way Mahāprabhu with his *bhaktas* had *darśana* of the holy face until noon, 214 and sweat and trembling and streams of tears flowed constantly. Despite his lust for *darśana*, Prabhu restrained himself. 215 From time to time he ate and from time to time had *darśana*, and at the time of eating Prabhu performed *saṅkīrtana*. 216 In the joy of *darśana*, Prabhu forgot everything, and at midday the *bhaktas* took Prabhu with them. 217 Knowing that “in the morning will be the Car Festival,” they all fed him twice [the usual] amount of food. 218 Thus I have briefly related the *līlā* of the cleaning of the Guṇḍīca temple, hearing and seeing which sinners became Kṛṣṇa-*bhaktas*.

219 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lies at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the “nectar of the acts of Caitanya,” the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.

204. The water was for Caitanya to wash his feet before entering the temple.

207. Having *darśana* from the eating room, the *bhoga-maṇḍapa*, is the right of no one.

210. [*Bandhulī*: *Ixora bandhuca*, a crimson flower which blooms year round, but especially in the monsoon season; it is also popularly called “*dupahariya*” because of its tendency to open its blossoms about two watches (*prahara*) per day, i.e., about six hours. TKS]

214. I.e., he restrained himself from going there all the time. “Lust”: *lobha*.



Madhya Līlā  
Chapter 13

Sloka 1.

Who danced before the most beautiful chariot [of Jagannātha], and at whose dance all the inhabitants of the world and Śrī Jagannātha himself were astonished, he is Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, unto whom be victory.

1 Glory, glory to Śrī Caitanya, glory to Nityānanda, glory to Advaitacandra and to the hosts of Gaura-bhaktas. 2 And glory to you who listen, and listen single-mindedly, for Prabhu's dance at the Car Festival is most enchanting.

3 The next day Mahāprabhu, being diligent, rose up while it was still night, and with his followers performed the morning ablutions. 4 He then went to see the *paṇḍu-vijaya*; for Jagannātha had left his throne and started on his journey. 5 Pratāparudra himself, with his ministers, was among the followers of Mahāprabhu to see the *vijaya*. 6 With Advaita, Nityānanda and the rest, in happiness Mahāprabhu saw the coming forth of Īśvara. 7 There were the powerful personal attendants [of Jagannātha], strong as mad elephants, who with their hands brought Jagannātha out for the *vijaya*. 8 Some personal attendants supported him by his shoulders, and some held his holy lotus feet. 9 A thick strong silken rope was tied to his waist, and holding this, the attendants lifted him up from two sides. 10 There were high, thick cotton cushions spread all around in various places, and they moved him from one cushion to another

4. *Paṇḍu*, Apabhraṃśa for Oriya *paṇḍanti*, teaching a child to walk by holding it by the hand and around the waist. *Paṇḍu-vijaya*: bringing the huge image of Jagannātha out of the temple and putting on the car. The path from the throne to the car is covered with cushions filled with cotton, and Jagannātha's attendants take him, down and move him from cushion to cushion.

7. *Dayita*: "beloved ones," the intimate personal attendants of Jagannātha.

one. 11 By a blow from the foot of Prabhu a cotton cushion was broken; the cotton all blew away, and the sound was deafening. 12 Who has the strength to cause Viśvambhara Jagannātha to move? By his own desire he went on his pleasure-trip. 13 Mahāprabhu cried out "*Mañimā*" in a loud voice, and there was the tumultuous noise of many instruments, and nothing else could be heard. 14 Then Pratāparudra performed his personal service: with a golden broom he swept the path. 15 He moistened the path with water and sandalwood; he performed these menial tasks, [even though] he sat on the royal lion-throne. 16 Though he is elevated, the king performs menial services, and thus is a receptacle for the grace of Jagannātha. 17 Seeing these services, Mahāprabhu was delighted, and because of those services [the king] gained the grace of Mahāprabhu. 18 Seeing the decorations of the car, the people were astonished, for the new car, covered with gold, was like Sumeru. 19 There were hundreds and hundreds of white fly-whisks, and shining mirrors, and on top, hundreds of flags and stainless canopies. 20 Gongs reverberated, tiny bells tinkled, and even larger bells were struck; the car was decorated with many wonderful silken cloths.

21 In *līlā*, Īśvara mounted his car, and in two other cars Subhadrā and Haladhara rode. 22 For fifteen days, Īśvara had been with Mahālakṣmī, and had had sport with her in private. 23 With her consent, to give the *bhaktas* pleasure, he came outside, and mounted on his car to take the journey. 24 The path of fine white sand was like a beach, and on both sides were gardens, and it was all like Vṛndāvana. 25 Jagannātha mounted his chariot and came forth, and looked with joyful mind to both sides as he moved. 26 All the people of Gauḍa pulled the car, in joy, and sometimes it moved swiftly, and sometimes slowly, 27 and sometimes it remained stationary—although pulled it would not move.

11. The movement of the image from one cushion to the next makes it seem as if it is walking. Prabhu: Jagannātha.

13. *Mañimā*: an Oriya word meaning "lord of the world" (Jagannātha).

14. It is traditional, and remains so today, for the *mahārāja* of Puri to sweep the path in front of the image, a gesture of homage and devotion.

19. *Cāmara*: fly-whisks, here emblems of royalty or divinity.

20. *Ghaḡara*: a kind of gong; *kiṅkiṇī*: a small tinkling bell, usually tied around the waist; *ghaṇṭā*: large bells.

21. Haladhara: the plow holder, Balarāma the brother of Jagannātha (Kṛṣṇa); Subhadrā: Jagannātha's sister.

22. It is said that during the fortnight when Jagannātha is in isolation, after his bath, he is making love with Mahālakṣmī.

24. Clean white sand is spread along the route which the car is to take.



For the car moved by the will of Īśvara, and the strength of no [man] could move it.

28 Then Mahāprabhu, taking all his own people, with his own hands decked them all with garlands and sandalwood paste. 29 Paramānanda Purī and Brahmananda Bhārati, receiving the sandalwood from the holy hands, swelled with joy. 30 Advaita Ācārya and Prabhu Nityānanda, both, at the touch of the holy hands, were filled with joy. 31 He gave garlands and sandalwood to the *kīrtanīyās*, of whom Svarūpa and Śrīvāsa, these two, were chief. 32 There were twenty-four singers in four groups, and two *mṛdaṅga* drum players with each—making eight individuals in each group. 33 When Mahāprabhu made up his mind, he divided the singers into the four groups. 34 Nityānanda, Advaita, Haridāsa, and Vakreśvara—he commanded these four to begin the dance. 35 In the first group he made Svarūpa the head, and he gave him five people for his songs of praise: 36 Dāmodara, Nārāyaṇa, Govinda Datta, Raghava Paṇḍita, and Śrī Govindānanda. 37 Then he instructed Advaita Ācārya to dance. He assigned Śrīvāsa to another group as chief, 38 [with] Gaṅgādāsa, Haridāsa, Śrīman, Subhānanda, and Śrīrama Paṇḍita; and Nityānanda danced with them. 39 Where Vasudeva, Gopinātha, and Murāri sang, he made Mukunda the chief of this group; 40 Śrīkanta and Vallabha Sena were the other two, and Haridāsa Ṭhākura danced there. 41 He made Govinda Ghoṣa the chief of another group, in which Haridāsa, Viṣṇudāsa, and Raghava sang. 42 [The group] in which the two brothers, Raghava and Vasudeva, were, Vakreśvara Paṇḍita danced there. 43 There was a [fifth] group of *kīrtanīyās*, from Kulīnāgrama, and Rāmananda and Satyārāja danced with them. 44 A [sixth] group was formed of the Ācārya's people from Śāntipura; Acyutānanda danced among them while they all sang. 45 Elsewhere, a [seventh] group from Khaṇḍa sang *kīrtana*; Narahari danced there, and Śrī Raghunandana. 46 Before Jagannātha the four groups sang, then one on each side of the car, and one behind it. 47 And in seven groups fourteen drums played, at the sound of which the Vaiṣṇavas became like madmen. 48 The splendor of the holy Vaiṣṇavas was like storm clouds in the rainy season, and the water of their eyes rained down with the nectar of *saṅkīrtana*. 49 The sound of *saṅkīrtana* rose up and filled the three worlds, and the sound of no other instruments, nothing else, could be heard. 50 And wandering among the seven groups Prabhu said 'Hari Hari,' and raising his hands cried 'Jaya jaya Jagannātha!' 51 And Prabhu manifested another power, for at one time he

47. *Pāgala*: mad.

51-52. Reminiscent of Kṛṣṇa multiplying himself with the *gopīs* in the *rāsa* dance.

sported with seven groups. 52 Everyone said, 'Prabhu is with this group; he does not go to another because of his mercy to me.' 53 No one was able to notice this, for the power of Prabhu is incomprehensible. The *antaraṅga-bhakta* knows it, for he has pure *bhakti*. 54 Seeing the *kīrtana* Jagannātha was delighted; he stopped the car to watch it.

55 And Pratāparudra was greatly amazed; and as he watched the king became paralyzed, filled with *prema*. 56 The king spoke to Kaśī Mīśra of the greatness of Prabhu, and Kaśī Mīśra said, "Your good fortune is boundless." 57 The king and Sarvabhauma made gestures to one another; no one else knew the subtlety of Caitanya. 58 On whom is his grace, he is able to know. Except for his grace, Brahmananda and the rest cannot know. 59 Seeing the menial service of the king, Prabhu's mind was delighted; and because of that grace [the king] gained this secret *darśana*. 60 He did not show him in an obvious way, for his grace is invisible; who is able to understand this *māyā* of Caitanya? 61 Sarvabhauma and Kaśī Mīśra, these two, when they saw this grace granted to the king, were astonished. 62 Prabhu carried on this kind of *līla* for some time, and he himself sang while his *bhaktas* danced. 63 Now he was a single form, and now he was many forms; according to the occasion Prabhu manifested his *śakti*. 64 Because of his absorption in the *līla*, Prabhu did not search himself; but knowing his desire, he acted according to his *līla-śakti*. 65 As formerly he performed the *rāsa* and other *līlās* in Vṛndāvana, so Gaura from time to time performed unworldly *līlās*. 66 The *bhaktas* experienced it, but no one else, and the proof of that is the holy *Bhāgavata śāstra*.

67 In this way Mahāprabhu danced in delight, and caused all the worlds to float on a wave of *prema*. 68 And in this way went Kṛṣṇa's ascent to his chariot, before which Prabhu caused all his followers to dance. 69 You heard previously of the Guṇḍica procession of Jagannātha, and how Prabhu danced before him. 70 In this same way Prabhu performed *kīrtana* for some time, and because of his own zeal he caused the *bhaktas* to dance. 71 When Prabhu made up his mind

53. *Antaraṅga*: "intrinsic," here a *bhakta* who has been perfected, who has gained the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa.

57. *Curi*: "subtlety," literally "thievery," and Rādhāgovinda Nātha remarks: Caitanya could be with all seven groups at the same time, and hiding this incomprehensible power from everyone, is his *curi*. As in v. 59 below, he did not hide this from the king, nor from Sarvabhauma or Kaśī Mīśra.

60. *Sakṣat*: obvious, immediate, in the flesh, right before one's eyes.

64. I.e., Caitanya himself was not aware of doing this, of being one form and many forms in many places at the same time; the desire to do this was in him, and so it was done, as it had been done before in Vṛndāvana, in the *rāsa* and other *līlās*. See 2.11.216 and commentary.

66. *BhP* 10.33.3.



to dance, he brought together all seven groups into one place. 72 Śrīvāsa, Rāma, Raghu, Govinda, Mukunda, Haridāsa, Govindānanda, Mādhava, and Govinda—73 when Prabhu thought to do the *uddaṇḍa* dance, he gave these nine to Svārūpa, 74 and the ten of them ran and sang with Prabhu, while the other groups stood on all four sides and sang. 75 Making obeisance, Prabhu put his two hands together, and with uplifted face he looked at Jagannātha and praised him.

Sloka 2. Viṣṇu Purāṇa 1.19.65:

Obeisance to Kṛṣṇa, Govinda, the Brahmanya-deva, beneficent to cows and *brāhmaṇas*, benefactor of the world.

Sloka 3. Mukundamālā 3:

Glory, glory to the god, son of Devakti; glory, glory to Kṛṣṇa, the light of the lineage of Viṣṇu; glory, glory to him, color of the dark cloud, of delicate limbs; glory, glory to him, Mukunda, the hope of the laden earth.

Sloka 4. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.90.48:

Glory to him, who is the refuge of creatures, who took birth from Devakti, whose followers were the Yādavas, and who with his arms drove out the unrighteous, who takes away the sorrow of all things moveable and immoveable, who with his beautiful smiling face awakens the desires of the women of Vraja.

Sloka 5. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī 74 [anonymous]:

I am neither a *brāhmaṇa* nor a king of men, neither a *vaiśya* nor a *śūdra*, neither a *brāhmācārya* nor a *gṛhastha*, neither a *vanaprastha* nor a *saṁnyāsin*, but I am a lowly servant of a servant of a servant of the lotus feet of the lord of the *gopīs*, who is a sea of nectar filled with the pure and highest joy made manifest.

76 Reciting these verses, he again made obeisance, and with palms together the *bhaktas* also bowed to Bhagavān. 77 In his *uddaṇḍa* dance Prabhu let out great shouts; spinning like a wheel he danced in a circle, he seemed like burning coal.

73. *Uddaṇḍa*: the distinctive dance with arms upraised and body stiff.

Sloka 2. Also found in *Mahābhārata*, *śānti-parvan* 47.94.

Sloka 5. *Brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* (= *narapati*, king of men), *vaiśya*, *śūdra* are the four *varṇas*, social divisions. *Brāhmācārya* (religious student), *gṛhastha* (householder), *vanaprastha* (forest dweller), and *saṁnyāsin* (ascetic renouncer) are the *āśramas* or stages of life.

78 In the dance, whenever Prabhu's footsteps fell, the earth with its mountains and its oceans trembled. 79 Paralysis, sweat, gooseflesh, tears, trembling, pallor—and in various *bhāvas* he was proud and humble, joyful and sad. 80 He fell violently to the earth, and writhed there like a golden mountain. 81 Nityānanda Prabhu extended his two hands, and others came running from all sides to hold Prabhu. 82 Behind Prabhu, the Ācārya shouted out, and Haridāsa said 'Hari bol!' over and over again.

83 There were three circles to restrain the people; in the first circle was Nityānanda, a very strong man. 84 Kāśīśvara and Govinda and many other *bhaktas*—with linked hands they formed the second screen. 85 The outermost one was Prataparudra and his subjects; forming a circle they screened out the people. 86 With his hand resting on the shoulder of Haricandana, the king in amazement watched the dance of Prabhu. 87 At the same time Śrīnivāsa, with his mind overcome with *prema*, stood in front of the king watching the dance of Prabhu. 88 Haricandana saw Śrīnivāsa in front of the king, and with his hand he touched him and said, "Move to one side." 89 Absorbed in watching the dance, Śrīvāsa knew nothing else. Again and again he pushed him, and anger came into [Śrīvāsa's] mind. 90 He stopped him, giving him a slap with his open hand. And receiving that slap, Haricandana became angry. 91 Becoming angry, he wanted to say something to him, but Prataparudra himself prevented him, 92 "You are most fortunate, having received the touch of his hand. My fortune is not so great. You have been crowned with success."

93 Seeing the dance of Prabhu, the people were astonished. Others aside, the joy of Jagannātha was boundless. 94 He made his car stop; it did not move forward, and with steadfast gaze he watched the dance. 95 There was delight in the hearts of Subhadrā and Balarāma, and seeing the dance there were smiles on the holy faces of them both. 96 In the *uddaṇḍa* dance Prabhu was wonder-

79. For the signs of *prema*, see text and commentary to 2.2.62; 2.8.135; 2.19.154-55; 2.23.31-32. A nice description can be found below in vv. 96-105.

83-86. [The concentric rings are consistent with the architectonics of the *maṇḍala*, especially the meditational *yogapīṭha*, in the Gaudīya tradition, for Caitanya and Nityānanda are in the center as the object of worship or meditation (Gaura-Nitāi), their more intimate companions (those in the *sakhya-bhāva*) surround them, with those less intimate and who must watch from the distance, (those in the *dāsyā bhāva*, such as the king) forming the distant outer ring. TKS]

86. Haricandana was presumably one of the attendants of the king.

88-89. The names Śrīvāsa and Śrīnivāsa are here, and elsewhere in the text, interchangeable.

96. See v. 79 commentary above.



fully transformed; there arose the eight *sattvika bhāvas* at the same time. 97 His body hair stood on end, with gooseflesh, he was like a *śimult* tree covered with thorns. 98 And seeing the trembling of each of his teeth, the people were afraid that all his teeth would loosen and fall out. 99 All over his body sweat flowed, and with it blood came forth; and in a choked voice he uttered "jaja gaga jaja gaga." 100 His tears flowed like a stream of water from a fountain, and drenched the people standing all around him. 101 The lustre of his body seemed sometimes pale golden, and sometimes like the color of the dawn, and sometimes like the color of the jasmine. 102 Sometimes Prabhu was motionless, and sometimes he fell to the earth; his hands and feet were like dried sticks, and would not move. 103 Sometimes, fallen to the earth, he was devoid of breath, and when they saw this the hearts of the *bhaktas* withered. 104 Sometimes the tears of his eyes flowed and the mucus of his nose ran, and there was froth on his mouth, like streams of nectar falling from the moon. 105 Śubhananda took that froth and drank it, maddened with *prema* for Kṛṣṇa; he was a fortunate man.

106 In this way he performed the *tanḍava*-dance for some time, and then a special *bhāva* entered into the heart of Prabhu. 107 Leaving his *tanḍava*-dance he gave instructions to Svarūpa; and Svarūpa, knowing what was in his heart, began to sing.

108 "I have gained him who is the lord of my heart,  
for whom I have been seared by the fire of *kāma*."

109 Dāmodara sang this refrain in a loud voice, and in joy Īśvara began the graceful dance. 110 Slowly Jagannātha moved forward, and before him moved dancing the son of Śacī. 111 With their eyes on Jagannātha, everyone danced and sang; with the *kīrtanīyās* Prabhu walked backwards. 112 The heart and the eyes of Prabhu were absorbed in Jagannātha, and with his hands he acted out the song. 113 If Gaura did not go forward, Śyāma was motionless. When Gaura went forward, Śyāma too moved slowly forward. 114 In this way Gaura and

97. *Simult*: the silk cotton tree, which when it blooms produces wispy strands of a silky fiber that can be carded and used for pillow stuffings for those willing to brave its thorny collection.

99. He was stuttering out the first two syllables of Jagannātha's name.

101. The *mallikā*, often called Arabian jasmine in the West (*Jasminum zambac*), is pure white; some MSS here read "pallid" (*vaivarnya*).

106. *Tanḍava*: the frenzied dance of Śiva.

113. Śyāma: Jagannātha. The play between the two is also the play between Kṛṣṇa (Śyāma, "the dark one," Jagannātha) and Rādhā ("the golden one," Gaura, Caitanya).

Śyāma drew one another mutually; Gaura was very powerful, and stopped Śyāma in his car.

115 While he was dancing, Prabhu entered into another *bhāva*, and raising his hands he recited a *śloka* at the top of his voice.

*Śloka* 6 Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Padyavali* 382 [anonymous]:

He who stole my virginity on the banks of the Revanadi is now my husband. The nights of [the month of] Caitra are fragrant with the scent of blooming jasmine, and the wind like honey is blowing from the *kadamba* grove. And I, the same *nāyikā*, absorbed, in that joy, am here. Even so, my heart is not at ease; it longs constantly for the foot of the *Vetasī* tree on the banks of the Reva.

116 Mahāprabhu recited this *śloka* again and again, and except for Svarūpa no one understood the meaning of it. 117 I have expanded previously on the meaning of it; let me give a brief explanation of the *bhāva* and its meaning. 118 As formerly all the *gopīs* in Kurukṣetra, gaining sight of Kṛṣṇa, were gladdened, 119 so that same *bhāva* arose in Prabhu when he saw Jagannātha, and immersed in that *bhāva* he caused the refrain to be sung. 120 And finally Rādhā made this petition to Kṛṣṇa, "You are as you were, I am as I was, at that first meeting, 121 and so Vṛndāvana steals my heart. So cause your feet to appear there. 122 Here there are vast crowds of people, and elephants, and horses, and the sound of chariots; there, in the forest of flowers, we listen to the sound of nightingales and bees. 123 Here you are in the dress of a king, and all companions *kṣatriyas*; there you are Kṛṣṇa with the flute to his mouth, with the *gopas*. 124 That happiness which I taste with you in Vraja, there is not a drop of that sea of happiness here. 125 Have *līlā* again with me in Vṛndāvana, and then the desire of my heart will be fulfilled!" 126 This speech of Rādhikā is in the *Bhāgavata*. I have described it formerly in a *sūtra*.

127 So under the control of that *bhāva*, Prabhu recited the *śloka*, and no one knew what the meaning of the *śloka* was. 128 Svarūpa Gosvāmī knew, but he told no one else. Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī explained it in another way. 129 With

115. From the *śloka*, it was the Rādhā-*bhāva* into which he entered.

*Śloka* 6. See 2.1.16; 3.1.17. This *śloka* is also found in *Kāvya-prakāśa* 1.4 and Viśvanātha's *Sahityadarpaṇa* 1.10.

117. See ante, 2.1.70-73.

126. *BhP* 10.82.48. See ante 2.1.70-73.



Svarūpa he tasted the meaning of it; and in the midst of the dance he recited this *śloka*.

*Śloka 7. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.82.48:*

O lotus-aveled one, your lotus feet are the sole support for people fallen into the pit of the world, and always the object of meditation in the hearts of deeply concentrating *yogēśvaras*; may you be always in the hearts of your serving-maids.

- 130 "Of others the heart is *hṛdaya*,  
of me the heart is *Vṛndāvana*;  
I know my heart and the forest as one.  
There if you make  
your feet appear  
then I acknowledge the fullness of your mercy.
- 131 O Lord of my heart! Hear my true prayer!  
Vraja is my residence,  
there is my union with you,  
if I do not find you, my life will not remain. [refrain]
- 132 Formerly, by means of Uddhava,  
and now, face to face, to me  
you explain the means of *yoga* and *jñāna*.  
You are clever and learned and full of grace,  
you know my heart.  
These things should not be told to me.

*Śloka 7. See 2.1.51.8.*

130. This is the start of a *tripadi* section; the rhyme scheme is aab ccb. *Hṛdaya* means "heart"; here the line means "the hearts of others are within their breasts." "The forest" (*vana*) is *Vṛndāvana*. *Kṛṣṇa* has gone away, leaving the *gopīs* in a state of longing.

132. *BhP 10.82.46:* *Kṛṣṇa* is the five material elements, the essence of which can be known (*jñāna*) by a *gopī* who is disciplined; therefore she knows that *Kṛṣṇa* is always with her, in these elements which are also her makeup. But it is not of *Kṛṣṇa* as the cause of all things, the refuge of all things, that Rādhā wants to hear. Uddhava was the unwitting messenger sent by *Kṛṣṇa* to the *gopīs* to try to persuade them that even though he had gone, they were not really apart, to which the *gopīs* scoffed and heaped abuse on the head of Uddhava and *Kṛṣṇa* in their famous *bhramara-gītā* or song of the bee in *BhP 10.47*.

- 133 Having snatched my mind from you,  
I try to attach it to worldly things;  
no matter how hard I try I cannot snatch it.  
Teach meditation to such a one  
and you make people laugh;  
you make no distinction between proper and improper places.
- 134 A *gopī* is not an adept at *yoga*,  
[who] at your lotus feet  
would meditate and so gain joy.  
The dexterity of your speech  
and its clever fraudulence—  
hearing it the anger of the *gopīs* grows still more.
- 135 For one who does not remember his body,  
where is the pit of the world?  
He does not want liberation from it.  
[We are] in the waters of the ocean of *viraha*  
in the maw of the *timīṅgala* of desire—  
take the *gopīs* to its other shore.
- 136 *Vṛndāvana* and Govarddhana  
and the groves on the banks of the Yamunā,  
in those bowers of the *rāsa* and other *līlas*,  
the people of Vraja in Vraja,  
mother and father and friends,  
how could you forget those wonderful pictures?
- 137 You are charming and sweet and true,  
principled, affectionate, gentle,  
there is no hint of a fault in you.  
Though such is your heart  
you do not remember the people of Vraja;  
that is our unhappy fate.

133. Meditation is the primary ingredient of *yoga*; she tries to wrench her mind away from meditation on him. Because she has no control over her mind she cannot be taught *yoga* properly; she is therefore an improper "place" or vessel to receive such teaching.

135. *Kṛṣṇa* has said: meditation on my lotus feet will save those who are fallen into the pit of the world. But it is the desire for the satisfaction of the self that drags one down into this pit. The *gopīs* do not consider their own bodies, but long only for the satisfaction of *Kṛṣṇa*; therefore they are not fallen into the pit and need no such salvation. The *gopīs* have not fallen into the pit of *samsāra*, but are drowning in the ocean of the pain of separation from *Kṛṣṇa*, and are being eaten by the sea-monster (*timīṅgala*) of passionate longing for him. From this they need to be saved.



- 138 We do not count our own sorrow,  
[but] seeing the face of Vrajeśvarī,  
breaks the hearts of the people of Vraja.  
You neither kill the women of Vraja,  
nor make them live [by] coming to Vraja;  
why do you keep us alive to bear this sorrow?
- 139 That you are in other dress,  
or in another country, with other friends,  
could never be borne by the people of Vraja.  
They cannot leave the earth of Vraja,  
and if they do not see you they die.  
What other way is there for the people of Vraja?
- 140 You are the life of Vraja,  
you are the wealth of the heart of Vraja,  
you are all the wealth of Vraja.  
Your heart is tender and merciful,  
come and save your people of Vraja;  
put your feet on the way to Vraja."
- 141 Hearing these words of Rādhikā  
there came to his heart love for Vraja,  
and his heart brimmed with emotion.  
Hearing of the *prema* of the people of Vraja,  
he acknowledged his own debt,  
and consoled her and gave her hope.
- 142 Dear to my heart, hear these true words of mine:  
In the memory of all of you  
I am dissolved day and night;  
nobody knows my sadness. [refrain]
- 143 "All the women who dwell in Vraja,  
and my mother, father, and friends,  
all are like my own heart.

138. Vrajeśvarī: Kṛṣṇa's foster-mother Yaśodā.

- Among these the *gopīs*  
are my very life;  
and you are the life of that life.
- 144 The *prema-rasa* of all of you  
has conquered me,  
and I am only your servant.  
Making me abandon you,  
and taking me to a far land  
and keeping me there is a powerful and adverse fate.
- 145 A beloved without her lover,  
a lover without his beloved,  
cannot live—this truth is proven.  
When she hears of my condition,  
she will also be in that condition,  
and in this fear both continue to live.
- 146 Such is the pure woman who truly loves,  
and such is the lover of her who truly loves;  
those who long in separation are in a condition of pure love.  
They do not count their own sorrows,  
but long for the happiness of the beloved;  
the two will be united soon.
- 147 To preserve your lives  
I pray to Nārāyaṇa;  
It is by his power that I always come.  
And having played with you,  
I go each day to Yadupurī;  
but you consider it an apparition of me.
- 148 By my good fortune, for me  
your *prema* is such;  
that *prema* is very strong.  
It brings me secretly to you,  
it causes me to be with you,  
and soon will bring me openly.

145. One cannot live without the other; but both think, "If I die, the other will hear of it, and will want also to die." So because of the fear of paining the other, each continues to live.

147. Kṛṣṇa says that he really comes each day to be with the *gopīs*, and each day departs; but the *gopīs* consider it only a dream. It is the *prema* of Rādhā which brings him there.



- 149 Enemies of the Yādavas,  
evil associates of Kāṁsa,  
I have destroyed them all.  
There are a few more,  
and having killed them, to Vṛndāvana  
I shall return; know that for certain.
- 150 From those enemies  
to preserve the people of Vraja,  
I remain, indifferent to my kingdom.  
Wife and sons and wealth—  
I keep this external screen  
to make the Yādus happy.
- 151 By the qualities of your *prema*  
I am drawn,  
and within a few days it will bring me here.  
When again I come to Vṛndāvana,  
with you and the dear ones of Vraja  
I shall sport day and night.”
- 152 So to her spoke Kṛṣṇa,  
thirsting to go to Vraja,  
and he recited a *śloka* to her.  
Hearing this *śloka* Rādhā,  
all doubts dispelled,  
was confident of gaining Kṛṣṇa.

*Śloka 8. Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10.82.44:*

*Bhakti* alone to me leads to immortality for all beings. It is most fortunate that love toward me has been born in you, gaining myself.

153 Sitting in his room with Svarūpa, Prabhu used to taste all these meanings day and night. 154 And at the time of the dance, engrossed in this *bhāva*, reciting a *śloka*, he would dance while gazing at the feet of Jagannātha. 155 The good fortune of Svarūpa Gosvāmī cannot be described, for his mind and speech

150. The role of Kṛṣṇa as great king, as destroyer of enemies and protector of the Yādava people, is not the one which satisfies him. He longs always for the love of Rādhā and the *gopīs* in Vraja, and it is ultimately for their benefit that he carries on this royal role.

*Śloka 8.* See 1.4.31.3; 2.8.31.20.

and body were absorbed in Prabhu. 156 The senses of Prabhu were [identical] with the senses of Svarūpa, and in this absorption he tasted the songs. 157 Controlled by *bhāva*, Prabhu sometimes sat upon the ground, and with his forefinger he wrote on the ground, his face cast down. 158 ‘His finger will be cut’—thinking this Damodara in fear held Prabhu’s hand with his own. 159 The songs of Svarūpa were matched to the *bhāva* of Prabhu; whatever *rasa* arose, he gave it form. 160 Seeing the holy lotus face of Śrī Jagannātha, and in it his two beautiful eyes, 161 the face glittering in the rays of the sun, his garlands and clothing and ornaments pure and fragrant, 162 there rose up in the heart of Prabhu a sea of joy, and there rose up at that same time a windstorm of madness. 163 In the madness of joy there rose up waves of *bhāva*; an army of many *bhāvas* swelled the battlefield. 164 The surging up of *bhāvas* and the calming down of *bhāvas*; *sandhi*, *śavalya*, *sañcārī*, *sattvika*, *sthāyī*—there was a surging up of all of these. 165 The body of Prabhu was like a mountain of pure gold; it was like a tree of the flowers of *bhāva*, on which all the flowers were in bloom. 166 Seeing this, the hearts and minds of the people were attracted, and with a rain of the nectar of *prema*, Prabhu nourished all of them. 167 Servants of Jagannātha, and ministers of the king, and pilgrims, and those who lived in Nīlācala 168 were astonished when they witnessed the *prema* of the dance of Prabhu. And Kṛṣṇa-*prema* arose in the hearts of all of them. 169 In *prema* the people sang and danced and raised an uproar, and all were sunk in bliss when they saw the dance of Prabhu. 170 Why speak of others—Jagannātha and Haladhara, when they saw the dance of Prabhu, moved slowly forward in delight. 171 And sometimes in delight, they stopped the cars, to see the beauty of the dance; those who saw this delightful thing are witnesses to it.

172 In this way Prabhu went on dancing, and suddenly began to fall before Prataparudra. 173 With reverence Prataparudra caught Prabhu. When Prabhu

156. *Indriya*: the senses, i.e., sight, touch, and the rest. Svarūpa felt exactly the same sensations that Caitanya felt, and thus could understand and appreciate the *bhāvas* in which Caitanya found himself.

159. Being able to understand and appreciate Caitanya’s *bhāvas*, Svarūpa knew what songs to sing at what time, to please and soothe Caitanya.

162. *Unmāda-jhañjhāvāyu*: “windstorm of madness.”

164. *Bhāvaśānti*: calming down; Rūpa’s *BhRS* [*daśina-vibhāga, sthāyibhāva-lahart*] 2.5.1-2. For *sañcārī-bhāva*, see 2.8.135 commentary; for *sattvika-bhāva*, see 2.2.62 commentary; for *sandhi śavalya*, see 2.2.64 commentary. *Sthāyī-bhāva* is that “permanent” condition in which all the *bhāvas* which are opposed are brought under control and those which are not opposed are enhanced: as ruling is to the condition of kingship. Also see commentary to v. 79 above.

173. *Bahyajñāna*: external consciousness.



saw him he regained his external consciousness. 174 When he saw the king Mahāprabhu reproached him, "Alas, one concerned with worldly things has touched me." 175 Nityānanda, overcome, was not paying heed, and Kāśīśvara and Govinda were in another place. 176 When he saw the king doing the work of lower people, he was delighted and wanted to meet him. 177 But to caution his own people, Bhagavān displayed externally a semblance of anger. 178 At the words of Prabhu fear arose in the heart of the king. Sarvabhauma said, "Do not be uncertain. 179 For Prabhu is pleased with you in his heart. He is teaching his own people, using you as an example. 180 When the opportunity arises I shall intercede with him. Go and meet him at that time."

181 Then Mahāprabhu circumambulated the car, and from behind he put his head against it. 182 And when he put his head against it that car moved creaking. From the people all around the sound "Hari, Hari!" arose. 183 Then Prabhu took his own *bhaktas* and began to dance in joy before Baladeva and Subhadrā. 184 Having danced there they came before Jagannātha, and gazing at Jagannātha began to dance. 185 The car moved and came to Balagaṇḍi, where Jagannātha stopped the car and looked to the right and to the left. 186 On the left there was *vipraśāsana*, the grove of coconut trees, and on the right a garden of flowers like Vṛndāvana. 187 Before him danced Gaura with his *bhaktas*, and keeping the car stopped, Jagannātha watched them. 188 It was a custom that he enjoy food in that place, and there Jagannātha tasted a crore of sweetmeats. 189 As many servants great or small as there were of Jagannātha, each presented his favorite food. 190 The king, and the women of his house, and his ministers and friends, and residents of Nīlācala, great or small, 191 and residents of that country and pilgrims from other lands, each offered his own food. 192 Before and behind and on both sides, in the grove and flower-garden, those who were there made offerings, in no special order. 193 At the time of the feeding there was a great crowd of people. Leaving his dancing, Mahāprabhu went into the grove. 194 Under the control of *prema*, Prabhu went to the grove, and in the garden of flowers, in the yard of the house, he fell to the ground. 195 He was exhausted from his dancing, and his body was sweating heavily, and the cool, scented wind refreshed him. 196 Many *bhaktas* and *kīrtanīyas* came to the garden and rested, at the foot of each of the trees.

197 In this way the great *saṅkīrtana* of Prabhu has been described, and how there was dancing before Jagannātha. 198 The description of the dance of Mahāprabhu before the car is also in the "Caitanyaṣṭaka" of Rūpa Gosvāmin.

192. I.e., in no order of caste ranking or social status.

*Śloka 9. Rūpa Gosvāmin's Stavamāla, caitanyaṣṭaka 1.7:*

Shall I see that Caitanya again, surrounded by all the singing Vaiṣṇavas, dancing transported in waves of *prema*, on the path in front of the Lord of Nīlācala in his car?

199 Whoever hears this gains Gauracandra; he gains *prema-bhakti*, with profound faith.

200 Kṛṣṇadāsa, whose hope and faith lie at the feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha, tells of the 'nectar of the acts of Caitanya,' the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*.



## Madhya Līla Chapter 14

Śloka 1.

That Gaura, watching with his own people the Śrī Lakṣmī-vijaya festival, and listening to the happiness of the *gopī-rasa*, overjoyed with *prema*, danced.

1 Glory, glory to Gauracandra Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, glory, glory to Nityananda, and glory to the great Advaita. 2 Glory, glory to Śrīvāsa and the other Gaura-*bhaktas*, and glory to those who listen, the wealth of whose hearts is Gaura.

3 In this way Prabhu was overcome with love; at that time Prataparudra entered. 4 At the suggestion of Sārvabhauma he had put aside his royal dress; he came alone to that place in the dress of a Vaiṣṇava. 5 With palms together he asked leave of all the *bhaktas*, and boldly fell and held the feet of Prabhu. 6 With his eyes closed, Prabhu lay on the earth in *prema*; the king quickly clasped his feet. 7 He praised him, reciting a *śloka* of the *rāsa-līla*, and reciting the section which begins "*jayati te'dhikam*." 8 When he heard this, the delight of Prabhu was boundless, and in a loud voice he said "speak, speak" again and again. 9 The king then recited the "*tava kathāmṛtam*" *śloka*, and Prabhu raised him up and embraced him, overcome with *prema*. 10 "You have given me a priceless jewel; I have nothing to give but an embrace." 11 So saying, he repeated the *śloka* again and again, and the limbs of them both trembled, and their eyes filled with tears.

3. While the car was waiting at Balagaṇḍi, Caitanya and his followers entered a nearby garden to rest. It was to that garden that the king came. *Āveśa*: overcome, possessed.

7. *BhP* 10.31.19, the *śloka* which describes that section of the *rāsa-līla* when Kṛṣṇa had disappeared from the *gopīs* and they, searching for him, find him again on the banks of the Yamunā.

9. *Śloka* 2, below.

Śloka 2. *Bhagavata Purāṇa* 10.31.9:

Those are the givers of great wealth, who celebrate the glorious nectar of your story, pervading everything, a blessing to the ears, destroying evil, giving life to the afflicted, and celebrated by poets.

12 Saying "*bhūrida bhūrida*," he embraced him; but he did not wonder who he was. 13 He had seen his service before, and so gave his mercy to him; without inquiring, he gave the blessing of his mercy. 14 For see: the grace of Caitanya is very powerful. Without inquiring of him, he made him fulfilled. 15 Then Prabhu said, "Who are you, who did such good to me? You suddenly came and gave me the nectar of Kṛṣṇa-līla to drink." 16 The king said, "I am a servant of your servant. Make me a slave of your slave—this is my hope." 17 Then Mahāprabhu showed to him his glory, and forbade him to speak of it to anyone. 18 Prabhu knew that he was the king, but did not reveal it. In his heart he knew everything, though externally he feigned indifference. 19 The *bhaktas* saw the good fortune of Prataparudra, and all praised the king, with gladdened hearts. 20 Bowing, the king went outside, having paid his respect to the *bhaktas* with palms pressed together.

21 Prabhu with his *bhaktas* performed the midday rituals, and Vāṇīnātha came, bringing *prasāda*. 22 The king had sent great quantities of *prasāda* through Sārvabhauma, Rāmananda, and Vāṇīnātha. 23 The *prasāda* of the food-offerings in Balagaṇḍi was of finest quality and endless; and *niskāḍi prasāda* came, and there was no end of it. 24 There were curds and sherbet, *peḍa*, mangoes, coconuts and jackfruit, many kinds of bananas, and palm-seeds; 25 and sweet limes, tangerines, lemons, oranges, and *bijapūra* fruits, and nuts and dried dates,

12. *Bhūrida*: "givers of great wealth."

13. I.e., the humility of the king in sweeping the path before the image.

17. *Aiśvarya*: glory, divine sovereignty. Murāri Gupta's account (*KCC* 4.16.13-15) differs somewhat; he has the revelation made only after the king has had three dreams, after which he goes to Caitanya and sees his six-armed divine form, in two arms of which are bow and arrows, in two others the flute, and the other two holding a dancing posture. Murāri also does not say that the revelation took place in the garden. Kavikarṇapūra's *CCN* 8.70-72 perfectly concurs with this account by Kṛṣṇadāsa. [It is not insignificant that Caitanya chooses to reveal his *aiśvarya* or sovereign divinity rather than his *mādhurya* or loving sweetness to the king. Divine revelation adapts itself to the individual's personal needs, so sovereign majesty is most appropriate. All prior and subsequent passages regarding Caitanya's displays to the king always use the term *aiśvarya*. TKS]

23. *Niskāḍi*: fruits, etc.—food which does not include dal, rice, bread, and vegetables; many of these are listed below. They are identified where possible.



grapes, and bunches of preserved dates, 26 and sugarplum sweets and the rest—[sweets of] a hundred kinds, *amṛtaguṭika* and other [sweets], of unequalled sweetness. 27 There was *amṛtamaṇḍa*, *chānā-baḍā*, and *karpūrakulī*, *sarāmṛta*, *sarabhājā*, and *sarapulī*, 28 *harivallabha*, *sevati*, *karpūra*, and *mālātī*, *dalima*, *maricalāḍu*, *nabāta*, and *amṛti*, 29 *padmacini*, *candrakanti*, *khajā*, and *khaṇḍa-sāra*, *biyaḍī*, *kadamā*, and *tilā*—these varieties of *khajā*. 30 There was raw sugar molded as leaved trees with flowers and fruits—orange and sweet lime and mango tree shapes. 31 There was milk and curd and *dadhitakra*, and *rasālā* and *śikharinī*, *salabaṇa-mudgaṅkura*, ginger of various kinds, 32 *nebukolī* and various other preparations of the kind—I cannot describe how many kinds of *prasāda* there were. 33 Half the grove was filled with *prasāda*, and when he saw it the heart of Mahāprabhu was gladdened. 34 ‘Jagannātha eats in this way’—by the happiness of this the eyes of Mahāprabhu were refreshed. 35 Several *donās* of *keyā* leaves were brought, and ten *donās* were given to each person, and one [large] leaf. 36 Gaura Rāya knew the fatigue of the *kīrtanīyās*, and his mind ran to feeding them all. 37 He seated all the *bhaktas* in rows, and he himself began to serve them. 38 But if Prabhu did not eat, no one would eat, so Svarūpa Gosvāmī entreated him, 39 “Seat yourself, Prabhu. Eat. If you do not eat, no one can eat.” 40 So Mahāprabhu sat with his people, and caused them all to eat until they were full to the throat. 41 When he had eaten, Prabhu rinsed his mouth. There was *prasāda* remaining, and a thousand people ate. 42 At the order of Prabhu, Govinda brought poor people and fed them. 43 And seeing the delight of the poor people with the food, Gaurahari commanded them to say ‘Hari bol.’ 44 Saying ‘Hari, Hari,’ the poor people floated in *prema*; such was the wonderful *hīla* of Gaura Rāya.

45 Now was the time for the moving of the car of Jagannātha. All the people from Gauḍa pulled it, but it did not move forward. 46 Not being able to draw it, all the people from Gauḍa abandoned it. And the king with his ministers and friends came there eagerly. 47 He himself, with great wrestlers, tried to move the car, but they could not pull it. 48 The anxious king then brought rut elephants, and attached them to the car to move it. 49 The rut elephants pulled

26-29. These various kinds of sweets do not seem to have any equivalents in English.

31. *Rasālā*: milk thickened with the addition of sugar, camphor, and other substances. *Salabaṇa-mudgaṅkura*: the shoots of a particular pulse, with citrus added.

35. A *donā* is a kind of cylinder made out of leaves, in which food is put to be carried; ten of these *donās* were given to each person, and one large leaf from which to eat.

45. Jagannātha had been resting at Balagaṇḍī; the time had come to move him forward to the Guṇḍica.

with all their strength—the car did not budge one foot; it remained motionless. 50 Hearing of this, Mahāprabhu came with his own people, and saw the rut elephants pulling the car being beaten. 51 The elephants were screaming at the goads in their bodies, but the car did not move, and the people were astonished. 52 Then Mahāprabhu ordered all the elephants to be freed, and with his own people he began to pull on the rope by which the car was drawn. 53 He himself got behind the car and put his head against it, and the car began to move creaking forward. 54 The *bhaktas*, with their hands on the rope, merely ran forward; he himself made the car move, they did not draw it. 55 In great delight the people made the “*jaya jaya*” sound; “*Jaya Jagannātha*” filled the air, and nothing else could be heard. 56 In an instant the car moved to the gate of the Guṇḍica; seeing the power of Caitanya the people were amazed. 57 “*Jaya Gauracandra, Jaya Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya*”—the people raised a great tumult. 58 Seeing this, was Prataparudra with his ministers and friends; witnessing the greatness of Prabhu, *prema* blossomed forth in their bodies.

59 Then all the people performed the *paṇḍā-vijaya*, and Jagannātha came and sat on this own throne. 60 Subhadrā and Baladeva came to their thrones, and Jagannātha bathed and began to eat. 61 Mahāprabhu with his followers [came] into the courtyard, and in joy Prabhu began the dancing and the *kīrtana*. 62 The *prema* of Mahāprabhu began to swell in joy, and seeing it all the people floated in an ocean of *prema*. 63 After dancing, in the evening they watched the *ārati*, and Prabhu came to the Āiṭoṭā [garden] to rest.

64 Advaita and other *bhaktas* gave him invitations; nine of them won his presence for nine days. 65 The rest of the *bhaktas* for the four months of the monsoon apportioned out the time one day each. 66 The chief *bhaktas* divided up all the days of the four months, and the rest of the *bhaktas* got no opportunity. 67 On one day two or three together would give him an invitation, and in this way went the invitation-play of Mahāprabhu. 68 In the morning, having bathed, he would go to see Jagannātha, and with his *bhaktas* he would perform *saṅkīrtana* and dance. 69 Sometimes Advaita, sometimes Nityānanda, sometimes Haridāsa danced, and sometimes Acyutānanda. 70 Sometimes Vakreśvara, sometimes other *bhaktas*, and in the evening they had *kīrtana* in the courtyard of the Guṇḍica.

59. They moved Jagannātha from the car into the Guṇḍica temple; see 2.13.4.

63. *Ārati*: waving of lights in front of the image.



71 Prabhu realized that "Kṛṣṇa has come to Vṛndāvana"; and the manifestation of his *viraha* from Kṛṣṇa was dispelled. 72 His Kṛṣṇa-līla with Rādhā was in his consciousness, and Prabhu was himself immersed in the *rasa* of this. 73 And with his *bhaktas* in various gardens, in his Vṛndāvana-līla, in the lotus ponds of the Indrayumna he played in the water. 74 He splashed water at all the *bhaktas*, and the *bhaktas* splashed water all around. 75 Sometimes in one group and sometimes in many, they all played clapping their hands and slapping them flat on the water. 76 In twos they began a water-battle, and Prabhu watched [to see] who won and who lost. 77 Advaita and Nityānanda threw water at each other, and the Ācārya, being beaten, then abused [him]. 78 Vidyānidhi had a water-fight with Svarūpa, and the pair, Gupta and Datta, had a water-battle. 79 Gadādhara played in the water with Śrīvāsa, and Rāghava Paṇḍita with Vakreśvara. 80 Rāmananda Rāya played with Sarvabhauma—the dignity and solemnity of both disappeared, and they became like children. 81 Mahāprabhu, seeing the giddiness of both of them, laughing a little said to Gopīnāthācārya, 82 "Both of them are proved in wisdom and gravity, yet they are acting as silly as children; tell them to give it up." 83 Gopīnātha said, "Your mercy is a great sea; when you make it swell up, one drop of it 84 drowns the mountains of Meru and Mandara. They become as tiny foothills, what more is there to say of them? 85 Those whose lives have been passed with the dry fodder of philosophical argument, you have caused to drink the nectar of *līla*, this is your mercy." 86 Smiling then Mahāprabhu summoned Advaita, and made him lie down on the water, as the couch Śeṣa. 87 And he laid himself upon him; Prabhu manifested the *līla* of the reclining on Śeṣa. 88 And Śrī Advaita, manifesting his own power, floated away on the water with Mahāprabhu. 89 In this way they played in the water for some time, and came back to Āiṭṭa, Prabhu with his *bhaktas*.

71. The Guṇḍica temple, with its gardens, seemed to Caitanya like Vṛndāvana; the coming of Jagannātha to that place seemed to him like the coming of Kṛṣṇa from Mathurā to the gardens of Vṛndāvana.

73. Kṛṣṇadāsa expresses his own view of the identity of the Vṛndāvana and the Puri-līlas: one is never entirely sure whether Caitanya is Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana or himself in Puri. He is, of course, both at once. The water-play with his *bhaktas* is the water-play of the *gopīs* in Vṛndāvana.

75. "Play" here is "to make sound," as a musical instrument. *Jala-maṇḍuka-bādyā* is making noise by the slapping of the hands on the surface of the water.

86-87. Śeṣa, the great serpent, formed the couch for Nārāyaṇa as he lay upon the cosmic waters. [This is one of the few places Kṛṣṇadāsa is inconsistent in portraying individuals in a theological light, for Nityānanda as Ananta Śeṣa would routinely be cast in this role. TKS]

90 Pūrī and Bhārati and others of the chief *bhaktas*, went to eat at the invitation of the Ācārya. 91 As much *prasāda* as Vāṇīnātha brought, these followers of Mahāprabhu ate. 92 They came in the afternoon and had *darśana* and danced, and in the evening came again to the garden to rest. 93 The next day they came and had *darśana* of Śrīvāsa, and danced and sang for some time in the courtyard. 94 Prabhu came to the garden with his *bhaktas*, and with his *bhaktas* enacted the play of Vṛndāvana. 95 At the *darśana* of Prabhu the trees and creepers blossomed, the bees and the cuckoos sang, and the cool breeze blew. 96 Prabhu danced at the foot of each tree; Vasudeva Datta alone was singing. 97 At the foot of each tree a single person sang, and in extreme absorption, Gaura Rāya alone danced. 98 Then Prabhu told Vakreśvara to dance, and Vakreśvara danced, while Prabhu began to sing. 99 With Prabhu, Svarūpa and the rest of the *kīrtanīyās* sang, and in the flood of *prema* they were not conscious of this direction or that. 100 In this way they manifested the forest-līla for some time, and went to play in the water of the Narendra lotus-pond. 101 Having played in the water, they again came to the garden, and he enacted the great feast then with his *bhaktas*. 102 Jagannātha remained in the Guṇḍica for nine days, and Mahāprabhu manifested *līla* there with his *bhaktas*. 103 There was a great flower-garden called "Jagannātha-vallabha," and Prabhu rested there for nine days.

104 Realizing that the *horā-pañcamī* day had come, the king said carefully to Kāśī Mīśra, 105 "Tomorrow is *horā-pañcamī*. It is the emergence of Śrī Lakṣmī. Prepare a festival such as has never been before. 106 Prepare a great festival with such special things that seeing them Mahāprabhu will be astonished. 107 In the storehouse of the Thākura, and in my storehouse, are colored garments, umbrellas, waist-bells, and fly-whisks. 108 Prepare flags and banners, bells and mirrors, and swings; bring various instruments and prepare also for the dance. 109 Double all the offerings; let it be more wonderful than the Car Festival itself. 110 Let it be done so, that Prabhu, having come of his own will with his followers, may see it."

101. Presumably they ate again.

103. "Beloved of Jagannātha": this seems to be another name for the garden previously called Āiṭṭa.

104. *Horā-pañcamī*: on the fifth (*pañcamī*) day of the Car Festival (*ratha-yātra*), the servants of Lakṣmī come out (*horā*) and go through the interesting rituals about to be described.

105. *Vijaya*: the coming outside of the goddess Lakṣmī.